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Christianity and Paganism

(A REPLY)

THE editor of the Review has asked me to reply to the article by Julian on "Paganism and Christianity" which appeared in the June number. I must confess to some difficulty in determining the exact point which Julian seeks to make. He opens the article by a reference to the attempt on the part of the so-called Christian Socialists to show the relation of socialism and Christianity, and remarks that "both socialism and Christianity fare but indifferently in the process." One might expect from such an introductory paragraph that there would follow a clearing away of the hazy elements of so-called Christian Socialism from the simon-pure socialism. But Julian makes no further hint of this very desirable clearing up, but plunges us into pages of matter on "Paganism and Christianity," in which Christianity, at least, "fares but indifferently." How paganism fares remains in part to be seen.

If we do not mistake Julian he seeks, on the one hand, to get at the roots of pagan life and to show us the elemental materialism, which in our times is manifest in materialistic socialism, and hence is the great factor in bringing about the co-operative commonwealth; while, on the other hand, he would lead us to understand that Christianity is based on a philosophy that has "on its side all the cowering timidity of man just emerging out of barbarism and all his paralyzing terror before the great Unknowable," and hence such a social factor is a hindrance to socialism that must be absolutely abandoned. "Christianity," he says, "has served its purpose as a social factor.....the wave of progress rises higher and sweeps onward, onward!"—but Christianity is not on the crest; it is left in the trough behind, to be utterly buried in the next

movement of the deeps of society. This is what we understand to be Julian's theme, but when we come to analyze critically the whole article there seems to be an enigma behind it. At any rate there are irreconcilable contradictions.

When he shows over and over again how thoroughly paganized the church became, and expresses his gratitude that the church so innocently "sheltered paganism in its trying hours," he almost gives us to believe that his beloved paganism is still here with the Christian label on it, but in his concluding paragraph he blasts our hopes by saying that "Christianity has served its purpose as a social factor," for with him Christianity and paganized Christianity are one and the same. So we are left to understand that, with the passing of Christianity, which alone so kindly sheltered paganism "in its trying hours," there passes also the dying paganism thus conserved by the church through these long centuries. And though we have a something left to assist or retard the "ascendancy of democracy" and the socialist movement, it is neither paganism nor Christianity—which, unwittingly, is perhaps too near the truth. Exactly what Julian has given us is difficult to see.

I.

He starts out with an almost sophomoric announcement of his devotion as a student of man and of society to the scientific method—the dispassionate, objective method. But he must be corrected for his unscientific use and treatment of terms. "Armed with the weapons of science," says Julian, "the scientific student penetrates into the holy of holiest not to rail and to scoff in wanton derision, but to study, to inquire, to sift facts and trace them to their origin." Does Julian do this? Certainly not.

1. The two terms which form the heading of the article under criticism he defines incorrectly. Paganism he defines as "the civilization of antique Greece and the sublime heritage it left to mankind." Now the word paganism is not a general term that applies to all the facts and forces of antique Greece, but is used particularly to designate a type of religious opinion and moral conduct. The Century dictionary defines paganism as "the religious opinion, worship and conduct which is not Christian, Jewish, or Mohammedan." "Paganism," says Trench in his "Study of Words," was applied after the triumph of Christianity in the cities of the Roman empire, "to all the votaries of the old and decaying superstitions." When Christianity began to gain a foothold in the cities, and the worship of the old Greek and Roman gods was confined to remote villages (pagi) and to the scattered settlers in the country (pagani), the dying faith became known as paganism. According to the

International Cyclopedia the only general use of the term "paganism" which is justifiable is to make it synonymous with heathenism and polytheism. Thus, for instance, the religious opinion and conduct of the South Sea Islanders and of the bushmen and hottentots of South Africa is properly termed paganism.

The reader may say that this criticism of Julian's use of the word paganism is a cheap splitting of hairs. Not so. When Julian identifies the passionate love of beauty and the intense desire to penetrate to reality, which we find displayed in the art, science and philosophy of ancient Greece—when he identifies these with paganism, and makes them practically synonymous with paganism, and then sets this over against Christianity in an illogical comparison, he has committed a sin in logic that is quite unpardonable.

These elements of antique Greek life which Julian extols are not in any sense the antithesis of Christianity. They are no more the antithesis of Christianity than the laws of motion or the established truths concerning electricity. But paganism, properly defined, is the antithesis of Christianity. The world acknowledges the mighty triumphs of antique Greece in art, literature and philosophy. But to confuse the culture of Greece with the decaying superstitions of its dying religious cults is to get hopelessly mixed. Already before the advent of Christ the moral—or rather immoral—bottom was falling out of the civilization of Greece and Rome, and was leaving no social basis for culture of any kind to rest upon. Society was morally rotten because paganism could give it no moral salt. Never in the history of mankind has there been witnessed a more rapid retrogression in human rights, or a greater prostration of hitherto attained liberties. John Lord, writing of the state of society at this period, tells us of "a sensual and proud aristocracy, a debased and ignorant populace, enormously disproportionate conditions of fortune, slavery flourishing to a state unprecedented in the world's history, women the victims and the toys of men, lax sentiments of public and private morality, a whole people given over to demoralizing sports and spectacles, pleasure the master passion of the people, money the mainspring of society," and finally, "a universal indulgence in all the vices which lead to violence and prepare the way for the total eclipse of the glory of man." Thus we see that the utter demoralization of ancient Greece and Rome in the first century of our era had already practically eclipsed the intellectual and aesthetic glory which Julian extols. Christianity did not save the Roman empire. It was not worth saving. Julian will later show us that the enthusiasm for humanity which was the supreme quality of primitive Christianity was choked by the pagan elements that entered the church and thus shut out

for centuries the glory of Greece which only a real Christianity could have conserved. You cannot build intellectual glory on a bog of immoral mire. There is no antithesis between Grecian or any other culture and Christianity. Julian, failing to define paganism scientifically, gives an incorrect coloring to his whole article. Paganism is a certain type of religious and moral conviction, opinion, worship and conduct, and is properly to be compared with the teaching of Jesus which came as another interpretation of life, character, and conduct; and thus a rival of the decaying superstitions of Greece and Rome.

2. Then when Julian comes to define Christianity, he identifies the church and the teaching of Jesus, both in his direct statements and his indirect historical references. He says it would be unphilosophic to dissociate them. On the contrary, it is unphilosophic and unscientific not to dissociate them. The scientific method requires the most searching analysis to discern between essential and adventitious elements—as Julian says, "to inquire, to sift facts and trace them to their origin." This method Julian observes when he proceeds in the very next sentence to describe what he calls paganism. "Here," he demands, "we must subtract all adventitious elements and study them in their early unadulterated condition." Under this scientific treatment he says we may see "the remarkable simplicity of the life, manners and conceptions of Greece of antiquity," standing out "white and clear through the mists of receding centuries."

But when Julian defines Christianity he refuses to continue the scientific method. He hopelessly confuses the essential elements as taught by its founder and the adventitious elements which became attached to it through paganization. Later in the article, in his longest and most rhetorical paragraph, he shows how paganism captured the church, and yet he, who sought to treat paganism so scientifically, now loses paganism in papal Christianity, sees it there, is grateful for its presence, but calls the whole offensive mixture Christianity. He is unable to see primitive Christianity "white and clear through the mists of receding centuries" as he had called us to look upon antique Greece.

Let us briefly show to Julian how two noted scientists treat Christianity. Enrico Ferri, in his late work on "Socialism and Modern Science," with true scientific insight differentiates between the Christianity of Jesus and the early church and later paganized Christianity, saying the former is "very different from the latter," which he calls a "fatty degeneration of Christianity." Ernst Haeckel in "The Riddle of the Universe," also differentiates the teaching of Jesus, the so-called Christianity of the middle ages, and the pseudo-Christianity of modern times. He extols primitive Christianity, and says that we must endeavor to save it from the inevitable wreck of pseudo-Christianity. He declares that the false Christianity attempted to turn all the virtues taught by Jesus, viz, "true humanity, the golden rule, the spirit of tolerance, the love of man in the best and highest sense of the word"—to turn these into the direct contrary "and still hang out the old sign." If it is philosophic insight and scientific discrimination to classify as a single social factor the lofty thought and love-impassioned life of Jesus and His devoted democratic followers, with the "fanatical hatred, merciless persecution, clerical bloodthirstiness and spiritual oppression" of twelve centuries of a restored paganism—restored according to Julian minus its art, literature and philosophy—then there is an end to clear thinking.

Let not the reader think this rather extended criticism of Julian's unscientific use and treatment of the term Christianity is a mere struggle of words. For to the writer, representative of a large and growing body of people, if the elemental truth on brotherhood and social justice, on the essential divinity of man, and his wondrous possibilities of unfoldment taught by Jesus—if this truth and life are to be treated as identical with the spiritual despotism and barbarity of the dark ages, "a frivolous contradiction of all Jesus taught," and as one with the mammonized pseudo-Christianity of modern times—then we are dumb. We are without defense. But such a position as Julian takes is untrue to history, it is false to the dispassionate scientific method, and being so reckless of the universal truths which Jesus enunciated, it is positively unfair to the race, in which there originally burns the same elemental and original fires of truth and justice, which Christ interpreted.

II.

No attempt will be made at this writing to reply to the manifestly absurd motives which Julian holds concerning the social elements of Christianity, as for example when he says that "the precepts of Christianity were designed for a society of masters and slaves, of rich and poor, and they contemplate the perpetuity of that system." Julian is so hopelessly at sea as to the essentials of Christianity that it would take a whole article to correct him. On the other hand no attempt will be made now to show the immense contribution to democracy and thus to socialism which are inherent in elemental Christianity. Were space at our disposal, instead of Christianity "having served its purpose as a social factor," as Julian says, we would show that as a psychic factor in civilization, its promise and power for democracy and for socialism is simply tremendous and never so potent as a social factor as in the present social movement.

Before this can be done, however, we must make the one reply which Julian's article demands and properly clear away the pagan debris still heaped upon Christianity, so that we may the clearer see it "white and clear through the mists of centuries," as Julian saw the glory of antique Greece. Having thus seen it we shall be able to recognize it as the permanent factor in the life of the race.

There is, therefore, one single proposition which we must make clear to the reader in this reply, viz, that the Christianity against which Julian makes his complaint, in his seeming defense of paganism, is paganized Christianity; that the elements of the pseudo-Christianity of modern times, which, usurping the place of real Christianity, are a hindrance to democracy and to socialism, making the church the home of cults and placing it at the service of capitalism and plutocracy, are the pagan elements; and therefore the task remains before us not to champion paganism but to beat back the paganism from our pulpits and from our moral ideas and ideals, and to let the elemental and universal truths of vital Christianity emerge.

If the readers of the Review would read critically Julian's article and especially the ninth paragraph under the sub-head "Christianity," they would not need much elaboration from me as to the pagan elements that entered into the church and still remain there.

Julian tells us that pagan "ideas were given theologic authority in dogmatic form" by the best minds of the church. "Pagan rites," he says, "were given a Christian name and sanction." "Paganism was sheltered and cultivated" "in its trying hours" by the church, when otherwise it would have perished. "Some of the greatest pillars of the church were good pagans. The multitudes that raged against everything that bore to them a pagan aspect were often kneeling before a pagan." To cap the climax in one rhetorical illustration Julian confesses all that I am going to prove in succeeding paragraphs. He writes: "Rome has grown great because it took into its bosom and admitted to citizenship the conquered nations. This has decentralized the power of Rome and became ultimately fatal to its supremacy. Pursuing a similar course," confesses Julian, "Christianity has adopted antiquity into its bosom"—here he fails to complete the illustration; he should have added: "This sapped the power of Christianity and for centuries was fatal to its supremacy." We are left to infer as much.

Thus to point out to Julian his own confession to the utter paganizing of the church ought to be enough for him. But it is not enough for the object in hand. To the statements of Julian we must add the authority of scientific research.

We may be grateful that the scientific spirit of the last century entered the field of historic criticism; and perhaps in no

single branch of historic criticism has more faithful and painstaking work been done than in biblical criticism in general and New Testament criticism in particular. To this movement we must trace the numerous biographies of Jesus which have appeared in the last fifty years. Along with the critical treatment of the life of Jesus there has proceeded a similar treatment of primitive Christianity and a scientific analysis of the elements which entered into the historic church, as it developed from century to century. Probably the best single work in the last mentioned field is that of the late Edwin Hatch of Oxford University. The editor of his posthumous writings says of him that his "purpose, like his method, was scientific" and his work is "an attempt at the scientific treatment of the growth and formulation of ideas, of the evolution and establishment of usages within the Christian church." We shall quote freely from Hatch's authoritative work in maintaining our thesis concerning a paganized Christianity.

III.

1. To confound attendance upon church services and forms and ceremonies and compliance with ritualistic requirements, is one of the most subtle and common substitutes for a vital Christianity. As a pastor myself living in close touch with the people I early discovered this easy way among men of dispensing with the practice of righteousness. In fact attendance on services and the presentation of children for baptism and confirmation, and being present at sacramental observances is to thousands of people a form of absolution for almost everything un-Christian, and becomes a sort of constant and regular gift, not sale, of indulgences.

Now whence did this fine religious art arise in the church—this simplest and most pleasant substitute for Christianity? Julian tells us: "It is to the element of paganism in its rites that the church (not Christianity) owes in no small degree its vitality." But this element of paganism in its rites has repeatedly choked the Christianity of Jesus.

Hatch in his critical work shows in the most conclusive manner how, as Julian says, "pagan rites were given a Christian name and sanction." The Greek mysteries were for intensifying the polytheistic religion and for elaborating their ritual. Only those who could pass a rigorous initiation could enter. Those who entered were the "good" and became like the separate members of a secret cult. In the fifth century so complete was the conquest of the ritualism within the Greek mysteries over the so-called sacraments of baptism and the Lord's Supper in the church that the Great Dionysius in describing at great length "all Christian (?) ordinances uses terms never

found in the New Testament and applicable only to the Greek mysteries. Hatch says that the whole conception of Christian worship was changed. But it was changed by the influence of the contemporary worship of the mysteries and the concurrent cults. In the splendid ceremonial of Eastern and Western worship, in the blaze of lights, in the separation of the central point of the rite from common view, in the procession of torch-bearers chanting the sacred hymns—there is the survival and in some cases the galvanized survival of a pagan ceremonial.

It may be interesting to add that in every new outburst or revival of essential Christianity, such as in the Franciscan movement, the Reformation and the Wesleyan revival, ritualism has been renounced and attacked, and in every period of religious and moral decay ritualism revives, as a pleasant caricature of reality. Should a majority of the socialist clubs of the world elaborate a magnificent ritual for the glorification of Karl Marx and William Liebknecht and Friedrich Engels, and then substitute the observance of the ritual at stated intervals for their present heroic efforts to bring about the co-operative commonwealth, we would have a "paganized socialism," so to speak, which Julian would be the last to confound with the genuine article. Scientific training is not necessary for such a simple intellectual act—a little average common sense is all that is needed.

2. One of the most severe criticisms brought by socialists against the church is the claim that it instructs men to get off by themselves and "save their own souls." Such separative piety, to the socialist down in the mud and struggle of reality, is impious and offensive to the last extreme. And he is right. But whence came this offensive element which the socialist despises? Not from the carpenter Jesus, who lived and taught among the people, who was accused by the good of eating and drinking with the common folk, and who gathered about Him as His closest companions a group of greasy and unsophisticated fishermen. Whence came this element? It is a pagan survival.

The asceticism and monasticism that crept into the church in the fifth century was a revival of the methods of the school of Greek philosophy known as cynicism. The cynics wore a rough blanket and unshorn hair. "To wear a blanket and to let the hair grow was to profess divine philosophy." The idea of getting apart from the world while not confined to Greece is essentially pagan. It is the very antithesis of the teaching and practice of Jesus. Every word describing the monk and his life are the revivals of the Greek philosophic terms. Hatch says that "the enormous growth of the later form of monastic life cannot wipe away the fact that to Greece, more than to any other factor was due the place and earliest conception of that

sublime individualism which centered all a man's efforts on the development of his spiritual life and withdrew him from his fellow-men in order to bring him near to God."

Here again is our debt to paganism which ought to be repudiated by all of us in the church and out of the church. This element of paganism is reviving again in our times, not in what is known as evangelical Christianity, but among schools and clubs and classes of the devotees of what is known in general terms as the "New Thought" some manifestations of it cannot be pardoned for its exclusiveness and refined selfishness.

3. Hearing the regular "sermon" and Sunday "pulpiteering" generally is another most pleasant substitute for the program of Jesus. "What preacher shall we go to hear to-day?" says the "hearer" on Sunday morning if he is not already "always present" at "his" church. Critics of the church, especially among social reformers, talk about the "words, words, words," that pour forth from the pulpits of the land to be "heard," while the human deeds that would free men from injustice are left undone—in this criticism duplicating that of Jesus himself, when he said, "Why call ye me, Lord, Lord, and do not the things which I say?" Whence arose this substitution of "words" and the "hearing of sermons" for the life and deeds of early Christianity? This also is an inheritance from paganism.

In the early Christian period the Greeks had become a nation of "talkers." The largest class of these talkers were known as sophists, who spent their energies in expounding and elaborating what dead sages had said. They had no living message of their own. They were sermonizers, phrase-makers, rhetoricians—like their descendants still living who can talk on anything from Sunday bicycling to the Chinese war with equal volubility. They talked "divine philosophy" until they killed it. It became a joke. It ceased to be real. They preached because they could warble words as a trained soprano can chase a high note. Others might do the practicing. From this pagan rhetoric of a decaying age we must trace the rhetoric that has supplanted the method of inspiration and power which was the mark of primitive Christianity.

Jesus himself never preached a sermon. His teaching on the mount, no doubt a compilation of various utterances of many times, had to wait for pagan influence before it received even the name of "Sermon on the Mount." He appointed no preachers from the rhetorical standpoint. The witnesses or heralds of the message of human brotherhood and the divine life, which he did send forth, were to speak under inspiration a living message of experience.

Commenting on this conquest of the unique method of inspiration of early Christianity by the artificiality of pagan rhetoric, Hatch writes: "Around primitive Christianity thronged

the race of eloquent talkers, who persuaded it to change its dress and to assimilate its language to their own. It seemed thereby to win a speedier and completer victory." (Julian says: "It was due to paganism that the doctrines of the humble and meek carpenter of Nazareth became militant and aggressive.") "But," continues Hatch, "it purchased conquest at the price of reality. With that its progress stopped. There has been an element of sophistry in it ever since; and so far as in any age that element has been dominant, so far has the progress of Christianity been arrested. Its progress is arrested now, because many of its preachers live in an unreal world. The truths they set forth are truths of utterance rather than truths of their lives." He concludes as all thoughtful men must conclude: "If Christianity is to be again the power that it was in its earliest ages, it must renounce its costly purchase."

In contrast with Julian we are not grateful for this "sheltering of paganism." The race can do without unreality and sophistry and the substitution of rhetoric and "words" for life and reality.

4. "The hide-bound creeds" of the church have been the object of an untold amount of criticism by all kinds of reformers. The reformer comes up against a "creed" which seems to demand a more sacred treatment than human life. It must not be tampered with for any reason, though full of old half-truths now become lies. Statement of conviction is inevitable to men who think as well as feel, but the idea of placing a "hide-bound creed" as the object of faith and the test of orthodoxy never entered into the mind of Jesus or the early Christians. Where, then, do we find the influences which transferred the basis of union from right living and loving to assent to a body of doctrine—to a creed? Why is it that simple ethical teaching, breathing good-will and justice, stands in the forefront of primitive Christianity and an unfathomable metaphysical creed stands in the forefront of fourth-century Christianity?

To answer these questions we must quote Julian's words again, viz: "We find the ideas of antiquity given theologic authority in dogmatic form; even as the ruins of pagan temples furnished materials for cathedrals." Exactly so. The hide-bound creed demanding assent, dissent from which brands you as un-Christian and merits excommunication—this is directly traceable to pagan influence, not to the idea or method of Jesus. How this is true we shall see.

Julian, writing of the Greek system of conception, says that "the system that was of Greece had for itself one factor only —knowledge." Thus in Greece Christian teaching entered an educated world. The chief features of their education were knowledge of literature, cultivation of literary expression and general acquaintance with rules of argument. With these men

of "knowledge" to define clearly a moral idea was naturally a greater virtue than to live it. Hence agreement of opinion was the basis of union in the schools of Greek philosophy. The followers of Aristotle, the first great scientist, were the first "dogmatists." For surely what "science" or "knowledge" had established must be absolutely true even though it was as absurd as the proposition that the earth was a vast flat area with jumping-off places all about. They and the Epicureans and Stoics were the "philosophers of assertion." In the first four centuries there was little or no original thinking among the Greeks. The philosopher gave place to the "professor," who dogmatized about what he thought previous thinkers had taught. From this temper of the Greek mind arose one wholly un-Christian fact in the church, viz: "The ideas of antiquity were given theologic authority in dogmatic form" by paganized church fathers, (quoting Julian.) But the idea of a creed was unknown to the early Christians. They sought a quality of life. Men were to be known by the spirit of their lives and their deeds, not by what abstract propositions they assented to.

Julian vigorously complains in more than one place that Christianity "deals with beliefs which forbid and exclude rational discussion." This tantalizes his scientific habit of mind. But the dogmatic statement of beliefs, against which he murmurs, and the rational discussion of which became forbidden and excluded, is the direct result of pagan influence. This he himself confesses in the pasasge quoted above. Primitive Christianity had no dogmas. It had to await the "philosophers of assertion," and the Greek "dogmatists" to change the elemental, self-evident and universal truths of Jesus into a dogmatic system with the ethical element eliminated. It was thus that the basis of fellowship in the Christian societies was changed from character and conduct to belief or assent to metaphysical dogmas. Why, even the words "dogma" and "orthodoxy," purely Greek, reveal this point—the former meaning "the thing thought" and the latter "right thinking." These creeds of the Greek church fathers would have been unintelligible to the apostles. It is doubtful if Jesus himself could have passed a creditable examination for license to preach on these paganized creeds. This bequest of paganism to Christianity, of establishing the personal convictions of a few noted "fathers" as a dogmatic system from which you dare not dissent, is, to quote Edwin Hatch, "a damnable inheritance." And he says, "It has given to later Christianity that part of it which is doomed to perish. By laying more stress on the expression of ideas than upon the ideas themselves it tended to stem the very forces which had given Christianity its place." To repeat the words of Julian, "Christianity had adopted antiquity into its bosom" and paganism ate the heart out of it. So far

as the substitution of creed for conduct is concerned, paganism did for Christianity what many socialists properly fear for the socialist movement at the hands of the "Intellectuals."

Had not this substitution of dogma and creed supplanted the simple basis of union in the early Christian societies, all the great reform movements of history would have been recognized immediately as the very fruit, on the psychic side, of the Christian impulse, which is universal. The socialist movement for social justice and the rights of labor would likewise need no defense against dogmatic creeds and paganized rites, ceremonies and modes of worship, but would be at once recognized as one with elemental Christianity in its hopes and aims for social and economic liberty; or as Enrico Ferri, the noted Italian socialist, says, by "its ardent faith in a higher social justice for all—a faith that makes strikingly clear its resemblance to the regenerating Christianity of primitive times."

5. The "creed" once placed by pagan influence as the center of gravity in the church, the ethics of Jesus passed. Even the moral teaching of Paul was discounted. As Julian states it: "The church never attempted to carry out the doctrines of Christianity in all their spiritual purity." How could it? Christianity was in eclipse. Evidently, as Julian tells us, "the light shed by Grecian civilization.....took a firm hold of the human mind, including the best minds among the fathers of the church," for Ambrose of Milan, one of the greatest theologians of his time, reduced the Greek ethics to a pseudo-Christian form, and in the language of Hatch "the victory of Greek ethics was complete." The ethics of the Sermon on the Mount passed away; the ethics of the Greek stoic and the Roman jurist took the place thereof. And the dead hand that lies on the modern church to-day, which makes trouble when the social teaching of Jesus is read with emphasis in a modern pulpit, is the dead hand of pagan ethics. As a result of this "victory of Greek ethics" paganism preaches from a thousand pulpits of the church, and sits all unconsciously in ethical ignorance and stupidity in ten thousand pews. Our pagan inheritance is one of the basic reasons for the fellowship of the church and plutocracy. It is one fundamental reason why the church is at peace with the present competitive and monopolistic system.

IV.

Unlike Julian we are not thankful for the paganism sheltered in the church which bears the name of the carpenter of Nazareth. Even now we have but hinted at this process of paganization. In my attempt to defend the Christianity of Jesus from being identified with that restored paganism which still exists, it may seem to some readers in church circles that I have

proved too much. You tremble, lest in the teaching and defence of elemental Christianity which is certainly upon us, your church, with its ritualism and sacerdotalism, and ecclesiasticism and pagan ethics, may have to go. You may well tremble. But your trembling even might be compared to that of the Greek initiate who sorrowed in the first centuries to see the people forsaking the Greek mysteries as they awoke to the simple brotherhood and divine life which the apostles of the Nazarene proclaimed—a brotherhood which existed without temples, and priests, and rites, and ceremonies, and hide-bound creeds, and found its joy in the "manly love of comrades" and its supreme sacred ceremony in the daily ritual of the common life.

It is possible that this question now opened may prove an undesirable burden to the pages of the Review. Personally, I am jealous that the clear-cut economics of socialism be kept vigorously and plainly before the people. And though I have written this article while preaching socialism every day and sometimes twice a day in Montana, Washington and Oregon, and preaching it from the ethical viewpoint, yet I am always offended by a hodge-podge of so-called "social Christianity" and socialism that neither is seen in its true light. I do not call myself a Christian socialist. In economics I am a socialist. But socialism and all it will mean is but part of a greater whole; it is but part, a very fundamental part, in our time an all-important part of that complete meaning to human life which I either read out of, or read into the Life and Teaching of Jesus. And to those who think with me, the whole question of Christianity and socialism will have to be threshed out sooner or later, for the sake of that moral and intellectual poise which is the necessary basis for vigorous and telling action. As for socialism, it has no need of loading itself up with the unnecessary proposition that it is materialistic, atheistic and anti-Christian. On the other hand I should regret to see any artificial load of "social" Christianity upon the cause that would blur the clear-cut and unmistakable economic program of socialism, with its corresponding appeal to the working classes to grasp political power and bring in the Co-operative Commonwealth.

Salem, Ore., June 11, 1901. *J. Stitt Wilson.*

A Socialist Wedding

WE were gathered together, we of the inner circle of comradeship, on the last Saturday evening in May. Outside our doors the rain beat down, but within the mellow light fell on a room decked by the skill of the craftsman and aglow with the art of the painter. The fragrance and blossom of spring flowers seemed to transform our rooms into a fairy garden; and the strains of a primitive love-melody, as they drifted to us, were full of mystery and beauty.

Our comrade, George D. Herron, arose, care-worn and sorrowful as one who has passed through the Valley of the Shadow of Death, yet strong-hearted and gladsome withal; and beside him stood Carrie Rand, clad in pure vestal white and bearing lilies-of-the-valley in her hand. "We believe, friends, in fellowship," he said, "and because we believe that fellowship is life we have asked a few of you to let us share with you the fellowship and sacrament of the unity of life which we wish to now announce to you. For many years this unity of life has made us one in fact, but now we wish this unity to become manifest unto the world, and it is to announce to you this marriage of our souls, which is to us a reality before the foundation of the world and which we can conceive of as having no ending, that we have asked you to kindly come together to-night." Miss Rand responded: "This is the day and hour which we have chosen to announce to you and the world our spiritual union, which is a fact in the heart of God."

The host of the evening, Dr. Charles Brodie Patterson, editor of *The Arena* and *Mind*, next made a brief address. Dr. Patterson was followed by the Rev. William Thurston Brown, of Plymouth Church, Rochester, whose "Annunciation Service" was a poem in prose. It seemed entirely fitting that this tried and true comrade, whose best labor and thought for many years has been given to the socialist cause, should be here to participate in the dedication of these two lives to the socialist movement. He said:

"I cannot but feel—as all of us must to-day—the impotence of words fittingly to express or announce to the world that which this occasion means. This is the time and place for the muse of a poet, the speech of a god; the office of priest or magistrate were an intrusion here. Better than all would it be if the fact of which we here are conscious might be announced to the world in the sweet strains of some wordless music.

"But since these dear friends and comrades have honored

me with the task of speaking for them a word of annunciation concerning this sacred consummation of their life, I joyfully respond. And the one word which above all others impresses itself upon me as suggestive of that which brings us here is the old word 'sacrament.' I know it comes to us from the buried years a-drip with blood and moldy with superstition; and yet, it is a human word, and through it throbs the yearning and struggle and climb of a race. It names an age-long groping after truth—a gleam of the divine—a rift in the clouds disclosing the glory that bathes and interpenetrates the universe. That which calls us here to-day is a sacrament. Not in any conventional sense, but in the elemental significance of the word—a significance which reflects the mind and being of the Eternal and the Infinite.

"Nowhere has the religious institution so nearly approached the frontiers of vital truth as in conceiving marriage to be a sacrament. But nowhere has it departed so far from all that is divine and ennobling as in supposing that any word of priest or prelate can be sacramental. Neither statute nor official, civil or religious, can ever create this sacred thing. Neither has it the smallest sanction to give to that which is sacred, if at all, by the supreme fiat of a pure and perfect love. The divine is not in legislature or council, church or state. It abides forever in human life. Human life alone incarnates God—and laws and civilizations are tolerable only in the measure of their recognition and service of that life.

"We are not here to establish a relationship which otherwise would not have been. We are not here to inaugurate or consummate a marriage. No words of ours or any one's can add to or take from the truth and solemnity of the sublime fact of a reciprocal love uniting soul to soul by a sanction in presence of which all human enactments seem profane and impertinent, for this is the supreme sacrament of human experience. There is something about it which transcends all other things and proclaims its inherent divinity.

"Nor are we here to lend our countenance to that divine event of which it is our privilege to be witnesses. That which is essentially and elementally true gains nothing from the sanction of individuals or states or nations. We are not here to perform a sacrament, but to receive one—to honor ourselves and enrich all that is best in us by sharing somewhat in the truth and beatitude of these dear friends.

"We are here to-day to announce to the world the oneness of two human souls in a love that reflects and manifests and reproduces somewhat of the essence of that Infinite love which swathes and animates the universe. This oneness no more begins to-day than God does. It has no beginning and can have no end. The discovery of such oneness is the discovery of life

—the laying bare the very soul of the cosmos. Time loses its meaning. There is no yesterday and no to-morrow in the married harmony and the joyous rhythm of two such souls. There is only an eternal now, and life rises above its narrow limitations and seems to merge in the All-living and All-loving. Let the fleeting years bring what they may, it cannot matter. Love holds all the years that have been or are to be. Its dominion is universal and its reign eternal. And it lives only to give itself in ever-abounding richness to the hungering needs of men.

"This is a day of joy—overflowing, unsullied, serene; a day of hope—clear, strong, inspiring; a day of faith—laying bare before the souls of men in love's clear light the realities of the eternal world. It is a day of courage and cheer. It has for the world only a message of freedom and fellowship. It anticipates the dawn of a higher life for all. It proclaims the sanctity and omnipotence of love. It asserts the elemental rights of man—the rights that blend with duty and irradiate the skies with hope and gladness.

"If I have any understanding of what this means, it is supremely a gospel. No note of peace or power or purity is wanting. These friends of ours announce to-day their marriage. They do so not primarily because our faulty human laws require it at their hands, but for a deeper and diviner reason. They do not assume that their life belongs to them alone—nor even that this supreme affection which has made them one, disclosed to them the face of God, and transfigured all this earthly life with His shining footprints, is theirs to hoard or hide. In asserting the limitless freedom and the boundless authority of love they but disclose the full-orbed liberty of the sons of God and anticipate a world's emancipation. They do not announce that they have now separated their life from the rest of the world. They announce a fuller, deeper, richer harmony with that divine life which is emergent in the unfolding aspirations of the world, than could have been theirs as separate individuals.

"Inasmuch, therefore, as George D. Herron and Carrie Rand are thus united together by the bond of a reciprocal love, I announce that they are husband and wife by every law of right and truth, and I bespeak for them the fervent benediction of all true souls and the abiding gladness that dwells in the heart of God forever."

As Comrade Brown concluded, Mrs. Rand, stepping forward, kissed George D. Herron and his bride, and, with a voice trembling with emotion, invoked blessing on their marriage.

Each of the fourteen guests present was now invited to make a verbal offering to the consummation of this love-union. Richard Le Gallienne, a poet famous in two continents, spoke first.

"All the friends that Mr. and Mrs. Herron love," he said, "will love them forever, and will love them all the better because they have had the courage to stand up and say they love each other and that love is all the marriage they need. I feel very honored that I had the opportunity of being present on this momentous occasion, and only wish that I had had longer notice, in order to have prepared an epithalamium worthy of its dignity."

Two of the Social Democratic comrades spoke next, emphasizing the fact that the marriage meant, above all, more complete consecration to socialism. "The peculiarly happy thing to me to-night," said William Mailly, of *The Worker*, "is the knowledge that these two comrades of ours are working shoulder to shoulder in the world-wide movement for the emancipation of the toilers—a movement that is destined to usher in the universal life of leisure and love for all men."

Mrs. Ralph Waldo Trine read a poem that she had written for the occasion on "The Land of the Heart's Desire":

"Searching by day and night 'mong rugged ways,
A yearning soul went struggling thro' the world
Seeking a land of which the many said,
'Tis useless, all the ages past and gone
Have men and women hoped to find this land,
And seeking it have perished by the way.
Why leave the beaten road—'tis good for us,
Why not for you? We are not torn and bruised
By beating out a path 'mong mountain ways
As those who go in search of this strange land.

"And then this earnest soul made grand reply.
'I, like the others who have gone before,
Traveling thro' unknown, untried, devious ways,
Seek, not for self alone this wondrous land,
But going before and hewing out the way
Make clearer for those following on the path.'

"And so alone, oftimes with life near gone,
But ever with the promised land in view,
This struggling soul kept bravely on his way.

"At last the country which he seeks is found!
He enters in with songs of love and joy,
And lo! a herald meets him at the gate.
'O seeker after truth, the way was long
And those who enter here are bade to stay
And rest a time within this outer court,
While taught by others who have come before
The truths concerning this new happy land.'

"Then comes one clad in white, with radiant face,
And sits beside him clasping close his hand,
And tells to him in accents rich with love
Of this strange land to which he late has come.
How in this land glad comradeship abides
And love and peace and mutual benefit.
'For know,' he says, 'that in this glorious land
None are in bondage, each and all are free.'
He leaves him, and a woman glorified
Comes gently to him, and with loving look,
And rapture filling all her voice,
Speaks of the time before she found this place,
Of years of sorrow and of dark despair;
But how at last she finds what sought
In this glad land among the sons of God,
Finds freedom and the rapture that it brings.

"Then comes again the one who met him first
And tells to him the sad part of it all—
Sad, but with God's own loving justice filled.
How even tho' the land for him is reached,
And others too are living in this place,
Its hidden valleys and far mountain tops
Cannot be reached till all have found the way
Up from the darkness of the under-world
To join with them in songs of love and joy.
For none is truly free till all the race
Unites with him in holy comradeship.
And then he speaks again in accents low,
'But rest awhile within this outer court
And finding here a comrade for your life—
One who is also free and glad and strong—
Go thou, and holding up each other's hands
Lead many on unto this land of joy.'"

Beautiful words, appropriate to the occasion and voicing the pioneer thought, were given utterance by Ralph Waldo Trine, ethical teacher; Arthur Farwell, musician and artist; Bolton Hall, a disciple of Henry George; Mr. and Mrs. Darwin J. Mesersole, upon whom has fallen so much of the stress and storm of the tornado that has been raging around Professor Herron's life; Marguerite V. Wien, whose young life has been laid on the altar of socialism; and Mabel McCoy Irwin. Mrs. Wentworth read to us with exquisite diction a poem dedicated to his wife by Robert Browning, "the great poet of love, who declared 'There is no good of life but love—but love; what else looks good is but some shade flung from love—gilds it—gives it worth.'" Miss Kendall's expression was also in verse:

"Through Love to Light!
Oh, wonderful the way
That leads from darkness to the perfect day!
From darkness and from sorrow of the night
To morning that comes singing o'er the sea."

The last speaker was Franklin H. Wentworth. "Having shared the joy and sorrow, the trials and problems, of my two comrades here," he said, "it is perhaps fitting that I should say the last word on this occasion, and that this word should be a word of personal affection and comradeship. And yet I must confess that the feeling of joy which I have to-night relates not so directly to them as to the cause, in the service of which we are all enlisted. It seems such a mighty triumph of truth and sincerity in the world that the cause must be helped by this union. I believe that the high service of each will be helped by the fact of these two souls working side by side in mutual sustainment, united—yet free. I feel this strongly because of the strength and uplift which has come into my own life through my comradeship with my own true and noble mate. In the very fact that so large a number of persons as are here assembled can be inspired by the same ideal, I see a demonstration that the truth is beginning to force its way and dramatize itself in reference to every human institution. There seems in the gathering of such a company a hint of the dawning of the day when the spirit of freedom shall rule the world—freedom of the body, and freedom of the soul.

"Now, in conclusion, there is a personal word I wish to say: I wish to pay a tribute of loving admiration to the woman who was already standing for human freedom when most of us here were children; a woman who all her life long has been far ahead of her time; who has steadfastly stood against all forms of hypocrisy and organized wrong. In her girlhood life this woman was scoffed at because she was an abolitionist—then the most bitterly hated of all reformers. In her middle life she was jeered at first as a free republican and afterward as a free trader; and now in the time of her age we find her standing bravely 'mid those who believe that the world should take another step toward human freedom, namely the socialists. In her girlhood she worked for the freedom of the chattel slave, and then lived to see the world come halting after her, accepting the truth she saw. And I believe there is no more fitting prayer which I can offer in her behalf to-night, or which will find a more appreciative response in the staunch soul of Mrs. Rand herself than that she may be spared to witness at least the beginnings of the world's industrial emancipation."

The gathering broke up, and finally, as a sweet benediction, the bride herself took her seat at the piano and played to us

for awhile, pouring out her soul in the interpretation of one of Beethoven's greatest sonatas. And as she played, the memory of a ghoulish press, of human vultures, of slave-marriage, of cruel capitalism, was blotted out. We saw only the vision of the New Life of Socialism, when the love that made this union holy shall be the only basis of marriage, and when this love, stretching out, shall embrace the common life of the world.

New York, June 1, 1901. *Leonard D. Abbott.*

FAIR PLAY

I do not talk religion to you, ye men of the world.
I say nothing of love or pity or Christianity.
I speak your own language and conjure you in the name of fair play.
You who spurn the man that takes an unfair advantage of his competitors in sport or at the card-table, you are at the same time playing the game of life with loaded dice.
You are forever insisting on any handicap of wealth and rank, however excessive, that you may be able to command, and yet you hold up your heads as if you were honourable.
You force men to pit their broken-down nags against your thoroughbreds,—their leaky scows against your steam-yachts,—and are proud of the show you make!
By your own code you should be expelled from every respectable club, cut by every self-respecting man, and sent for good and all to Coventry.
You have yet to learn that life is a game no whit inferior in its demands on your honour to whist or tennis or the turf, and that you must extend your code to it or be justly ruled off the course.

Rhinebeck, N. Y. *Ernest Crosby,*
Author of Plain Talk in Psalm and Parable.

Letter to Grinnell Church Committee

New York, May 24, 1901.

To the Committee appointed by the Congregational Church of Grinnell, Iowa, to call a council of churches to inquire into my ministerial standing and church membership:

Brethren—I received your request that I join with you in calling a council to inquire into my standing as a minister and as a member of your church. I could not join with you in this call, nor do I feel it essential that I should. You are a body of Christian gentlemen, seeking to do what you believe to be your whole duty, and the council called by you will be as impartial, and as eager to do what seems to it right, as if I had joined in the call. I could not hope to include a friendly church in the council; for, however sad the reflection on myself to say so, I have no friend that I know of in the Congregational Church or ministry of Iowa.

Besides, when I look over the names attached to recent denunciations of my life sent out from Grinnell, and reflect that these are the names of men who have denounced my teachings in years past, and also that some of these are to officiate in the council by which I am to be tried, I do not see how this trial can be anything more than a ceremonial fulfillment of what you take to be your plain duty to the church and society. Weeks in advance of my trial, in the public prints of the religious press, your pastor has proclaimed me guilty of the things for which I am to be tried. He says that he knows what my life has been, and that his knowledge is my condemnation. He says that the church has patiently endured my criticisms of its ministry and spirit, and that these have nothing to do with the judgment of the church upon my character. I think he speaks with perfect sincerity, and does not desire to wrong any one. I think, also, that he represents the general feeling of the church at large. When I place beside this general feeling the fact that I offer nothing in self-defense, and that I have nothing to say that will not serve to further convict me in your judgment, I do not see how I could essentially affect the verdict of even the most impartial court that could be convened from the church. I have, therefore, left the calling of the council with you.

Let me say at once that if a literal interpretation of the civil court decree is to be made the basis of your procedure, or if I refuse to go behind that decree, then I do not see how you can do anything else than establish the conviction at which you

have thus already arrived, and dismiss me from the church and its ministry. I might suggest to you that a court decree, granting a separation of this kind, is based upon a technicality, as you must know. Our laws are so made that a man and woman legally united cannot get apart save upon some nominal charge of wrong-doing. I did not know the wording of the charge upon which this separation was granted, until I read it in the newspapers. I suppose it was the least charge upon which such a decree could be issued by an Iowa court. Still, I fully realize that this suggestion has no value whatever as evidence. You have only the court charge and decree to go by, and such abundant evidence of appearances as you might gather. If I do not go behind that decree, and offer no counter-evidence, I see no course open to you save to dismiss me from your fellowship. The burden of proof, in virtue of all the circumstances, rests upon me; and if I cannot or will not prove my innocence, the responsibility is mine, for you have given me an opportunity. And I know I cannot escape this responsibility by any feeling I may have regarding the predisposition of the church toward me.

Furthermore, the responsibility for the circumstances which call you together rests upon me, where the public has placed it. It seems wholly unnecessary to say this, for no hint of blame upon any one else has reached my eyes or ears, while I have been universally condemned. It does not seem worth while to suggest that such a crisis might come to a life without any one being morally to blame, so we will let the responsibility and condemnation rest just where they are. I should not count any one my friend who would undertake to defend me at the expense of another.

I would ask you to kindly let me explain, however, that I did not desert my children. No father loves his children more than I. But I have long held it a principle that children belong first to their mother. Where such a separation takes place, if the mother desires all the children, they are rightfully hers, and no considerate man would take one of them from her. Besides, in this case, I think the children would choose their mother, who has been their constant companion, except when she was twice absent with me in Europe. They are not babes, but are arriving at some years of capacity to choose for themselves—the oldest of them just blossoming into womanhood. This may not be known to you, because of the fact that I have not yet reached middle life; but it may be understood when you take into account the fact that the marriage annulled took place before I had quite reached my twenty-first birthday. Furthermore, when I turn from the desires of a father's heart to what is best for the children themselves, I think their choice of their mother would be wise; for they will have a good

mother, and the life of a man given to the socialist revolution cannot fail to be more or less the life of an outcast, as the revolution intensifies and arrays a ruling class against a working class in a final issue and crisis.

In this connection, I would like to say that I do not see why the matter of adequate financial provision should have been made a basis of complaint or discussion. Certainly, it was the right and duty of the mother of these children to accept such provision, in simple justice to herself and them, as it was my privilege and duty to provide to the utmost. As to what friends enabled me to do this, that is a matter into which the public has no right to inquire, so long as those concerned are satisfied.

As a council, you are acting in defense of what you believe to be the sacredness of the family institution, against which I am to you an offender.. In order that your action on this point may be complete, let me say to you that I do not believe that the present marriage system is sacred or good. It rather seems to me to be the destruction of the liberty and love and truth which make life sacred and worth living. If love and truth are the basis of morality, then a marriage system which makes one human being the property of another, without regard to the well-being of either the owned or the owner, seems to me to be the very soul of blasphemy and immorality. The family founded on force is a survival of slavery, and one of the expressions of the slave-principles on which our whole civilization is built. It is a mode of the superstition which thinks it good for human beings to own each other, and good for the race to have all its sources and tools of life owned by the few who are strong and cunning enough to possess them. The ethics of the legally and ecclesiastically enforced family make it possible for a man to live a life of monstrous wrong, of ghastly falsehood, even of unbridled lust, and yet be highly moral according to the standards by which we are judged. The same standards condemn and disgrace the purest expressions of comradeship, if they cross the conventions or forget the decrees of custom. Free and truthful living is thus made a tragedy, to have overwhelming and revengeful retribution added unto it, while slave-living and falsehood may be rewarded with world-blessings and ecclesiastical canonization. I thoroughly believe in the vital and abiding union of one man with one woman as a true basis of the family life. But we shall have few such unions until we have a free family. Men and women must be economically free—free to use their powers to the fullest extent—free from the interference of legal and ecclesiastical force, and free to correct their mistakes, before we can have a family that is noble, built on unions that are good. Lives that are essentially one, co-operative in the love and truth that make oneness, need no law of state or church to bind or keep

them together. Upon such, the imposition of force is a destruction and a blasphemy. On the other hand, no law in the universe has a right to keep together those who are not vitally and essentially one. It is only in freedom that love can find its own, or truth blossom in the soul, or other than a slave-individuality unfold. It is the business of society to see to it that every child is surrounded by the full and free resources of a complete life; it is the business of society to see to its own fatherhood and motherhood of every child, as well as to hold every parent responsible; it is the business of society to know every child of woman as a free and legitimate child of God, and welcome it as an inheritor of the reverence and resources of the earth; but it is not the business of society to unite or separate men and women in the marriage relation. Love must be set free and liberty must be trusted, if noble and beautiful homes are to spring up to make the earth a garden of truth and gladness. The coercive family system is filling the earth with falsehood and hypocrisy, misery and soul-disintegration, and is perpetuating the morality of slaves and liars. In times past, men have thrown away their lives in protest against what seemed to them tyranny and wrong. There is a new world coming whose way can be made ready only by those who will throw away their good names, and accept, perhaps, everlasting disgrace, as the price of their protest.

And if I willingly accept all the obloquy and retribution which church and society may visit upon me, in making a protest against a system that seems to me destructive to all true morality, and to the very citadel of the soul's integrity, then my protest has earned its right to be heard.

It seems useless and hopeless to speak to religious or moral custodians about the agony of the soul for self-revelation; about the increasing and intensifying struggle of man to outwardly express what he inwardly is. Our morality is so altogether based on appearances, on calculated action, and has so little to do with truth or reality, that the spectacle of a man trying to be simply honest with the world, in order to be honest with his soul, causes him to be taken for either a criminal or a madman. Under our social system, no one says what he really thinks, or lives out what he really is. Our sayings and doings, or the things we do not and say not, are guided by the desire to be respectable, to be approved; hence action and thought are alike dishonest, and without freedom or beauty. Our religion and conduct, our customs and good names, our international diplomacies and business successes, deal with chances and appearances; they are a matter of the dice, and not of the soul. Civilization, with its network of falsehood and suspicion, of retribution and revenge, is a sort of world-conspiracy against the soul's integrity and against individuality. Yet the right of

a single soul to fully and freely express itself, to live out and show forth all the truth about itself, so that it need have within itself no hid thing, but be naked before the universe and not be ashamed, is infinitely more important than the whole fabric of civilization. The travail of the soul to become honest, the struggle of man to come to himself, is far more vital and revolutionary, more menacing to what we call civilization, than any questioning of the marriage system, or the questioning of any institution. You may be sure that when the son of man rises out of the common life, there will not be left a shred of any kind of institutional bond, and there will be no sentinels on the walls of the soul's possibilities.

All that has come upon me, in this for which you condemn me, springs from an effort to be the truth, to make my life appear what it is, even though that which is light to me be black darkness to the world. I cannot speak what I seem to see as truth, without living out all the truth about myself, even though the living of truth destroy my opportunity to speak. If in trying to be truthful to the world, I have lost all means of serving it, then let it be so. The life which you condemn me for not living was a lie. Yet I fruitlessly tried to convert it into truth, in order to be moral and self-denying according to the standards of religion and private ownership. The life I now live is the truth, though these same standards condemn me for living it. I will accept obloquy and destruction from the world and not complain, nor defend myself, nor ask to have any cup of punishment pass from me; but I will not live a lie—not to win or keep the favor of gods or men. The anguish and cost of reaching this point God knows; but I have reached it—or rather been precipitated upon it; and it is this that brings me under your judgment and the world's condemnation. It seems useless and hopeless to say it, but the crisis which brings me under your judgment springs from a moral agony to be true to what I take to be truth. I may be mistaken, or stupid, or mad, or anything you like, but I have acted from the highest right I know, and from the deepest sense of truth and honor I have. Of the monstrous things charged against me, in this wild flood of devastating gossip, I know myself to be guiltless; my soul is white from all of that. And, in the long run, that is enough —enough that a man be conscious of the rectitude of his own soul. In the reach of the centuries, it does not matter what the world thinks a man is; what a man actually is—what he knows himself to be—is all that matters. Sometime and somewhere, if the universe be sincere or rational, the truth will care for its own. And a work that can be overthrown because a man tries to find his way through the dark by the light of such truth as is in him, because he seeks some freer and directer path through life's awful tangle—such a work is not worth pre-

serving; while no good or worthful or lasting work can be overthrown with the overthrow of a man.

Into the public discussion of the action you are judging has come the name of another than myself—that of Miss Rand; and I suppose your judgment, at least in the public mind, will be upon her as well as upon myself. If there were anything I could give or suffer to have this not so, I would; but it is so, and I must meet it truthfully, with you and the world. It is said and assumed that the separation in question was obtained in order that a marriage between Miss Rand and myself might be consummated. So far as I am concerned, and so far as the mere matter of marriage is concerned, that is not true, for the causes that led to this crisis existed long before I knew Miss Rand. On the other hand, it is true that the comradeship between Miss Rand and myself entered into this crisis, and that whenever and wherever she will permit me to announce her to the world as my wife, whether it be to-morrow or next week or years hence, whether it be before your council meet or after, I shall do so. For years she has lived a life of selfless devotion to all that is good, as well as to every work and obligation of my life, giving everything and asking nothing. So true is this, on the mere economic side, that instead of the reputed wealth of public prints, she would come to me practically without money, her inheritance from her father pledged away for her lifetime, and she dependent upon her mother for bread. Again, the world has ruthlessly taken away her good name—the good name of one as innocent as the babe born last night—and this has been done by that part of the world where you of this council live, upon whose college campus she has left a part of her inheritance and seven years of beautiful service. Yet not because of any or all of this would I take this step; but because, when publicly placed in a position where I must either affirm or deny the unity of my life with hers, or else evade the interrogation, I can be truthful to the world in no other way than by establishing the fact of this unity. After this storm of savage and senseless wrong has broken upon her, after the world has taken everything it values from her, after all she has given and lost, after she has been the source and inspirer of so much of such work as I have done, after I have lived for so many years because she has lived also, after she has dedicated my life to the socialist cause of freedom, for me to leave her to face the world alone, or to wait an hour after she would permit me to announce her to men as my wife, would be for me to commit spiritual suicide, and to try to deceive the world in order to win for myself some place or work in it, or some fragment of faith from it. If this confession of life is evil to you, and to all the world, then let it be evil; if to any one on the earth it is good, to that one let it be good. If free and truthful living be the final outcome of things, then the outcome will vindicate us.

But we ask for no vindication; we can expect none. If the chasm into which we have been swept together closes in about us, we shall not murmur, nor judge our judges, nor seek for mercy, nor ask any one to defend us or stand by us or with us. We face the fact that if we join our lives in this chasm, we condemn ourselves in the eyes of the world. We shall accept this condemnation with open eyes and deliberate purpose, willingly paying the uttermost farthing exacted, for the truth which the world cannot touch or take away, after it has done its worst. For we shall feel that we are standing for the liberty of countless millions of unborn souls when we stand for the truth of our own souls, and pay the fullest price of our own liberty. We should not want to involve a single friend or any cause in responsibility for us, but go our way and live such life as remains to us, anywhere the world may permit.

And now you may judge us. But let me say that I would rather be the worst that has been said about me, rather be worse than the severest denunciation has made me out to be, than to sit in one of your places as my judge, or in the place of those clergymen who have sought to destroy my good name without knowing anything of the causes or facts they were judging, or asking me as a brother if I had any explanation to give. If my good name is gone, and my small value to the world with it, I think the church has paid a dear price for this destruction, however worthy its motives. The spectacle of venerable and prominent leaders of the church competing with a vulture press in a hunt for irresponsible gossip, and for convicting and blasting appearances,—the eagerness of some of these influential clergymen and laymen to make the most and worst of the defenseless position of a man they have tracked and laid in wait for—their pitiless digging at the roots of the sacred sorrow and tragedy of a life, in order to get at its secret and prove thereby that its teachings are false and its deeds evil—all this is a revelation of the spirit and temper of the church that will not be lost on the working class, and that will not fail to disclose the immense and awful gulf between the spirit of Jesus and the church that claims His name.

You cannot know anything of the sources or causes of the crisis you are judging, for no one who knows will tell you, and you would not know if you were told. The depths of elemental immorality, of self-deceit and revenge, lie in our eagerness to judge one another, and to force one another under the yoke of our judgments. When there is the faith of the Son of Man in the world, life will be left to make its own judgments. The only judgments we have a right to make upon one another is the free and truthful living of our own lives.

In conclusion let me say, out of justice to you as to myself, that I shall not misrepresent your action, nor put it on other than your own grounds. I shall not represent you as dismissing me for socialism or heresy, or for my attacks on the church. I have nowhere and at no time used language indicating this, and every such word attributed to me has been newspaper forgery. I am dismissed from the church and its ministry for what you consider to be conduct unbecoming a minister and a gentleman. And your view of the life I have lived, with such service as I have tried to render, only seems to you to confirm your judgment, to which must be added the voluntary testimony of this letter. So I shall accept my dismissal in the terms in which you give it, and I shall not try to evade the consequences of your decision. I shall not again speak as a minister of the church, nor seek its fellowship, nor act as its representative, nor use its language. If anything I may hereafter do or say shall be of service to any one or to any cause, it shall be done or said with the clear understanding that the church is free from any responsibility for such service, and that I am disowned by the church because of its judgment upon my life and character.

Pardon me for writing so long. I meant to write only a brief note when I began, but the desire to fully express myself to you has made me write on.

With only fellowship in my heart for you all, I remain,

Faithfully yours,

George D. Herron.

THE TRADE UNIONIST

He climbs through union, lockout, strike,
Through starving home, and bloody death,
To power slow growing masterful, —
To life instinct with brotherhood,—
To vital solidarity.
And soon in Hall of State he'll stand,
Class conscious but magnanimous,
To legislate his blood-bought Truth,—
The wrong of one is wrong of all.

Oakland, Cal., May, 1901. *Frederick Irons Bamford.*

Socialism in Denmark

AT the present writing it is just thirty years since the Social Democratic party was founded in Denmark. The Paris Commune kindled the fire. Its ideas were in the air and discussed everywhere. A young official in the postal service, Louis Pio, was influenced by them and gave them expression in a pamphlet, "Socialistic Leaflet," which appeared in May 1871 and aroused the greatest attention among workingmen. In July the first number of the weekly paper "The Socialist" appeared. This still continues as a daily under the name "Social Democrat," and is the leading organ of the Social Democracy in Denmark. In the fall a section of the "International" was established which speedily enlarged its membership. The ice was broken for the new movement, and it is from this starting point that the Social Democracy in Denmark has grown gradually to its present strong position.

Socialism has developed in Denmark side by side with capitalism. In the beginning of the 70's, when the socialist movement started, the capitalistic method of production was still comparatively little developed. Guilds which had bound the trades to half-medieval methods were just abolished. Industry, organized on a large scale, was just beginning. Denmark was quite overwhelmingly an agricultural country. In the cultivation of the land small holdings prevailed. Ordinarily the farmers cultivated their land with the assistance of their family, without the employment of any outside help excepting one or two hired men. Production was predominatingly a production for the home market. Export production played only a small part. Pre-capitalistic conditions were still strongly represented everywhere in Danish society.

But within the thirty years that have since elapsed the development has gone on with remarkable rapidity. Capitalism has everywhere made itself the determining factor. The city population has greatly increased. In 1870 only 15 per cent of the population lived in the larger towns that had a population over 10,000; in 1880, 18 per cent; in 1890, 24 per cent, and in 1901, 30 per cent. In these four enumerations the actual country population amounted to about 75 per cent, 71 per cent, 66 per cent and 60 per cent. Industry on a large scale has developed rapidly in the cities as well as in the country. In 1897, 44 per cent of the industrial population was occupied in industries employing twenty-one or more workers; 19 per cent in industries with at least 101 workers; and everything indicates

that since this there has been further development towards capitalistic production on a large scale. The small industries that still remain are for the most part really proletarized, partly by being reduced to the most miserable conditions and partly by being dependent upon the large enterprises. In the country the development is not less evident. Agriculture has been transformed into an export industry, supplying the English market with butter and pork. The farmer is absolutely dependent upon the condition of the world's market. The mortgage indebtedness which really robs him of his property is increasing enormously. At the same time there has grown up a very large agricultural working class. The small land-owners who own less than one areal—about six acres—making, as a rule, a small potato field and garden—and who must therefore live principally upon what they earn working for the larger farmers, increased from 1873 to 1895 by 30 per cent. The balance of the agricultural population increased only 1 per cent.

Capitalism has thus created a numerous proletariat in Denmark. But socialism has followed close upon its heels, driving its propaganda into the midst of the proletarian masses, uniting them to resist and organizing them around its standards.

The socialist movement in the beginning of the 70's had all the fortunate and unfortunate qualities of a young party movement. There was a certain vigor, a certain poetic susceptibility about the young Social Democratic party, but it lacked to a marked degree solidity and organic growth and was greatly weakened by a hero-worshipping devotion to its leaders, particularly Pio. How frail the party was in spite of its apparently large growth was shown in 1877 when Pio, bribed by the authorities, left the country and went to America. Within a few months the whole movement collapsed and nothing but ruins remained.

In the end of the 70's and the beginning of the 80's the movement started afresh—and this time not to collapse again. The crash of 1877 made it firmer and gave it a new character. It was built upon a broader and more democratic foundation. There was no longer any talk about devotion to leaders. It became a workingmen's movement—a truly Social Democratic workingmen's movement. The leaders, or, more correctly speaking, the men whom they place their confidence in, are practically all from the working classes. Of the present Social Democratic members of Folkethinget (the second chamber of the Rigsdag) one is an academician, one a public school teacher and the remaining twelve are workingmen. But the movement is not therefore of any narrower character, like an exclusive, petty tradesmen's, workingmen's movement. The trades unions and political sides of the movement have been firmly knit together. The struggle against capitalistic principles has been

the center of the movement. And socializing the means of production has been the goal towards which by different ways we have been aiming.

In 1878 the political and trades union organizations became separated. The former united into a central organization, "the Social Democratic Alliance," while the latter remained isolated. The separation was a matter of policy and it is a division of work that has proven practical. The trades unions have shown themselves since that time to be the best schools for socialism—the centers through which socialist ideas constantly penetrate deeper and deeper into the working population. The trades unions allow their members absolute freedom in their political affiliations, but it is a matter of fact that only a constantly decreasing number are members of any other party than the Social Democratic. The associations between the political and trades union organizations has now become official. When the trades unions in Copenhagen in 1886 formed a joint organization, it was decided that two out of the seven directors should be chosen from the "Social Democratic Alliance." Since the trades unions of the whole country in 1898 entered into a central organization (The Co-operative Trades Union) the Social Democratic Alliance choose from that membership some of their directors and vice versa. The trades unions are part owners of the party press. In case of an election they are as a rule active supporters of the Social Democratic candidate.

The few large struggles that the trades unions have had with the capitalists have also had a strong and conspicuous political coloring. There was a lockout of smiths and machinists in 1885 just at the time when the workingmen's movement was beginning to get new life again and the Social Democratic vote was beginning to count in elections. The result was not decisive in either case, but it did not succeed in stopping the growth of Social Democracy. Even more important was the great lockout in 1899 that involved about 40,000 workers, lasted for four months, and on the capitalists' side was conducted with the greatest brutality. The employers' motive in this case was evidently not only to break up the trades unions but also to cripple the regular Social Democratic workingmen's movement. The opposition has also been unsuccessful whenever it has tried to start "non-political workingmen's associations," "Christian trades unions," etc., by which means it has tried to separate the trades unions from the Social Democracy.

The growth of the trades unions during the last ten years has been remarkably large. In 1893 the number of organized workers was estimated at 35,000; in the summer of 1896 at 42,000; in the fall of 1899 at 75,000; in January 1900 it reached 96,295. More than three-fourths of all the men in industrial

pursuits and more than one-fifth of all the women were at that time members of a trades union. Even if these figures are compared with the corresponding figures in that promised land of trades unionism—England—Denmark is still far ahead.

Along with this numerical increase the trades unions have developed new strength and growth. The original independent unions have united for mutual support both in the local organizations of every trade and in the national organization. In the beginning of 1898 they united into a central organization embracing about 85 per cent of all trades unionists. Slowly and organically this great structure has risen. That it stands firm is best shown by the result of the lockout in 1899.

The direct results of the trades union movement are: An increase of wages and a shortening of the working day. In 1872 the average pay per hour was 4.35 cents; in 1899 it had risen to 9.54 cents. In 1872 the working day averaged 11.3 hours; in 1899 it had been reduced to 10.1 hours.

The great growth of trades unionism is an expression and measure of the extent to which class consciousness has developed among the Danish working classes. Side by side with the trades union movement and in close co-operation with it the Social Democratic party movement has grown.

There has been an endless amount of public speaking, but the daily press has been the great propagandist of the cause. The daily paper "The Social Democrat," which is now in its thirtieth year, has grown from an edition of from 2,000 to 3,000 copies in 1880 to 13,000 in 1884, 20,000 in 1885, 25,000 in 1894, 30,000 in 1896, 40,000 in 1899, 42,000 to 43,000 in 1901. It is a large-sized sheet and is published six times a week. It is the most extensively circulated paper in Denmark. All its surplus is used for party purposes. When a strong party movement grows up in any locality, a local paper is started with funds from "The Social Democrat." The Social Democratic provincial papers have at least 30,000 subscribers. The Social Democratic daily press, splendidly conducted as it is, has exercised a revolutionary influence that cannot be too highly estimated. It has always entered the lists for all progress of a social and political nature. It has with keenness and ability laid bare a whole series of the offences of the ruling class and has by its daily activity given support to the socialist ideal.

The growth of the Social Democratic party movement can be seen by the vote for Folkethinget (the second chamber of the Rigsdag). The number of votes received by the Social Democratic candidates was as follows:

1872— 268	1890—17,000
1876—1,000	1892—20,000
5-24—1881—1,300	1895—25,000
7-27—1881—1,700	1898—32,000
1884—6,800	1901—43,000
1887—8,400	

Thus there was a gain from 1890 to '92 of 3,000; from 1892 to '95 of 5,000; 1895 to '98 of 7,000; from 1898 to 1901 of 11,000. For the first time in 1894 two Social Democrats were elected to Folkethinget. In 1901, however, fourteen were elected (Folkethinget has 114 in all). Undoubtedly at the next election still more will be elected. In many places the vote is very close. Not least gratifying is the increase in the country vote. The class consciousness of the agricultural laborers and the small farmers has been aroused and they are coming over to Social Democracy. Formerly the voting was public and there was much coercion on the part of property owners and large land owners. But the secret ballot, which was used for the first time this year, makes it finally possible for the agricultural laborers to vote according to their convictions.

Still the vote by no means shows the actual strength of the party. On account of peculiar political conditions and election arrangements, the Social Democratic and Radical candidates have often stood for elections at the same time in places where the election of a reactionary candidate seemed impossible. In 1898 the number of votes of the Social Democrats was counted in only twenty-three places and in 1901 in only thirty. A count at the same time in all the 114 districts would show a much larger number of party members. How great the increase has been is evident from the seventeen districts where the votes were counted both in 1895 and 1898, and where the number rose from 19,603 to 25,537, or 30 per cent. In the nineteen districts where the votes were counted both in 1898 and 1901 the number rose from 24,460 to 29,867—22 per cent.

The direct results of the Social Democracy's parliamentary work are of various kinds. For example the social legislation, which was begun partly upon the initiative of the Social Democrats and with their active assistance, or at any rate as a direct result of the demand which the Social Democratic workers' party created. A factory law raising the age below which children cannot work in factories from ten to twelve years has been passed, also certain regulations about the maximum working time for workers under eighteen years. An accident law was passed compelling the employers to pay damages for accidents occurring in the course of work. The schools have been improved. More humane arrangements have been made

in providing for the aged. Better provisions for the official class have been introduced. All these things have been secured as conquests made by Social Democracy. Every such victory has made the party's position more secure. Many new demands made by the party are now at our doors and will evidently be facts in the near future, such as state aid for those out of work and public sanitariums for consumptives. For similar social progress the Social Democrats have worked with success where they are strongly represented in the municipal governments, as is the case in Copenhagen and the other large cities.

Not less remarkable has been the position of the Social Democracy in general politics. The political struggle for many years has been a struggle for or against the Folkethinget parliamentarism. Over against the reactionary party, which in spite of the opposition of the overwhelming majority of the population has occupied all ministerial offices, which for nine consecutive years (1884-'95) adopted and carried out a positively revolutionary policy, with budgets that were not approved by the Rigsdag, which has encouraged militarism and highhandedly fortified the capital, which has opposed all popular progress and social reform, which has made itself contemptible by its corrupting brutality—over against this reaction which only by its lack of ability differs from the reactionaries in the most barbaric countries, the Social Democrats have fought hand in hand with bourgeoise democracy, academic liberalism and peasant radicalism. The result of this co-operation is the almost complete disappearance of the reaction. Only eight reactionaries were elected this year to Folkethinget, and of those only five are really supporters of the present ministry. A new and radical ministry may be expected in the very near future. However remote it may be from Social Democracy it will at any rate be an acknowledgment of the common democratic demand that the majority of the people should determine who are to be the leaders of their government. The Social Democratic party will then stand as the strongest opposition party and its growth will surely be much more rapid than heretofore.

This active participation in political affairs was forced by circumstances. The overthrow of the reaction means preparing the way for the Social Democratic party's victory. From this participation the party lost none of its revolutionary power. By its political actions it has helped on the class struggle which has for its aim the emancipation of the proletariat. It has not forgotten its historic mission in opportunist politics. It is as far as possible from having become a bourgeoise social reform party. By its participation in the country's politics—

always on the side of the Left—it has on the contrary gained strength and firmness and preserved a remarkable vigor.

Social Democracy in Denmark stands altogether on Marxian grounds. In its ideas and theoretical construction it is closely related to the German. Factionalism it has been spared almost entirely. A branch of ultra anti-parliamentarians started up in 1890 within the party, but it has disappeared, not even leaving a trace. A sporadic effort to form an anarchist party in Denmark fell absolutely flat. An effort on the part of some "Christian Socialists" to sidetrack the Social Democratic workingmen's movement was absolutely without result. All attacks and all disturbing forces have bounded back.

What is most peculiar to the Danish Social Democracy is its organic character and the organic development which has carried it forward. Continually it has known how to find the place circumstances demanded. The various aspects of the class struggle have been melted together into one solid and unbreakable whole. Its progress has been even and sure. Every step has had solid ground under its feet. Even the most bitter opponents now declare publicly that it is apparently hopeless to dam up the socialist wave in Denmark.

(*Translated by Amanda Johnson.*) *Dr. Gustav Bang.*

HOMESICK

I am homesick,—
Homesick for the home that I never have seen,—
For the land where I shall look horizontally into the eyes of my fellows,—
The land where men rise only to lift,—
The land where equality leaves men free to differ as they will,—
The land where freedom is breathed in with the air and courses in the blood,—
Where there is nothing over a man between him and the sky,—
Where the obligations of love are sought for as prizes and where they vary with the moon.
That land is my true country.
I am here by some sad cosmic mistake,—and I am homesick.

Rhinebeck, N. Y. *Ernest Crosby,*
Author of Plain Talk in Psalm and Parable.

The Unity Convention at Indianapolis

(A SYMPOSIUM)

THE watchword of this convention should be, Get together and get to work. As related to getting together there is the platform and the organization to be considered. These attended to, the most important work of the convention will be reached in devising and adopting a simple, easily understood and thoroughly workable plan of work, by which this organization and every man and woman in it, as well as its boys and girls, may be enlisted and enthused to go to work and keep to work pushing things and be able to do so without a break until this party shall capture the government and inaugurate the co-operative commonwealth.

AS TO THE PLATFORM.

The united socialists of the country made a good campaign last year on a long platform, and if a platform equally lengthy is to be kept before the people a quick and probably satisfactory disposal of the platform would be to make the present platform the declaration of the new party. But a short platform, short enough so it could be printed on the corner of an envelope, short enough so that a speaker could repeat it at the beginning, the middle and at the end of his address, short enough to go on the back of a membership application, short enough so that it could be printed on small cards and scattered everywhere, and plain enough so that it would be easy to understand and hard to misunderstand,—if any revision of the platform is to be made it should be made for the purpose of securing such brevity in order to make the platform itself more available for every-day use in pushing the party work.

If something more at length should seem desirable, a supplementary address could be added and all the advantages of both a short platform and of a more extended statement could in that way be secured.

AS TO ORGANIZATION.

No action should be taken by this convention on the subject of organization subject to any further referendum votes by the old organizations before the new organization is to go to work. All necessary referendums should be provided for within the new organization, but the new organization should go to work

the hour it is created, and whenever it has reported on credentials and elected its officers it should be understood to be in existence and ready for business.

The time is over-ripe for a new political force in American politics. The socialists can be this force if they will get together and get to work. But they must occupy the field and satisfy the demand for a new movement by engaging in such activity as will demonstrate their ability to occupy the field by actually occupying it.

As to the details of the organization, it should provide for a small national committee, say one member for each state organized and represented in the convention.

It should limit the duties of this national committee to the calling of national conventions and to the carrying on of the propaganda work in territory where there are no state organizations and to acting as a bureau of information in making dates for speakers, distributing literature, reporting the progress of the party's work, but should have no authority to act in any matters of local administration within the organized states, nor share in the propaganda work in any such state contrary to the wishes of the party within that state. Additional members would be admitted to this committee as additional states should be organized and elect their members of this national committee.

The national committee should elect a small executive committee, say five members, and there ought not to be more than one member to this committee from the same state.

All official proceedings intended for publication should be furnished to all the papers applying for the same, but neither the national committee nor its executive committee should publish or in any way be connected with any official organ.

The representatives of the various states to this convention should each name a member of this national committee, whose duty it should be to perform the duties of his office until he or his successor shall be elected by a referendum vote of the members of all the branches paying dues to the new party in his own state.

The endorsement of the national platform and the tender of dues to the national party by any comrade or branch shall determine his standing or the standing of the branch as a member of the party in any state. But with this condition that no branch nor any individual member shall be admitted or shall remain in good standing should the branch or member affiliate with or give support to any other political party.

All questions of dispute in the party management for the several states must be settled by the comrades in each state and by a referendum vote of all the members within the state.

Any small number of states, say five, should have the author-

ity at any time to nominate by referendum vote a successor for any member or officer of the national executive committee, and it should be the duty of the national executive committee to at once call for a referendum vote from all members paying dues to the national organization. The referendum vote should give the name of the officer or member whom it is proposed shall be displaced, and the name of the person proposed as his successor. The vote should be closed within thirty days, the result declared at once and the person elected become or remain an officer or member, at once, on the completion of the vote.

THE PLAN OF WORK.

There are two things which need most to be accomplished; they are the circulation of literature and bringing into the party organization the great company of unorganized socialists and others as fast as they shall be converted to the doctrines of the socialist party.

In order to accomplish large results in either of these lines, a great company of special workers must be found, their enthusiasm enlisted, their work encouraged and their achievements so reported that each month in the year, or at least each quarter, it would be possible to make definite reports of large gains in both particulars.

Certain items should be agreed upon as essential matters in the party work and then a system of weekly, monthly and quarterly reports provided, extending all the way from the local workers through the branch to the state and national organizations. And the summary of these reports showing the growth of the party and its increasing activity in the circulation of socialist literature and the extension of its organization should be kept constantly before the whole country.

THE REASON WHY.

Under such a plan of organization there could be no rings, no local control of national matters, no personal favoritism, no grounds for personal jealousy, but, on the contrary, whoever would be able to publish what the local workers would think to be the best paper may count on the widest circulation, and whoever is able to produce the best results as a worker for the party would be sure of the recognition and influence to which his activity and effectiveness in the work would naturally entitle him. All officers being subject to recall would seek to do the will of the whole body of the socialist voters and in all questions of doubt would seek to be guided by a direct referendum to all of the members of the party rather than by the personal influence or personal interests of any one.

Such a plan of work, with a continuous, systematic, house-to-house canvass for new subscribers for socialist papers and new members for the socialist party, will have the effect on the party's growth of a continuous election showing at all times a continuous increase of the party's vote. Nothing could equal such a program as a means of stimulating and extending the activity of all the socialists and so continuously enlarging the power of the socialist party.

Get together and get to work.

Walter Thomas Mills.

OF all the forms of organizations that exist to-day it would seem that the one that is founded upon widely known and accepted economic truths, and based upon the historical development of the past, should be the most stable and permanent, the one least subject to the changes and transmutations of transient public or personal opinion.

Only a partial or one-sided appreciation of the knowledge at our disposal, or a lack of application of the system to the life, may upset this perfectly logical reasoning. While the first of these reasons will bear searching analysis from those engaged in the cause of economic liberty and may be the subject of a future paper, the latter reason, namely, the lack of true socialistic conditions in the Socialist party administration, seems worthy of attention just now.

The condition forced upon us by the surrounding capitalistic regime need not to be considered here, nor is the statement that party exigencies in some cases are responsible for agencies that promote discord any excuse for their future existence. A continuance in the methods augers ill for future peace. Party exigencies or crises like boils have their genesis in a disordered state of the interior. The ruling or governing idea must be eliminated. In its place must come the idea of service, of administration.

We need a more thorough system of representation, a more complete control of the situation by the membership. Each state should be represented, not only by a majority representative, but where any minority is strong enough to stand the expense, it should also be represented. The state should control its members or delegation on the national committee, paying all personal expenses whenever it is deemed necessary for its member or members to attend. Annual or semi-annual meetings should be held at some regular time and place where a full delegation would be required. Special meetings might be called naming time and place of meeting, by a quorum of

states in the interests of particular sections of the country where other sections not interested need no representation.

The chief work of a national party committee is to unify party action; to promote party coherence. Outside of the general work of a national campaign, with which we are tolerably familiar, its chief function is to enter an unoccupied state and gather together the fragments of sympathetic nature and organize there a state committee to carry on the work. This is to promote party coherence. Another phase of the same work is to promote the tours of national speakers and propagandists and to furnish literature for use by the committee's agents. This concludes its legitimate work.

The national committee should not have the power to call a convention other than the national nominating convention for national candidates, nor to submit a referendum without directions from a convention or one initiated by a quorum of states. It should not arrogate to itself the powers of national conventions for discipline or declaration and interpretation of party faith or practice. It should not waste its energies in the publishing business or in keeping a roll of members or branches except in the course of its work in unorganized fields.

Besides the per capita dues collected through the state committees, which should not amount to more than 10 cents per quarter and might be less, the committee should be allowed to receive subscribtions from individuals for the propaganda fund.

There should be two salaried officials of the committee, not necessarily chosen members of the committee, but appointed by convention or by the committee if the convention does not act. The first should be chairman or organizer, the other the secretary. The work of the committee as outlined makes it absolutely necessary that both should be speakers of ability. We have many comrades fully capable of filling the first position, but the peculiar combination of ability required by the secretary makes the choice more difficult. There are very few men in our ranks who have the necessary ability at present. He should be a speaker conversant with traveling conditions and line of routes. He should be a money-getter, and book-keeper, able to conduct business in modern fashion. The secretaryship is the more important position and requires the very life of its unfortunate holder.

An adequate stated salary should be paid to both, part of which would certainly come back to the national treasury by fixing a price for their services as speakers, or by their skill in raising subscriptions and collections taken at meetings held by them, all of which should be accounted for. A monthly account of the finances should be transmitted to all party papers.

It is to be hoped that we shall not come to Indianapolis as factionists. Let us for once stop confounding principle with opinion. While we should always hold fast to principles of socialism, yet within those lines there should be freedom of mind, of expression, and of action. The numbness, inertness and immobility of a mind which has mastered some written creed and holds fast to it as to a life preserver in mid-ocean is awful. It has ceased to think, and lack of thought is fatal to life and action.

If there has come to humanity any lesson out of the past, it is that theories and personal opinions subside before actual realities, for actual situations usually present one predominant plan of action. Therefore it is foolish to found upon theories and opinions organic differences; despite them, if organically united, we will no doubt meet each development of the future together. Let us only allow for every possible divergence as legitimate and part of our already achieved socialistic inheritance.

What strange unreason that we, who have studied the past cycles by which man has developed and which foreshadows the coming of socialism, should tear passion to tatters over the presence or absence of a comrade in the French cabinet a year or two.

What disbelief in our accumulation of socialist experience is shown when we, who are sure that the development of capitalism in this country is hastening the inevitable revolt, are at swords point over the question as to whether the present trade unions are to be replaced by those of socialist proclivities, or that the present ones are to be converted to socialism.

That a division along these petty lines is inevitable by lack of true socialistic charity and breadth of view seems to cause an added vigor and bitterness, as if to hide the shame of it, for it does seem certain that if we allowed ourselves to cool down, the puerility would become apparent and the whole matter causing disturbance would be dropped.

With liberty of opinion and freedom of discussion in the party given free vent and voice by minority representation, good sound common sense will assert itself and the evil will die the sooner a natural death. Better, in that case, action that may prove wrong than inaction. Better a shrewd faith in an inevitable tendency eliminating the unfit by natural progress than highly-spiced billingsgate and antagonisms. Better the good-humored "We shall see" than the epithets "Traitor, fakir."

"Greater love hath no man than this, that he will lay down his life for his friends." Nowhere in the world to-day, and I read the annals of missionary and scientific self-sacrifice for humanity's sake, do we see such absolute giving up of self, such

a heroic determination to die if need be for our heaven on earth, than in the socialist ranks; but our sublime indifference to a possible death or other great evil has not as yet extended to little things, has not as yet caused us to adopt that part of the socialist life that is possible here now. But I feel that it is coming.

Newark, N. J. *G. H. Strobell.*

The following is the report of the committee of the Chicago convention unanimously recommended to the consideration of the unity convention. This report embodies Comrade Strobell's plan:

THE NEW JERSEY PLAN FOR NATIONAL ORGANIZATION.

We, the Social Democratic Party, in convention assembled, in order to secure harmonious and united effort among the socialists of the United States, submit plans to all national socialist organizations, independent socialist state organizations, and unaffiliated socialist bodies.

First—That the respective socialist organizations elect a national committee, said national committee to consist of one member from each state and territory, except as hereinafter provided.

Second—Where in any given state there shall be two or more independent socialist parties, they shall be entitled to one member each upon said national committee.

Third—Each state shall have one vote.

Fourth—Where there is more than one representative from any given state, the one vote of that state shall be cast in a fractional part by each representative, based upon the number of members in the organization represented by him.

Fifth—Upon the election of such representatives, their names and addresses shall be forwarded to the secretary of this convention, and upon twenty or more states complying herewith, a meeting of the said national committee shall be called at such time and place as the committee may determine.

Sixth—The said socialist parties so represented shall cease to exist as independent national organizations, and become merged into this organization, representing the socialist Social Democratic movement in the United States.

Seventh—Complete state autonomy is hereby guaranteed.

The duties of the national committee shall be to call national conventions and fix basis of representatives; to maintain national headquarters, exercise general supervision over the national movement and conduct a general propaganda. The expense of national headquarters to be met by per capita tax of 25 cents per year from each member of the organization represented. The term of office of the members of the national committee to be determined, and the expense incurred by them in attending meetings of the national committee to be met by their constituents in the state represented. Special meetings of the committee may be held upon a call of five states, in which the place of meeting shall be named. A quorum to consist of states represented, not members present. This call is issued to all organizations who definitely subscribe to Social Democratic principles.

MY impression is that the coming Unity Convention at Indianapolis, in which both factions of the Social Democratic party and various state and independent branches will participate, will mark a distinct epoch in the history of the socialist movement of America. The past year has been one of experience none too pleasant to desire a repetition, and it is hardly probable that any person will be bold enough to attempt to thwart complete and final organic unity on July 29.

However, the mistakes that have been made should not afford any one reasons for unduly criticizing some one else, and encourage the party of the first part to pose as a paragon of virtue; but, on the contrary, every delegate should come to the convention with the requisite amount of charity in his heart for his neighbor and imbued with the one motive of tolerantly and enthusiastically laboring for the solidifying and upbuilding of the movement that is dear to us all.

No doubt some important questions will come up for consideration, among them the permanent selection of a party name and choosing of headquarters satisfactory to all sections of the country. There are good arguments for and against changing the present party name, with which we are all familiar, and I am satisfied that after a full, fair and calm discussion, the country will accept the decision of the convention on this proposition.

Regarding the seat of the national committee, it is my impression, since there seems to be some feeling of a sectional nature, which ought not to be, a compromise ought to be made. The city in which the headquarters are located could easily be empowered by the convention or the national committee to select a resident committee, with limited powers, and the same to be controlled by the national committee. Expense must be kept in mind when considering this question, and also the fact that the national secretary transacts much of the party's business and is given considerable discretionary power.

The method of organization ought to be agreed upon with little if any friction. I cannot see how the present plan of the Springfield faction could be bettered. Still, if any delegate has any improvements to suggest they will no doubt receive a hearing. One thing is certain—a dues-paying membership is absolutely necessary. Depending upon donations alone won't run a campaign smoothly.

Cut out the "immediate demands." The S. D. P. is not a "reform" party. Popularizing palliatives at the expense of principles brings water to the mills of the bourgeoise parties. Here, in Ohio, we have found years of agitation hatch out "me too" socialists of the Jones and Johnson stripe, and even Mark Hanna's sub-boss, Secretary Dick, informs us that the g. o. p. will declare for nationalization of telegraphs, telephones, etc., in 1904.

Official organs—nit. All socialist papers that champion our principles and party look alike to me.

Max S. Hayes.

FIRST and foremost the national convention should forever rid the socialist movement of red tape—national ex-boards. They are undemocratic, a source of factional strife, a huge waste of money and time, and contrary to the spirit and custom of American politics. Charters and constitutions should likewise go; both are the product of boys, not men. What we need is a broad, tolerant, sensible and human socialist movement. A national committee of one or more members from each organized state will do. This committee could fix dates for a national convention every four years, take charge of the national campaign in presidential elections and act as a connection between the states.

The state organizations will conduct the propaganda more economically and with more intelligence and success and vastly more harmony than any N. E. B. has ever done or ever will do.

Having progressed so far the convention should learn that the wage-working class is only a minority of the voters, and, too, that they are concentrated in a dozen states; that they will not in fifty years have the political power to elect a president.

The convention should get down out of the clouds and adopt a true scientific platform which shall appeal to the most intelligent and the most powerful class politically—the farmers—as well as to the wage-workers. And, too, if we can get rid of a large surplus amount of class-hatred, rank partisanship, abusiveness, we will have done vastly more than any convention has yet accomplished.

F. G. R. Gordon.

Socialism and the Capitalist Press

THE story is told of the manner in which an amateur musician, in the strenuous and unconventional West, was protected from exasperated worshipers by the sign on a church organ: "Don't shoot the organist. He's doing the best he knows how." With possible propriety the same degree of tolerance might be requested from justly exasperated socialists for the benefit of some of the editors and other writers for the capitalist newspapers. An extensive acquaintance with newspaper men constrains me to believe that the majority are honorably disposed men. Few, however, are of that scientific bent of mind which leads men to fearlessly follow a new line of reasoning and promulgate a conclusion regardless of consequences. For this reason, and others which will become apparent further on, it is rare that an editor ever becomes known for his championship of any new theory in art, science or religion. The majority of newspaper men are the veriest intellectual chameleons who accommodate their mental processes and conclusions to the color of their environment with a facility quite often characterized by a word indicating a greater degree of turpitude than the term "adaptability." As an instance of this chameleon-like quality it may be observed that the newspaper man employed to keep up with the news of "business interests" will be found writing from the "business interests" standpoint. To get news he goes to the bankers, to the manufacturers, to the investers and to the other people included in the term "business interests" and by absorption, probably, he becomes soaked with "business interests," i. e., capitalist ideas. To him a day of big bank clearings is the occasion for an editorial paean, the rate of interest a subject for prayerful consideration, an extensive order for goods a sign of "our" unprecedented prosperity, and the security market the *sanctum sanctorum* of the temple of industry. To him there is no labor problem except the capitalist labor problem—how to buy labor power at the cheapest possible price.

An appreciation by socialists of this influence of environment on the newspaper man may soften the wrath of the revolutionaries and restrain them from condignly punishing the journalist who, like the organist, is "doing the best he knows how." Just follow a reporter on a strike "assignment" before condemning him for his capitalistically colored report as it appears in the paper. The reporter—he will probably be a young man—is sent out by his city editor to "do" a street railway strike. To get his news "straight" and "official" he goes to the office of the manager and introduces himself.

"Charmed to see you, Mr. Pencilpusher," says the affable manager, "pray come into my private office and have a chair. Do you smoke? Yes? Well, here's one I can recommend. About the strike? Oh, yes. I imagined you would be around and I drew up a little statement for you to save you the trouble."

Then our reporter is handed a neatly typewritten interview beginning: "Manager Goodman, on being approached by a reporter for The Patriot, was disinclined to discuss the matter, but said finally that the trouble was due to agitators, etc., etc." (The et ceteras stand for the usual managerial statements about the company not being willing to accept "dictation from employes," "men well treated" and "business won't stand higher wages.") When the reporter is bowed out smoking his perfecto and full of proud gratification at the distinguished consideration and courteous attention paid him, he heads for strike headquarters "to get both sides of the question." Imagine the contrast! Instead of being obsequiously ushered into a luxuriously appointed office and given a fragrant cigar, he probably is compelled to climb two or three flights of rickety stairs to see the strike leaders. The chances are that they are suspicious of the well-dressed stranger at first sight and when they learn he is a reporter, the distrust—based on previous press misrepresentation—increases. The young man conscientiously asks questions and likely gets sullen answers and then withdraws in relief. When he writes his "story," can we blame him for seeing the situation through the spectacles of the suave man who treated him like a prince, rather than from the viewpoint of the sullen strikers who didn't have any upholstered chair to offer him, no honeyed phrases to tickle his reportorial vanity, and no fat, fragrant perfecto to regale his connoisseur nicotine appetite? Consider that the reporter is young and devoted to the things of the flesh before condemning him.

As it is with the young reporter so is it with the other and older ones, the men entrusted with the work of gathering news from other fields. Consider the position of a Washington correspondent, for instance. The enterprising chronicler of events at the national capitol must have officials "on the staff" who, in return for his reference to them in terms of praise, are depended on to provide him with "tips" on official acts and the various sorts of information embraced in the term news. The Associated Press for this reason is always an administration partisan. Otherwise it would get no news beyond the mere routine. However, by "crooking the pregnant hinges of the knee" before the great men of the cabinet and at the heads of departments great benefits to the correspondents follow in the way of early and sometimes exclusive news of important dispatches and "official statements" about the progress of diplomatic negotiations.

In short the whole modern system of news gathering is based on the agreement, "You tickle me and I'll tickle you," entered into between official and reporter. The reporter who is not in position or disinclined to favor the official who has news to give out gets no news. This being true it is readily apparent that practically everything the newspapers print about current events must of necessity be influenced in tone by the source from which it comes. Of course there are some newspaper men who will promulgate, for a material consideration, certain information calculated to advance corrupt interests, but these men have no standing in the news-gathering fraternity—a fraternity, generally speaking, of happy-go-lucky, generous fellows who sail along writing of current events as gracefully as the swan on the bosom of a lake and as unconscious, as a critic said of Senator Jo Blackburn, of the depths beneath.

There is nothing admirable in the ignorance of the men of the press, to be sure, but it is natural. According to their lights they are fair in presenting the merits of any particular controversy. It never occurs to them that they have anything in common with the working class. Their environment is almost wholly capitalistic, and being great human chameleons their methods of thought—when they think—are capitalistic. Well paid, as a rule, they are enabled to live as the rich live. They are admitted to the rich man's club, invited to the rich man's home, given the rich man's daughter in marriage, sometimes, and are generally made to feel so much at home in plutocratic surroundings that it would be a marvel if they failed to invariably speak of capitalistic interests as "our" interests. The world for them is the little world in which they move and have their being, and the great world outside in which the "great unwashed" live and die like beasts is to them a world unknown except by report from their woman friends, who peer at the poor through lorgnettes, or from others who "go in" for charity or "sociology."

The ordinary editorial writer for American newspapers is so grossly ignorant of the great international working class movement—so entirely oblivious, even, of the struggles and the nebulous hopes and aims of the trade union movement in this country—that the editorial discussions of the conflicts between "labor and capital" would be amusing if they were not as pernicious as the consequences that follow when the fool who "didn't know it was loaded" gets hold of a gun. Even the most radical of the editorial writers who feel a sympathy for the working class base all their efforts to improve the workers' condition on the fatal hypothesis that "the interests of capital and labor are identical." Naturally, starting from this premise, they become involved in a labyrinth of sentimentality and Utopianism which should make the workingman, like the astute

politician, pray to be delivered from his fool friends. Particularly in the discussion of socialism does the ordinary honest editorial writer say fearful and wonderful things. As an instance a case may be cited of an editorial in one of the best-known of American daily newspapers. The writer of the editorial, personally known to me as a lovable and honorable man who has a considerable reputation for a highly developed logical faculty, wrote an editorial on "Socialist Slavery," developing the Herbert Spencer idea. A socialist, after much trouble, succeeded in having a reply printed. The editorial writer, in rebuttal, proceeded to demolish the luckless socialist who had employed the adjective "capitalistic" in describing the present method of production and distribution. Upon this the editorial writer seized and rolled it as a sweet morsel under his tongue as follows:

"The plants now existing will wear out, and must be replaced, otherwise production will be enormously reduced, and with this will come a reduction of each man's share, whether equal or unequal. If it be said that socialism will take from each man's product enough to replace the machinery, that is, to preserve the capital intact, THEN SOCIALISM ABDICATES AND BECOMES CAPITALISTIC!"

Such amazing ignorance, considering the source, seems impossible in this day of easily accessible information, but it is an old story how Babinet, the eminent authority in physics, as late as 1855, "proved" the impossibility of a trans-Atlantic cable; how the wisdom of one day is the folly of another.

As a rule the newspaper editorials on the subject of socialism may be attributed to ignorance rather than to deliberate misrepresentation, but occasionally a misrepresentation of the socialist position is due to conscious villainy. The power of editorial writers guilty of this infamy is unfortunately far reaching, for, recognizing the class struggle and the impregnability of the socialist position in relation thereto, they are better able to effectively misrepresent it. It is from such sources that the honest but ill-informed editors generally derive their arguments. I say "generally" for the reason that out of a thousand editorial writers for the capitalist press who discuss socialism one may possibly be found who has read a standard work on the subject and argues from opinions derived from original investigation. In the editorials of the daily newspaper press of the United States I believe there is little of this conscious misrepresentation, but a most sinister state of affairs is disclosed by a study of the foreign dispatches, especially those from France and Germany. In both countries officialdom is keenly alive to the ominous imminence of a proletarian victory and the Berlin and Paris correspondents who get their news from officialdom are pliant tools of the "authorities" of the two capitals. No opportunity

is lost to create the impression in the minds of the American newspaper readers that socialism in Europe, instead of representing all that is vital in democracy, is a long-haired, bomb-throwing ism. Recognizing the steady growth of socialism in this country the evident and in fact the only plan left, when deliberate slander fails, is to create dissensions in the rapidly increasing ranks of the socialists or hold up the glittering beauty of a monarchy against the theory of a democracy. As a result of this latter it is not hard to discover even in this country the evidences of a subtle growth of the opinion that democracy is a failure. In pursuance of the "divide and conquer" policy much is being made of the return of Bernstein to Berlin, as this Associated Press dispatch shows:

"Berlin, May 20.—Herr Eduard Bernstein, the well-known socialist writer, who recently returned to Germany after many years of banishment, the greater part of which he passed in London, to-day addressed the Social Science Society of the University of Berlin. Discussing scientific socialism he said that the principles of Karl Marx were not convincing. The socialist creed, he declared, had hitherto rested upon half truths, truths partly contradicting science, and being therefore Utopian. He denied that there could be scientific socialism. His address attracts much attention and, as Herr Bernstein is an acknowledged leader in the socialist ranks, *his utterances will probably cause a split in the Social Democratic party.*"

The Associated Press does not waste cable tolls in telegraphing foreign matter of purely local interest to the United States and it is clear that the Bernstein revival is intended to sow seeds of discord not alone among the socialists of Germany but of the United States as well.

This anti-socialist tone in the foreign dispatches may naturally be expected to characterize more and more the press utterances in the United States as the evidences of the socialist movement's growth become more apparent. Bearing in mind the intimate relation between newsgatherer and official and the fact that the official is a part of that state, which is the instrument of the capitalist class, it is not difficult to see how the alarm of the capitalists will be communicated to the press. Socialists cannot too soon realize that they will not receive any aid from the press as it exists at present, and this fact cannot be too strongly emphasized. In some socialist quarters there has been a disposition to put some store by "socialistic" utterances in certain papers, but it is worse than folly to expect any permanent and unequivocal championship of the working class cause from this section of the press which entices the workers only to betray them. The newspapers are mere parasites of the capitalist order, strong as the capitalist order is strong and weak as that order is weak, and they may be depended on not

to assist in killing the goose which lays for them the golden egg. While editorial writers are allowed wide discretion in their discussions, the counting room idea of "a free press" is the idea that prevails when there is a conflict between counting room and editorial room. Let the counting room see the revenue decreasing as a result of editorial assaults on "business interests" and those assaults will cease instanter. If the editorial writers cannot harmonize their opinions with counting room opinions other editorial writers not so stiff necked will be found. The only hope of an adequate representation of the socialist movement in the field of journalism is the establishment of a socialist press, frankly revolutionary, giving daily the news of the working-class movement in all its phases, exposing the shams and strategems of the enemy, exchanging blow for blow and standing ever as the unpurchasable and unterrified champion of an Industrial Democracy, the Co-operative Commonwealth.

Charles Dobbs.

TYRANTS

It was all so simple in the old days, when people saw, or thought they saw, tyranny and oppression centered in one person, and in attacking and destroying that person were sure that they were saving mankind.

How easy it is to treat a boil just as a boil and to forget the corrupt blood that produced it, running into every nook and cranny of the body!

To-day, alas, the tyrant spreads like a vicious kind of nervous system throughout the entire frame of society.

I am part tyrant, part slave, as we all are in varying degree, and there seems to be no other alternative possible.

We are caught in the meshes of our own web.

We must disentangle the tyrant from us, and this new Gordian knot will not yield its secret to the sword.

We must thresh the chaff from the corn, and each grain has its separate outworn casing waiting to be winnowed away.

Alas, it is no simple rebellion on the old lines that calls for our adhesion and support;

It is rather a complicated labour of unraveling and extricating and liberating from the network of poisonous creepers of the ages, whose roots are in our own hearts.

Rhinebeck, N. Y. *Ernest Crosby,*
Author of Plain Talk in Psalm and Parable.

The Charity Girl

By Caroline H. Pemberton, Author of "Stephen the Black," "Your Little Brother James," Etc.

CHAPTER VIII.

WHEN Julian returned to the city he was inexorably determined to break away from the enchanting comradeship which he now saw was fatal to his peace of mind. But his resolution was soon modified by a subtle change in their relationship. Marian was beginning to look to him for advice and sympathy, the dependence of her attitude placing him in the position of intending to remove a support from a beloved object in a selfish desire to save himself future suffering. The brutality of this thought smote him deeply. It was not so much that Marian desired his companionship as that she seemed to stand in positive need of help that he alone could give. Her intense spiritual isolation was indicated by her silence concerning her married life, and by her averted looks when forced to mention him whose name she bore.

"My husband thinks differently," she would sometimes say with a tremor in her voice; and Julian knew then that he was touching the edge of a tragedy, the pages of which he was forbidden to read. But they both knew well that they were themselves the leading characters in the tragedy which was hastening day by day toward its sorrowful climax.

Autumn came, but the breath of summer still lingered. Julian was spending what would probably be his last evening in the garden of her country home, for it would soon be too cold to sit out of doors.

"Come, my shepherd, play me a merry tune," Marian had said as they seated themselves. Julian forced a gay tune from his flute, but stopped in the middle of it.

"It's not in this flute to be merry to-night. It must be the moonlight that affects its temper. It's ridiculous for an instrument to be so sensitive to light and sound, isn't it?"

It was one of their little affectations to ascribe variations of feeling to their instruments instead of to themselves—a hidden way of communicating the secrets of their own souls.

"Let me try it," said Marian, taking the flute in her hands. She began to blow through it, but succeeded in producing only a few discordant notes.

"Surely it is unhappy; speak out, you poor wooden thing! Oh, make it speak and tell its miseries!"

"That's just what ails it," replied Julian, taking it from her—"that it cannot speak out—and you force it to be merry when it is heavy hearted; its thoughts are too sad for speech often enough."

"But not for music—it is the language God has left us," Marian answered in a low voice as she picked up a guitar which she had bought for an out-of-door accompaniment, and began a song in a minor key. It swelled into a passionate appeal as her voice rose toward a clear, high note.

Julian had started to accompany her, but he soon stopped. He sat motionless during her singing with his head bent low. Whatever his thoughts were he did not intend to communicate them. He had made up his mind that a lifetime of anguish was before him, but at that moment duty seemed to be demanding a sacrifice greater than that of life itself.

When Marian stopped singing, her hands dropped to her side with the air of exhaustion that betokens a broken spirit.

"I am not like you—I cannot live down my own thoughts! Oh, my friend—Julian—are we placed in this world only to test our power of suffering? Is life to go on like this forever?"

The young man started to his feet at the sound of his Christian name from her lips; his emotion was so great that he could hardly speak.

"Don't—don't!" he stammered, his self-accusing spirit wringing the words from him in defiance of his longing to hear her say more.

"You think it wrong for me even to *think* these thoughts that are killing me? What would you have me do?"

She spoke not bitterly, but with an appealing mournfulness that went straight to his heart. Her white-robed figure drooped toward him as if it were too frail to brave alone the blows that fate had in store for her. His longing to comfort her became suddenly the overwhelming command of a duty unperformed—the duty that the strong owe to the weak; surely it transcends all earthly conventionalities!

"It grieves my very soul to see you suffer," he whispered, taking her hand. Tears were shining in his eyes; she saw them as she looked into his face.

"We must be brave—we must pray for strength to do what is right," he faltered, still holding her hand.

"How can I tell what is right? I am in darkness!" came from her lips in a quiver of pain, as if it were the cry of her soul. She moved a step forward and swayed as if about to fall. Julian caught her in his arms. He turned his face to the sky.

"Marian, there is a God in heaven—beloved—look up!" He hardly knew what he said.

The stars were shining down upon them with a peculiarly solemn light. Julian drew a long breath, and put the clinging

form gently from him, although her hand still remained within his. He began to speak with a strange, quiet eloquence.

"In the fulfillment of God's mysterious purpose, we have been brought together—like two children—living in paradise—thinking no evil, created to love one another, but condemned to live apart! Marian, our love according to the laws of man is a sin—but in the sight of God it is—it must be—a sanctification, or else why should He have put it into our hearts?"

"A sanctification?" she repeated softly.

"Yes, for are we not spirits? And is not love immortal? It will lift us above earthly temptation; surely it will give us patience to wait until our souls can come together—sometime—somewhere."

"When, Julian?"

"When the stars lose their light, dearest, for us—I suppose—when the morning of another world dawns."

"Then the light will have gone out of your eyes, too," she whispered.

"Never while you live," he answered, quietly. "I do not ask much, Marian; the earth seems small to me because you are on it and I share it with you. I ask only to see your face sometimes—to know that you are here."

"And you will be—where?" she asked dejectedly.

"What does it matter where? You know what is in my heart. I can see the future stretching out before us—my own life as sad and lonely as that star up there—the symbol of self-abnegation—but Oh, my God—why was it made like this?" He had begun with the ecstacy of a poet, but the grief and passion of the lover suddenly overcame him and he covered his face with his hands.

In a moment, however, Julian steadied himself and went on. The poet had surely triumphed. His young soul believed itself to be trampling temptation under foot. He spoke with rapture; he held a mystic ideal before her; their love was to be the very spirit of renunciation; only dimly was she able to perceive through it all, the suppressed passion of the man.

"Perhaps God will deal mercifully with us—pray to Him, Marian, to heal our pain," he concluded brokenly.

"I will," she answered faintly, and turned to clasp his hand as she withdrew into the deep recess of the low bay window.

"Is it to be good-bye—like this? Come nearer, Julian!" He stepped close to the window and knelt at her feet. She kissed him on the forehead and disappeared. The kiss seemed to seal up his happiness and his youth, and to dedicate him to a future of eternal loneliness and sorrow.

The exaltation of the moment vanished with the withdrawal of Marian. The night grew chilly; the stars began to fail in their inspiration. What nonsense had he been uttering in the

face of this tragedy that was breaking their hearts and wrecking their lives?

As he reached the station and waited for the train which was to bear him to the city, he found to his surprise that it was still early in the evening. The last two hours had compassed an eternity of feeling, but life was carrying forward its burden of monotonous detail with the same punctilious care of the minutes and seconds as before—as if it mattered, as if life could ever be measured by the sun-dial again! "Ah, not when the sun eternally sets upon the horizon of one's hopes—as it has set upon mine," thought Julian.

As the train drew up, a tall dark form issued from it and passed Julian swiftly on the platform. He caught a glimpse of the man's face. It was that of the moody stranger whom Marian had once described as her evil genius.

CHAPTER IX.

Julian spent the next three days in alternate moods of delirious happiness because he knew now that Marian loved him, and sickening depression over the ruin which this fact seemed to make of his life, his aspirations—his obligations to the moral law.

He was then astonished to receive a note from Gertrude Vaughn asking him to call upon her at her sister's home in the city, the house being open. The request was so urgent that Julian felt a vague alarm. In his haste to obey Gertrude's summons he swallowed only a mouthful of lunch and hurried up-town that he might find Gertrude at home shortly after the mid-day meal.

As he reached the steps, the door opened for Dr. Starling to pass out and enter his carriage, which stood by the curb-stone. Julian bowed without looking at him, but he was aware of a haggard, downcast face passing by, and some strange instinct told him in that brief second of the presence of mental suffering.

He did not wait long in the darkened parlor to which the summer outfit of linen covering gave a curiously unfamiliar look. The piano was closed and the music folios put away. The curtains had been taken down and the room was bare and cheerless.

Gertrude entered quickly. Her face was pale and showed traces of recent tears.

"I sent for you," she began hastily, omitting all formal greeting, "because you saw my sister Monday night and I wanted to ask you if—if she said anything about her plans—about what she was going to do."

Julian blushed deeply. The question seemed to refer to

sacredly cherished memories locked securely within his breast and which he felt must be as carefully guarded within Marian's.

"Your sister is surely able to inform you herself in regard to her plans," he answered coldly. "She did not mention them to me. Why do you question me about her? Is she ill?" His voice became suddenly sharp with anxiety.

"*Ill!*" repeated Gertrude, looking at him in amazement. "Don't you know what has happened—has no one told you? It is in the papers this morning!" She clasped her hands tightly across her eyes as if to shut out a terrible picture.

Julian crossed the floor and stood in front of her.

"Is she *dead?*" he asked quietly.

"Worse—far worse than dead!" Gertrude screamed. "Read this!" She put into his hands a scrap cut from a morning newspaper.

It was a cold-blooded statement of what appeared to be the most damnable calumny he had ever read in his life. In the language of the scandal-loving press, Mrs. Starling had left her husband's home on Tuesday morning to "elope with the son of a well-known millionaire." Her husband would undoubtedly begin proceedings for a divorce.

Julian sank into a chair. Of the brief interview that followed he retained afterwards only a confused recollection. Gertrude's reply to his passionate questions and denunciations was a rambling, incoherent lament over the wreck that her sister had made of both their lives.

They had been looking forward to a happy winter; there were to have been dinners and receptions for her benefit; "Victor" was to have given them a box at the opera, and a supper on the opening night—but now everything was in chaos. They could never appear together again in public, although Marian had written a letter (which she handed Julian to read) intimating that all the conventionalities had been observed in her flight; she was merely visiting a friend until the divorce should be obtained, and meanwhile "Victor" was calling upon her only in a formal way. She begged Gertrude to use her influence with her husband to secure the divorce speedily.

"As if I could influence him!" moaned Gertrude. "As if all the servants did not know that Victor had seen Marian Monday evening and that he met her the next morning at the station. As if all the world did not know every circumstance already!"

"And here I am," she sobbed, "left in her deserted husband's house with nowhere to go and nothing before me—absolutely nothing!"

Julian, staring distractedly at the limp figure in the arm-chair, listened with agonized attention. When would she begin

to clear up the mystery of that lying attack on the fair name of her sister?

What was she saying? Her selfish reproaches were the blackest accusations; she admitted everything that could condemn her sister's conduct. Julian in a frenzy demanded to know who "Victor" was.

He was the dark stranger whom Julian had passed on the platform of the station on Monday night, and whose "evil genius" had been shadowing Marian's path for many months.

In the eyes of the world it was a frightful picture of ruin, deception and callousness to duty. But Julian saw only that influences which he could not understand but which seemed allied to demoniacal possession had caught up the fair form of Marian and flung her into a whirlpool of evil. Had she then lost her reason? What was the nature of that "influence" which had done such terrible work? He was dazed as he recalled her words and actions on the fateful evening in the garden. It was impossible to reconcile them with what had happened since—nay, with what must have happened later that same evening.

Good God! Could he believe that Marian, after kissing him on the forehead, had received half an hour later another visitor at whose bidding she had made arrangements to forsake home and honor the following morning? It was impossible—yet it was true. He was unable to condemn; he sat stunned before the facts presented to him.

A maddening desire to escape from the sounds of Gertrude's thin, complaining murmur of talk seized him. He staggered to the door without looking at her, and fled from the house as from a tomb.

The September sunlight was very bright on the street, but it cast at his feet black shadows that looked like demons and vampires in his path. Before his eyes a beautiful world had been given over to the devil. Goodness and purity were words without sense; the powers of darkness had proven themselves victorious over the children of light; the fairest of the daughters of light had thrown herself to the lions in the amphitheatre of the social world!

(To be continued.)

SOCIALISM ABROAD

Professor E. Untermann

FRANCE.

Socialist unity, the aim of the Lyons congress, was wrecked on the "cas Millerand." The "Guesdistes" did not attend at all, and for the "Blanquists," who demanded the immediate resignation of Millerand—and, the main question was simply to bolt or not to bolt. And bolt they did, when the following resolution of Comrade Briand, amending the words "outside of the party" in the resolution of Comrade Delaporte, into "outside of the control of the party," was carried by 904 against 42 votes:

"Whereas the essential task of the congress consists in removing the obstacles that at present obstruct the unification of the revolutionary forces in France; whereas the ministry of a deputy who once belonged to the socialist fraction of the Chamber creates an ambiguity favorable to schisms in the movement; whereas the question of taking part in the government was decided for the past and the future, but not for the present;

Resolved, That Millerand, in accepting on his own responsibility and private initiative a position placing him outside of the control of the socialist party, could not engage this party in participating in the government, cannot consequently represent the party in the government, and has not done so at any time. Resolved, furthermore, that the attitude of the party and of the fraction in the Chamber against the ministry must be the same as against any other bourgeois ministry, i. e., exclusively dictated by the interests of the socialist proletariat."

After the exit of the bolting minority, Comrade Révelin's unity program, Comrade Miss Renaud's motion to insert the words "proletarians of both sexes" in the party program, and Comrade Renaudel's motion to charge the general committee with ascertaining under what conditions a party paper could be established, were unanimously adopted.

The immediate result of the congress is the formation of a separate "revolutionary" socialist fraction by 12 (including the Guesdists) of the 42 socialist deputies in the Chamber. Some of these revolutionaries, however, join the new fraction only "because it contains older friends" and with the understanding "that unity shall be the goal."

The spirit of the different fractions is reflected in their manifestos, published after the congress. The victorious majority regrets the action of the bolters and is "convinced that these factional schisms will not last." The Blanquists emphasize their intention to maintain an autonomous organization and to fight ministerialism. The Guesdists, "in waiting and preparing for unity," are willing to be represented in a committee for the purpose of bringing about an understanding comprising all groups endorsing the class struggle without compromising with bourgeois parties.

The strong influence of our comrades in spite of their inner dissensions is apparent from the wailing of the capitalist press. The "Figaro" warns the socialists that they have become "intolerable," because—they are driving capital out of the country. "Three billion francs ($579,000,000) have already been placed abroad," and the presidents of the national banks have appealed to the Cabinet for assistance in stopping this gloomy condition.

Unfortunately, the "Figaro" omits to mention the country where capital can be secure from interference by wicked socialists. Neither does he mention that of the working people, whose hard labor earned this enormous wealth for others to invest abroad, 2,228 men and 78 women were killed, 1,790 partially and 58 totally disabled in the performance of their duty during the short time from October 1 to December 31, 1900.

ITALY.

The working women are threatening the safety of sacred property in Italy. The strike of the farm hands, declared about the middle of May, has spread like wildfire among the women on the rice, corn, and hay fields, in the vineyards and on the embankments in the hunger districts around Bologna. Molinella is the storm center. Here the hunger rages most fiercely, and the strikers are determined upon war to the knife. According to the bourgeois press, the agitation assumes a "dangerous" character for property holders. The danger of the masses facing starvation gives these worthies much less concern.

The strikers give the following evidence of savage ferocity: the women of Romagna share their scanty food with their comrades in Molinella, where the small shopkeepers also side with the unemployed. Seven thousand surface laborers in Mantua refrain from striking in order to earn money for assisting their comrades. The small landowners in Rovigo mortgage their little lots for the same purpose. The co-operative in Budrio loaned 15,000 lire ($3,000) to the strikers.

Such vandalism demands the sharpest measures. The lower part of the province is practically under martial law. Carabinieri, policemen and soldiers are ready to exert their gentle and persuasive influence, when the hunger should produce too "dangerous" symptoms in the strikers.

In Rome, 4,000 masons are on strike and 70 shops are closed.

"Le Peuple" sees in the epidemic strikes of Italy an "awakening of the proletarian mind symptoms, not of a revolution by force of arms, but of a veritable revolution that begins in the spirit before taking form in deeds."

If we are correctly informed, this awakening is not confined to proletarian minds. King Victor Emanuel himself is reported as saying: "I have arrived at the conclusion that socialists would do good work for the country, if they were entrusted with the government."

SPAIN.

The inertia and indolence of the majority of the Spanish population resulting from ignorance and superstition are mainly to blame for the unsatisfactory result of the elections. "Few nations," says the

"Nueva Era," "have such democratic laws as Spain, and still we are an oppressed and uncultured nation ruled by arbitrary and tyrannical elements. . . . Fortunately the socialists do not lose their courage. . . . They have shown that, although slowly, they are continually gaining ground. . . . They know that in the end the day will be theirs."

Purely political questions are forced to the background and the social problem claims paramount attention. In all parts of the country the laborers work in harmony. Strikes are on throughout the land.

One thousand laborers are out in Carmona; the weavers in Andoain (Guipuzcoa), have struck for shorter hours; the bricklayers of Torre de San Miguel, Sesmero and Almendral (Bajadoz), the shoemakers in Zaragoza, and the day laborers in Tudela Veguin, have demanded higher wages; the cabinet makers, chairmakers, paperhangers and wood carvers of Valladolid resent the too oppressive regulations of the bosses; the sandal makers of Murcia, the carpenters of La Linea, the woodworkers of Medina del Campo, the tanners of Leon, the paperhangers of Bilboa, the soap makers in Lugo, the carpenters and bakers of Gibraltar want the eight hour day.

Strikes were won by the longshoremen in Barcelona; the marble cutters and carriage builders of Santander, the candle makers in Zargüeta, the shoemakers in La Coruña, the leatherbag makers in Calatayud, the silkmakers in Murcia, the iron workers in Avilés, the gardeners in Sevilla, the miners in El Pedroso, the stone carvers in San Sebastian and the employees of the naval stores in El Ferrol.

Trade unions in Sevilla struck in sympathy with their comrades in Barcelona; the field laborers in Xeres stopped work for the same reason. In Coruña, the trade unions laid off for a day in order to demonstrate in favor of the Barcelonians. Riots and demonstrations were suppressed by force of arms with fatal results for many. After the Barcelonians had won their strike, celebration meetings were held in Madrid, Zaragoza and Valencia. In Coruña the laborers honored their murdered comrades by decorating their balconies and doors with black crape bearing the inscription, "To Yesterday's Martyrs!"

The solidarity of the masses took the authorities by surprise. The military governor of Catalonia declared that he was unable to check the strikers in spite of all the troops in the province. The strikes in the marine shops of Cadiz and Caraca became so grave that the captain general demanded credit from the government for the employment of all who were willing to work. Non-compliance of the government means closing of the shops.

RUSSIA.

Grave labor troubles have taken place in several parts of the empire. The government suppressed all information and issued a very unsatisfactory report, which is absolutely incorrect according to private information.

A bloody revolt occurred in the marine arsenal at Oubkoff. Laborers in the iron works of Alexandria, near St. Petersburg, struck and fought, with fatal results, the soldiers sent to pacify them. Strikers attempted to destroy the factory of Lesner and had a fatal collision with the gensd'armes. Six government spies were killed before the police could come to their assistance. The starved population in southern Russia is suffering from scurvy. The "Novoye Vremya" was suspended a week for criticising the inactivity of the Russian

government in regard to the labor question and stating that the present condition of the laborers in Russian factories offered a very favorable soil for revolutionary propaganda.

Socialist activity outwits the authorities in spite of all oppression. "On the morning of April 28," relates "Vorwarts," in a recent dispatch, "the police and the respectable" bourgeoisie in Dwinsk (Dunaburg), were greatly astonished to see May day proclamations pasted on the garden fences, telegraph poles and street corners, and scattered in the courts of the peaceful synagogues. Work was stopped nearly everywhere on May 1st. . . . In spite of all efforts of police, infantry and cavalry, about 4,000 laborers thronged Newskaja street in the afternoon. . . . Suddenly a ringing "Hurrah" and the Jewish workingmen's Marseillaise sung by a thousand throats! A revolutionary speech was held on the open street and a red flag flouted in front of the house of the chief of gensd'armes."

The conservative revue, "Rouski Vestnik," declares that the Vatican is favoring the union of the Polish nationalists with the socialists in his own interest.

GERMANY.

Trade union week in Germany shows an encouraging emancipation of catholic trade unions from the influence of the clergy and a growing tendency to proceed along independent economic lines. The protestant trade unions are ridding themselves more and more of "christian" elements, and the Hirsch Duncker benefit clubs are permeated with socialists. The growing influence of trade unionism is clearly apparent.

The Reichstag passed a law establishing a nine-hour day for miners, defeating the socialist eight-hour bill by the help of the clergy.

At the sixth general meeting of the Polish socialists in Berlin resolutions were adopted favoring an independent Polish organization and agitation, in co-operation with the German social democratic party. The "Gazetta Robotnicza" will be published beginning with July 1st in Kattowitz.

With the help of a detachment of policemen and detectives, the German National Mercantile Employees' Association hoped to keep the socialists out of a meeting held in Berlin for the purpose of discussing whether mercantile employees should be nationalists or socialists. Imagine the feelings of the chairman, when his "Hurrah for the emperor" was answered by a vigorous "Hurrah for socialism!"

BELGIUM.

The liberal groups of Senate and Chamber supporting universal suffrage with proportional representation resolved to introduce a motion demanding that the government should ascertain by referendum whether the people are for or against universal suffrage.

A farmers' congress will be held in the beginning of this month in the Maison du Peuple in Brussels for the purpose of organizing the farm hands and founding an agricultural propaganda paper.

The Belgian glass workers' union is on strike for the purpose of forcing the owners of the glass works to recognize the unions and stop blacklisting; 6,000 of the 8,000 workers in the Charleroi district belong to the union,

THE WORLD OF LABOR

By Max S. Hayes

The first five months of the present year, according to New York financial organs, more than $2,000,000,000 of capital was combined. Now all the Western railways are to be brought into a "community of interests" representing $2,000,000,000 capital, and those controlling the Western roads are also supreme in Eastern and part of the Southern systems, and thus more than $6,000,000,000 of capital will be combined.—An international bank, with $1,000,000,000 capital, is to be established by the Morgan-Rockefeller-Rothschild interests.—The movement to form a $300,000,000 bituminous coal trust is going forward, the Northern Ohio mines having been gobbled up by Senator Hanna's branch of the present combine, and options on the mines of Southern Ohio have been secured by Morgan, while the Rockefeller and Morgan interests have secured the choice properties in West Virginia. Nearly everything in Pennsylvania is already monopolized, and Indiana mines are being brought into a $20,000,000 trust, and a strong combine is forming in Illinois.—Eight tobacco combines are uniting and reaching out for enough independent concerns to form an international trust with $500,000,000 capital.—Southern cotton manufacturers are forming a huge combine.—Glucose trust absorbed its strongest independent competitor and then combined with the starch trust, capital $55,225,000.—Copper trust swallowed more independents and capitalized at $155,000,000.—Standard oil people combined linseed oil and lead trusts, capital $35,000,000.—Plow trust formed with $75,000,000 capital.—Linen shirt, collar and cuff trust formed with $20,000,000 capital.—Red wood trust formed on Pacific coast, capital $15,000,000.—Another street railway and lighting combine, $50,000,000.—Cotton duck goods, $26,000,000.—Cincinnati lighting and power combine, $28,000,000.—Locomotive trust, $50,000,000.—Cigar store trust, $2,000,000.—Maine fire extinguisher combine, $2,000,000.—Manilla trust, $8,000,000.—Humming bird trust, $3,000,000.—Watch case trust, capital undetermined.—Independent copper interests, $80,000,000.—Yellow pine industry in Texas, $20,000,000.—Zinc trust in Missouri, $8,000,000.—Another theatrical trust, $3,000,000.—Acetylene trust, $1,000,000.—Tea importers and dealers are combining.—Trustification in newspapers beginning.—So we, the American people, are being forced into the co-operative commonwealth "step at a time," no matter what reactionists or ignoramuses may think, say or do.

The national unity convention to combine the Socialist organizations will meet in Indianapolis, July 29. Both national branches of the Social Democratic party, as well as the independent state organizations of Texas, New Hampshire, Iowa, Nebraska and Oklahoma, have signified their intention of taking part in the convention, and it is probable that other bodies will also be represented.—Western Labor Union, in national convention in Denver, adopted a resolution congratulating the S. D. P. and decided to circulate Socialist litera-

ture and organize the workingmen of various states to take independent political action.—In the state election in Michigan the S. D. P. polled 7,504 votes in 45 out of 82 counties, an increase of 50 per cent, and the De Leon party remained almost stationary. A foothold was gained in South Carolina, where an election took place in Asheville.—In Clay county, Ind., vote increased from one per cent last fall to 10 per cent last month.—In Spring Valley, Ill., the vote was doubled and two Councilmen elected.—In Decatur, Ala., a councilman was elected, also candidate for city clerk, who received a majority greater than the votes of both old parties combined.—In Fort Wayne, Ind., the vote shot up from 160 last fall to 716, and in Irvington 20 per cent of the vote cast was for the S. D. P.—St. Louis Trade and Labor Council refused to parade with local patriots on Fourth of July, but decided to participate in a demonstration under the auspices of the S. D. P.—In Georgia a state union has been formed to assist the Social Democratic propaganda, and in Texas and Alabama the industrial centers are organizing.—S. D. P. has four national organizers in the field, eight or ten are working in states, and a number of independents are doing service.—Ohio S. D. P.'s held their state convention on May 30 and nominated a complete ticket. The party in Oregon met May 31; Marylanders, July 1, and S. D.'s of Indiana assemble on July 4.—H. Gaylord Wilshire, of Los Angeles, Cal., has offered W. J. Bryan $5,000 to debate the trust question, the former to speak in favor of Socialization and the latter in favor of disruption, and an additional $5,000 if the audience votes that Bryan has the best of the argument. The Nebraskan refused to accept, as did also Tom Johnson.—The Guertie News is the name of a new S. D. P. paper printed in the Indian Territory.

The announcement that the various national unions of textile workers are combining is followed by dispatches stating that the bosses are closing some of the mills.—Garment workers of New York were restrained by the courts from interfering with non-unionists.—Grain workers at Ogdensburg, N. Y., went on strike against the introduction of a patent shovel which enables five men to do the work of twenty. The strikers are still out, but the shovel is working. Metal trades in the various industrial centres are combining.—Some of the latest workers to catch the organization fever are dressmakers, servant girls, stenographers, typewriters, school teachers, bookkeepers, janitors and bank clerks.—Electrical workers have been waging a hard fight in New England with telephone combines.—In Saginaw Valley, Mich., iron manufacturers combined to fight demands of employes.—Chicago bosses combined against machinists, and now the latter demand that the bosses quit their organization or union men won't work for them.—Boston C. L. U. denounced the militia and calls upon all workingmen to withdraw from the same.—Chicago central bodies are said to be trying to amalgamate.—Reformed Presbyterian Synod of America, in session in Pittsburg, declared that most trade unions are dangerous and members are forbidden to join the same.—William F. Sherlock, editor of New York Unionist, who was driven into jail by the New York Sun for boycotting, contracted pneumonia while imprisoned and died shortly after being released.—In San Francisco the waiters are being fought by a combine having $500,000 behind it, and which was formed to disrupt unions in all trades; and in New York one hundred leading hotels and restaurants united to fight the union, and boldly announce that they have a blacklist.—The class struggle is daily being waged more fiercely, and it is to be hoped that it will not be forgotten on election day.

A $25,000,000 combine is having new breadmaking machines manufactured in Schenectady, N. Y., which, it is claimed, will almost completely destroy the skill of the baker and throw hundreds out of employment.—Edison's new electrical batteries for automobiles are being turned out at two factories, and are said to be working so satisfactorily that they are to be manufactured on a large scale for heavy trucks and wagons. The accumulators can be operated at a saving of twice to three times over the old batteries.—An Englishman announces the discovery of a method to manufacture unbreakable and fireproof glass, and a test of 2,300 degrees of heat leaves it unaffected. --Dr. Mund, a German scientist, has perfected a process to manufacture gas which can be sold at a profit at 4 cents per thousand cubic feet.—A Cincinnati man claims to have discovered a method of treating the toughest beef by electricity and turning it into a tender steak. —Another rotary engine has been invented at Mattoon, Ill., which will revolutionize steam power.—An inventor in Europe has perfected a method of manufacturing copper bars, sheets and tubes at the mine's mouth, from raw material, without going through the present costly processes. The saving is said to be $100 a ton.—Dr. Gatling, of gun fame, has invented an automobile plow, which is said to work without human guidance. It removes stumps and boulders and turns the earth with exact precision when started on its course.—An automatic shoe cleaner and shiner is being introduced.—A machine has been invented that delivers a newspaper and makes change for a nickel.—A new brickmaking machine does the work of five men.

Edison's new discovery of a cement that can be utilized in building houses is causing widespread discussion, especially in technical journals. The "Wizard of Menlo Park" believes he will accomplish a revolution in housebuilding, and that to a large extent he will drive out stone and brick and other building material. The houses of the new era will be of cement, in the form of concrete, and of steel, and, besides being fireproof and thus working a great economy so far as destruction by conflagration is concerned, the edifices will require much less skilled labor in their erection. Rents, of course, will also be forced downward, according to the inventor. "My impression is that the time will come when each contractor will have standard forms or patterns of houses," says Edison, in discussing his new discovery. "The forms will be made of wood and a contractor using one of the standard shapes will simply go out and 'pour' a house. The intending customer can pick out a house from the wooden forms and from pictures. He can choose whatever size he may want and whatever style of architecture. There will probably be hundreds of designs. The contractors will put up their concrete mixers and have their beams and forms ready. They will pour the form for the first story and so on. To do that all they will require will be common labor—a few men and one boss. That is what I think will be done eventually. And such a house can be made cheaply. It seems to me there will not be much use for carpenters then. There will be cabinet-makers, to be sure. Why, even the floors and stairs will be made of concrete. When the price of cement is $1 per barrel or $5.50 per ton it is bound to drive out other building material. The houses will be built on skeletons of steel beams. The building mixture will be extremely cheap, for it will be composed of one part cement, three parts sand and five parts crushed stone. Put the wooden forms around the steel frames, pour in the concrete mixture and let it 'set.' Remove the ordinary mold or form and then you have a solid house. In an ordinary residence the walls would be about twelve inches

thick up to the first story and eight inches thick above the first story. The roofs would be of cement, too."

In Hopkins county, Ky., three mining companies secured a blanket injunction in the Circuit Court that goes beyond anything that has ever been attempted in the judicial line so far as labor unions are concerned. The court restrained the miners from collecting union dues, assessments for strike purposes, distributing food to miners on strike, or from urging other workers to go on strike. The court held that to organize the miners "would be injurious to the business of the plaintiffs."—In Dayton, O., a court granted a perpetual injunction against metal polishers, the latter being restrained from picketing a struck shop or boycotting the firm's products.—The laundry workers and other unionists of Dayton have also had a permanent injunction plastered on them.—A Jersey City judge has capped the climax by injunctioning girl strikers from "making faces" at those who have taken their jobs.—Supreme Court of New York issued an order restraining brewers from boycotting a non-union brewery in Croker's town.—Clerks of Canandaigua, N. Y., were sued for conspiracy for boycotting a non-union establishment.—Miners' officials at Scranton, Pa., were sued for conspiracy for boycotting a newspaper. These are some of the things that are the direct outcome of workingmen "throwing away" their votes by casting them for the capitalist class parties.

The tobacco trust is waging a fierce war on independent concerns and jobbers are being notified that if they handle anti-trust goods their profits on trust products will be reduced. The trust seems to need greater profits, as it is contemplated to unite the three branches —the American, Continental and Cigar trusts—and form an international combine. It is also reported that the cigar branch is ambitious to turn out a billion non-union cigars this year, and, as its present capacity is but one-quarter that number, more factories will have to be acquired. Meanwhile 2,000 cigarmakers are on strike or waiting to go out. The union spent over $300,000 in its fight in New York and officers declare that no backward step will be taken in working conditions despite all odds. Sympathizers are urged to purchase no cigars except those which are in boxes that bear the blue label of the union.

The United States Steel Corporation has gone on strike for $80,000,000 more a year, to be "earned by new methods to be introduced." Price of rails have also gone up $2 per ton. The anthracite coal combine has, according to a New York dispatch, notified the people that $75,000,000 more a year is needed (probably to perfect the bituminous trust), and coal will be gradually advanced one dollar per ton. The meat combine is on strike for more money, also, prices having gone up at some Eastern points one to three cents per pound.—Southern newspapers are complaining that the railways have gone out for higher rates.—Starch trust has also announced that more money is needed in their business.—California fruit growers are also sorrowful because the fruit trust and railways want higher prices and more prosperity.

SOCIALISM AND RELIGION

Professor George D. Herron

SOCIALISM AND SACRIFICE

I.

Though a socialist give all that he has, and with it all that he is, perhaps to be neglected and forgotten and to starve, yet he never thinks of himself as sacrificing anything for his cause; he would resent your sympathizing with him as one who had sacrificed something—indeed, you would be to him as a man speaking an unknown tongue, a faithless language of the dead.

But in history and religion there is no such heroism of sacrifice as his; no such strength of soul and elemental spiritual beauty, as that which I see in the working-class socialist.

The socialist revolution is fed by a common quality of life as much greater than the renunciation of Jesus as he was greater than the teachers before him.

Here in the socialist struggle, I find the wondrously lived yet unspoken gospel of a renunciation that is real, infinitely surpassing the sacrifice of patriots or of Christians.

The early Christian gloried in his sacrifice and martyrdom, but the socialist is unconscious of his; the early Christian died with his eyes on the nearing gates of his heavenly home, but the socialist lives and suffers and dies in the thought of the noble and happy earth to be enjoyed by those who come after his work is done, when he sleeps.

II.

It is not sacrifice, but the opportunity to sacrifice, that creates obligation.

No man really sacrifices himself for a great truth, or for a good cause; for a cause good enough to absorb our utmost output of life, a truth so great that it can afford to have us destroyed in its service, places all the obligations on our side; its own obligations are discharged in advance.

It is by a brave cause that life is invested with its value, and the living or losing of it made worth while.

The cause cannot possibly owe us anything; for it has given to us in a moment more than we could give to it in a million years, and we can pay our debt to it only by giving all and asking nothing.

The greater the demands of the cause upon us, the greater is our debt to it; and if it should call us to ruin and infamy, we should owe it still the more.

A truth that will let me die or go to shame for it becomes a father and provider to my soul, giving me all I can ever know of the sweetness of death, or of the joy that brings forth life.

No one ever did so much for a cause or for humanity, but what the cause and humanity did more for him; for the prophet or the leader stands on the shoulders of other men, and still others give him their flesh to eat and their blood to drink.

III.

It will be long before Jesus can pay his debt to the world, and that only when his friends cease to make any demands upon the world in his name.

He will be received as a friend when he forgets his cross, and makes no claims because of it.

He will become a world-teacher when he ceases to be an authority, a brother when he is no more a master, a comrade when he is no longer a god.

IV.

We may sacrifice everything for truth, but we must not sacrifice truth for anything.

We have a right to throw away our lives for a truth, but we have no right to throw away a truth to save our lives.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Crime of Credulity. Herbert N. Casson. Peter Eckler, 35 Fulton St., New York. Cloth, 254 pp., 75 cents. Paper, 25 cents.

One of the most striking phenomena of the present age is the sudden recrudescence of mysticism under a great variety of forms, including Christian Science, Theosophy, Mental Healing, Spiritualism, etc. This book is the most cutting criticism of these cults that has yet appeared in the English language. The author maintains that they are by no means indicative of a progressive or revolutionary spirit but are akin to witchcraft, the "dancing mania" and other delusions of the Middle Ages and the eighteenth century. He asserts the existence of the following points of identity between these modern doctrines and their ancient prototypes: (1) Both produced phenomena that mystified scientists and thinkers. (2) Both accumulated a vast mass of direct evidence to substantiate their claims. (3) Both are based upon mystical power which some are said to possess for good and evil over the persons and destinies of others. (4) Both numbered among their members men and women of undoubted intelligence in other directions. (5) Both professedly antagonized the conclusions of secular common sense and medical science. (6) Both appeal to that suspicious sense of wonder and credulity which is strongest in the most undeveloped minds. (7) Both can be traced back to the monasticism which sprang from Plato's idealism and doctrine of demons. (8) The form in which the superstition appears fluctuates from witch-burning to Mental Science in accordance with the intellectual development of the nation. (9) A spasm of religious terrorism at the present day would revive among Christian Science societies the phenomena of witchcraft. (10) Witchcraft having now been universally acknowledged to be religious mania and "the blackest of superstitions" it is probable that a more enlightened age than ours will classify all modern similar beliefs as religious manias in a milder form. (11) Any belief, however absurd and pernicious, may obtain large numbers of adherents providing it appeals to the religious emotions. (12) The best preventives of all such superstitions are the increase of the skeptical and scientific spirit and the promotion of every form of secular and practical education. He shows how this degeneracy of thought may act as a means of attracting attention from existing abuses and thus prove a bulwark to oppression. In choosing mysticism they are deserting the materialism which is the basis of the social revolution. "Every logical mind is today being forced to abandon dualism. Those who are governed by reason are accepting material monism; and those who are governed by imagination are accepting spiritual monism." The author has a wealth of figures and epigrams with which to give point to his positions, and whatever one may think of the argument he will find the book intensely interesting. Speaking of the tendency of mystics to exag-

gerate the importance of whatever cannot be at once fully understood, he says: "They mistake every muddy pool for the ocean, and fancy it is infinitely deep because they cannot see the bottom. As soon as a level-headed man comes along with a yard stick, their ocean is shown to be a mud-puddle and no more." Whoever is interested in these subjects will find this work intensely suggestive and worthy of careful consideration.

Labor. Emile Zola. Harpers. Cloth, 604 pp. $1.50.

This is the second book in the great tetralogy, of which "Fruitfulness" was the first, and of which "Truth" and "Justice" are still to follow, and is the most powerful and constructive thing Zola has yet written on the social question. Not only are social conditions portrayed with a master hand, but an attempt is made to offer a solution. The book opens with a description of the conditions surrounding a modern blast furnace and steel mill. The employes are just going back to work after a long strike. With that power of describing horrors which is peculiarly the characteristic of Zola, a terrible picture of misery, degradation, suffering, depravity and blind resentment is drawn with a fidelity of detail only attainable by this master of the realists. "All along the filthy, muddy street, and along the greasy sidewalks, all the poison and degradation of labor, the labor of the many used iniquitously for the advantage of a few, streamed onward—labor dishonored, hateful and accursed, the labor that entails terrible suffering, besides theft and prostitution, which are its neighboring excrescents." Luc, the hero of the book, passes through the village and is deeply impressed. He has just come into control of a neighboring iron works and discovers that notwithstanding all the victories of man over nature, "Yet nothing was changed; the conquered fire still had its victims and its slaves who labored for it, who spent their lives in keeping it under subjection, while the privileged of the world lived in idleness in healthy and luxurious dwellings." He dreams of "another kind of labor, unlike that brutally imposed on human victims, on ignoble mercenaries, who could be crushed at their masters' pleasure, and treated like hungry beasts of burden; it would be work freely accepted by all men, divided according to natural tastes and capacities, employing the laborer for the few hours that were indispensable—labor varied according to the free choice of voluntary workers." He transforms the works into a sort of co-operative, or rather profit-sharing institution, and the struggle begins between this industry and the competitive world. This long drawn out Titanic combat is the central theme of the book around which all else is made to revolve. Of course co-operation is made to win in the end and the new works absorb the old ones and become the center from which the whole social system is transformed. Jean Jaures, in his review of the book in the Belgian socialist daily "Le Peuple," sums up by saying that it is a beautiful socialist poem, but that its socialism is the socialism of Fourier and not of the modern international movement. Hence the book fails to fill the place that it might have filled in socialist literature. The more the pity that it comes so close and falls so short. Only once does he state his position toward the political movement, for while one character, who plays a very prominent part in the book, is supposed to be a political socialist, he at no time presents anything more than a caricature of the philosophy he is supposed to represent. But as the book is about to close, and while Luc is sitting in the midst of a revolutionized society, one of his friends says to him: "A traveler has told me that in a great republic the

collectivists have become the masters of power. They have for years been fighting bloody political battles to gain possession of the legislative assembly and of the government. Legally, they could not succeed, but had to make a coup de etat after they felt that they were strong enough and were certain of a strong support with the people. As soon as the revolution succeeded they made laws according to their own theoretical program, or put forth decrees. All private property was confiscated. All the wealth of individuals became the property of the nation, and all tools and machinery were given over to the laborers. There were no more land owners, no capitalists, no owners of factories. The state reigned master of all, and sole owner and capitalist. It regulated all social life and distributed benefits to whom it would. But this immense revolution, this universal overthrow, these sudden radical changes did not, of course, take place without a dreadful struggle. Classes do not let themselves be despoiled even though their wealth may have been ill-gotten. Dreadful outbreaks took place all over the country. Land owners preferred to be killed on their own doorstep rather than surrender their land. Some destroyed their own wealth, flooded their mines, broke up the railroads, blew up their factories; while investors burned up their bonds and certificates and flung their gold and silver into the sea. Some houses had to be besieged. Whole cities had to be taken by storm. There was for years a frightful civil war during which the streets were red with blood and corpses were carried off by the rivers. After that the sovereign state encountered all kinds of difficulties before it could set the new state of things on foot. Values were regulated by the worth of each hour of man's labor and the system of bons de travail was adopted. At first they appointed a committee to superintend production and to divide its profits pro rata according to the work of each man. Afterwards they found that they must have other bureaus of control, and a complicated organization was created which impeded the wheels of the new system. They fell back on the old plan of quartering men in barracks and no system ever bore more hard on men or left them less freedom. And yet the end was in the end accomplished; it was one step onward on the way to justice. Labor had become honorable and wealth daily increased and was more equitably distributed. So at last the wage-earning system violently disappeared, together with capital, money and commerce."

This reads like some lurid nightmare and has no particular relation to the remainder of the book. The political socialism which is attacked exists only in Zola's imagination, and hence his alleged argument falls with it. This fact is so palpable that socialists can well afford to circulate the work as means of propaganda, trusting to the good sense of the reader or subsequent investigation to remove any false impression that might be left from a reading of this passage. Considered aside from its sociological value the book will stand as one of the greatest of the novels that have sprung from the troubled depths of capitalism, and will live long years after the "latest successes" have been lost to all save the catalogues of public libraries.

Tenement Conditions in Chicago. Report by the Investigating Committee of the City Home Association. Text by Robert Hunter. Cloth, 208 pp. Fifty cents.

This book might well have had for a sub-title "Some Glimpses Into Inferno," so horrible are the conditions described under which a very large percentage of the working population of Chicago are forced to

live. This work is, and will always remain a mine of information on the slave-pens of the wage-worker under capitalism. No effort was made to select the worst districts of the city. "Forty-five thousand people live in these districts, and the insanitary conditions which surround them are typical of the conditions in which from three to four hundred thousand people in many parts of Chicago are now living." The report recognizes at the very beginning that private ownership is the root of the whole trouble. "The most important obstacle to reform is the slum landlord. He will vigorously protect his property interests. Indeed, this whole question resolves itself into a long struggle between the interests of the individual on the one hand and the larger interests of the commonweal on the other." The fact of class government is admitted. "In Chicago the interests of the slum landlords have been thus far protected and promoted by the municipality itself." Again we are told that "Pressure for the economical use of land has established within certain limits a new and vicious kind of private property. It is private ownership in the rays of the sun and the health-giving properties of the air." Naturally the report reveals some horrible instances of overcrowding. "The density of population per acre in the Polish quarter of Chicago is three times that of the most crowded portions of Tokio, Calcutta and many other Asiatic cities. * * * It is very probable, if we could compare the height of the dwelling and its density of population in the Jewish, Italian, Polish and Bohemian districts, with the like in districts elsewhere, the real density would equal the worst in the world." At the average rate of density that prevails over the territory investigated the whole population of England could be housed within the present city limits of Chicago. Within the houses 41 per cent of the families have between 80 and 300 square feet of floor space. "Eating, sleeping, giving birth to children, the nursing and rearing of children, the care for the sick and the care for the dying are all managed after some painful fashion in these cramped quarters. * * * One day the writer visited the family of a man who had been prostrated with heat while at work with the street-paving gang. They were a family of seven, living in a two-room apartment of a rear tenement. The day was in August, and the sun beat down upon one unintermittently and without mercy. The husband had been brought home a few hours before, and the wife in a distracted but skillful way, found pathways among the clamoring children. The air was steamy with a half-finished washing and remnants of the last meal were still on the table. A crying baby and the sick husband occupied the only bed. The writer had known before of five people sleeping in one bed, so he supposed the father and oldest child usually slept on the floor. As he watched the woman on that day he understood a little of what it meant to live in such contracted quarters. To cook and wash for seven, to nurse a crying baby broken out with the heat, and to care for a delirious husband, to arrange a possible sleeping place for seven, to do all these things in two rooms which open upon an alley, tremulous with heated odors and swarming with flies from the garbage and manure boxes, was something to tax the patience and strength of a Titan."

Prof. Huxley declared that 809 cubic feet of air space per person was the minimum for healthy conditions. In over 94 per cent of the sleeping rooms there was less than 700 cubic feet of air space per person. "The very poorest, who cannot afford the cost of well-lighted rooms, accept, at a money saving, the dark insanitary ones. Wretchedly clad and poorly nourished, fortunate if they have a basket of slate coal, they crowd together to economize the warmth their bodies give out. They dare not open a window for ventilation, and consequently they breathe again and again into their sickly bodies the poisoned air and filthy emanations which nature tries to throw off." Out of the total population of about 45,000 in the districts investigated nearly 5,000 were living in cellars or basements. The houses themselves are often as a whole unfit for habitation. "The roofs are leaky and the spouting defective. The interiors of the houses become damp and the paper hangs loosely from the crumbling and rotting walls. The staircases, the window-sashes and the floors are rotten, and many injuries result from their feeble condition. * * * Fifty-five per cent of all sinks were in a dangerous and unlawful condition. * * * About 960,000 people in Chicago are without bathing facilities." Streets, alleys and sidewalks are neglected and dangerous. "The fumes rise from fermenting manure and enter the rooms of the rear tenements. Rats, insects and flies swarm about the accumulations of filth and become a source of great offense to tenants in the neighborhood." Of the sidewalk garbage box: "Its offensive odor, its ugliness and filthiness, may be only momentarily disgusting to the passerby, but the residents must suffer it every hour in the day. If it has a top the children sometimes use it for a play-house by day. On hot nights it is common to see parents escape from their stifling houses and seek slumber and fresh air (!!) stretched out over its festering contents." As might be expected the death rate is high and sickness great in these districts. The report makes it plain who it is that is here suffering a torture which no Oriental despotism would dare to inflict upon hardened criminals. "The men who live in the poorest tenements are usually the ones who do the hardest and most disagreeable kind of work." In the meantime "the evil does not stand still or abate; it is steadily growing and today is worse than yesterday. * * * If landlords for greed and profits and economy of ground space, continue to erect such tenements, the city man will soon have new conditions to confront. The factory by day, the tenement by night will be his environment. * * * He must now live in rooms where the sun never enters. The air he breathes must reach him through dark passages and foul courts. He must be content with about two yards square of earth's space for himself, for each one of his children, for each one of his thousand close neighbors, and for each one of their children. * * * It is a fact that the mass of the people in tenements have not what people commonly call a home. It is a place of shelter for the sleeping hours of the night, and in the hot weather it is often abandoned even for that purpose."

These extracts from the book itself speak louder than any words of praise we could give it. There is a profusion of illustrations taken from photographs of the conditions described that make the facts it presents still more vivid and startling. The spreading of such facts, even if accompanied with some rather weak proposals for reform, cannot but help to arouse the laborers to action. This work should be in the hands of every socialist in the country, but more especially of all those in Chicago, for it is a perfect arsenal of facts, presented in a masterly manner and it is easy for any socialist to point the moral.

The Anatomy of Misery. John Coleman Kenworthy. Small, Maynard & Co. Cloth, 111 pp. $1.00.

As the title indicates this is rather an examination into present economic and social relations than any attempt at constructive work. The nature of exploitation is very well set forth, although hardly with that scientific accuracy which might be desired. The whole work is written in a very clear and simple style, making it easily understood.

It is intended primarily as a text-book on Political Economy for the opponents of the present system. As such it could be used to considerable advantage by socialist organizations. The natural logic of the book is toward Tolstoyan non-resistance and isolation and the introduction is written by Tolstoy. But the dedication is to Keir Hardie and the last chapter is a denial of the position of social quietism and a practical endorsement of the socialist position. Scattered in between the chapters are some verses that are far above the ordinary poetry of the radical movement.

Karl Marx, Biographical Memoirs. Wilhelm Liebknecht, translated by E. Untermann. Charles H. Kerr & Co. Cloth, 181 pp., 50 cents.

Capitalist writers have pictured Marx as a virulent, blatant agitator, and socialists have ordinarily looked upon him as a sort of incarnated intellect, dwelling in scholastic seclusion and speaking only in abstruse economic formulas. Liebknecht shows him to us as he was, an intellectual marvel to be sure (master of a half-dozen languages and learning Russian only to the better understand the Eastern question), but nevertheless intensely human. We learn of his intense love for children that made him give away his last penny to childish street beggars, even though he knew he was being deceived. We see him the loving father and husband, as well as the sometimes quarrelsome chess player and the boisterous comrade in holiday excursions and midnight escapades. Liebknecht also shows us Marx as the most painstaking of teachers as well as the most tireless of workers, and he even lifts the veil that covered the terrible poverty of the darkest days of the exile period, when the dead child of Marx lay unburied until friends came to his assistance. And through all this most intensely interesting and often thrilling tale of the adventure, pathos and humor of the little group of London exiles, there runs a wide and deep vein of interesting and instructive information concerning the origin and character of the fundamental principles of international socialism.

The Republic of Plato. Book I. Translated by Alexander Kerr, Professor of Greek in the University of Wisconsin. Paper, 60 pp., 15 cts.

Plato's Republic is one of the few great books of the world to which can be traced back many of the "latest ideas" of the present time. Yet it has always been a book which most people generally read about but of which they never saw the actual pages. This has been partly because it has been concealed from the ordinary reader either within the original Greek or in such costly editions as to be beyond the reach of any save the few. The present edition, both in language and price, is attainable to everyone who wishes to read it. These facts should give it a wide circulation, for no one can claim to an understanding of the origins of the philosophies that lie back of socialism without a reading of Plato.

Poems of the New Time. Miles Menander Dawson. Alliance Publishing Co. Cloth, 169 pp., $1.25.

This is a little volume that breathes the spirit of its title on almost every page. The dominant thought is rather Whitmanism than socialism. Many of the poems show much strength and beauty and there are others that perhaps it might have been as well to have left unwritten. On the whole the book is one that offers a pleasant relief

to the reader who, while interested in the great social revolt, has somewhat tired of the dry prosaic form in which its doctrines are usually presented.

BOOKS RECEIVED

Industrial Reform. T. J. McBride. Peacock Bros., Melbourne, Victoria. Paper, 28 pp.

The Red Light, Handbook of the Queensland Social-Democracy.

The Bible Plan for the Abolition of Poverty. Rev. Jesse H. Jones. Social Gospel Co., South Jamesport, N. Y. Paper, 69 pp, 25 cents.

Social Control. Edward A. Ross. Citizens' Library of Economics, Politics and Sociology. Macmillan Co. Half leather, 463 pp., $1.25. (Will be reviewed in August number.)

AMONG THE PERIODICALS

"An increase of 300 per cent in deposits in all the great banks of the world since 1875, of 100 per cent in commercial loans, and nearly 400 per cent in advances, show that the people of our generation are living in a financial world unlike that of a generation ago." This is one of the conclusions drawn by Charles A. Conant in his article on "The Recent Growth of Wealth," in the June number of "The World's Work." The whole article is the most elaborate summing up of the immense amount of surplus value created by the workers of the world that has ever been compiled. "The Wonderful Northwest" is a discussion of the resources that are shifting the seat of industry in America towards the Pacific. Other articles of special interest to the social student are "The Negro As He Really Is" and "An Ideal Schoolhouse."

EDITORIAL

THE INDIANAPOLIS CONVENTION

In the first place it is of the greatest importance that arrangements are so made that whatever is to be done can be done promptly. As Comrade E. V. Debs has well said, "the sooner it settles the questions and adjourns the better." This point is of infinitely more importance with a socialist convention than with the gatherings of one of the old parties or any of the various reform bodies. These latter have no very important work to perform and have well-nigh unlimited wealth and time in which to perform. But the socialists have a work to do that is pressing and their time and resources are extremely limited. Every day that the convention lasts means an expenditure of not less than $500 in cash, besides the time of between two and three hundred of the ablest and hardest workers in the country. No opportunity should therefore be overlooked for saving such valuable time. At the very first session of the convention, before credentials are examined or organization is perfected, at least two temporary committees should be appointed—one on platform and the other on constitution. These committees should have no power to act, aside from receiving suggestions and arranging them in shape for the consideration of the convention. Such a committee, if appointed at a morning session, should be able to hand in a printed summary of the various plans submitted to it, together with any suggestions it might desire to offer, to the convention in time for discussion at the evening session. By this time the organization of the convention would be completed and a regular platform and constitution committee could be appointed who would be able to at once proceed to work and the whole matter should thus be settled inside of two days. It should be made a fixed rule of the convention that any matter relating to the platform or permanent party organization should be submitted in printing with sufficient copies to supply each of the delegates. The cost of such printing would be very much less than the expenses of the delegates for a single extra hour and at the same time will enable the discussion of all such propositions to be much more intelligently as well as expeditiously carried on.

After the "how" comes the "what" to do. Without a doubt the convention to be held at Indianapolis on July 29th will be the most important gathering ever held of American socialists. The time is especially critical. Economic evolution has made useless and hopeless any political action in this country except along the lines of revolutionary socialism. In the economic field the line between capitalism and socialism is clear and distinct. Whether that line shall be blurred and confused in the political field depends upon the actions of the socialists themselves. It depends upon whether the socialists of this country have brains enough and energy enough to form a sufficiently coherent and comprehensive organization to meet and fill the pressing need which now exists for a central body and a rallying point around which the great army of discontented and disinherited can crystallize. If our deliberations are marked by petty exhibitions of jealousy, narrow partizanship, and ignorant insularity, then we shall have failed to meet the demand and we must stand aside until we shall have learned our lesson.

There seems to be a general agreement on many things in the form of organization. There should be a general executive committee composed of one member from each state, with very limited powers save as to propaganda work in unorganized states. The national secretary should have sufficient assistance and be a man of sufficient ability to act as a central point of information and communication between the various state organizations and to assist them in all possible ways in their work of organization and propaganda. He should furnish a weekly or monthly bulletin to all papers applying for the same, but should have no official connection with any publication.

The convention is a unity convention and unless it arranges for a complete union of all bodies represented it will have failed to justify its existence. When the chairman's gavel falls on the first session all organizations participating in the convention must forever cease to exist as having any political significance, and any attempt to revive them is the worst of treason to the proletariat of America. The outcome of the conference should be an entirely new organization having nothing in common with the previous organizations save the same component elements of membership, principles and experience. Any provision for the further existence, either state or national, of separate political parties, would be a fatal, yes, almost a criminal error and could but sow seeds of further dissension for the reaping of future generations.

We cannot conquer the future by taking any backward steps. The platform to be adopted at Indianapolis must be an expression of those principles which time and experience have shown to be the only safe and true basis for a socialist movement. It should be a short, compact statement, with no shadow of compromise, no concession to capitalism in any form, and sufficiently condensed to form a solid shot of argument rather than the scattering broadside of former platforms. It should constitute a basic statement of socialist principles and should be supplemented by an official suggested program for state and muni-

cipal elections. The time is now at hand and this convention should hasten its coming, when socialists will begin to appear upon state and municipal bodies. Many of these will be in isolated places where there has been little opportunity to know the details of socialist philosophy. Unless some action is taken the work of these socialist representatives will be contradictory, and perhaps even compromising. A committee should be appointed at the convention to draw up a complete program for the guidance of socialists in municipal affairs. This committee might well be a permanent one, having only consulting powers, and composed of those socialists who are most interested and best informed in the work of socialist municipalities of other countries. It should be their duty, through the general secretary of the party, to keep in touch with all socialists elected to municipal offices and to assist them whenever necessary in procuring information concerning any problems that might arise, and to promote uniformity of action throughout the country. The publication from time to time of the reports of such a committee would prove a valuable addition to socialist literature and assist greatly in the propaganda in cities.

The time is now ripe for socialism. If there is anything in the doctrine of economic determinism then the United States is ready at this moment, so far as industrial development is concerned, to enter upon the establishment of the cooperative commonwealth. The great work to be done now is in preparation of socialists. To a great degree this convention is a test of the fitness of the socialists there assembled for the work that is before them. If that convention shall look upon itself as a gathering whose main purpose is the formation of a socialist church with a host of guards whose business it is to prevent the defilement of the organization by the unconverted, if it shall seek to found an organization as an end instead of a means, if it shall seek to build a machine merely for the love of political and mechanical craftmanship, then it will have failed of its purpose and will deserve to fail. But if it shall meet with a determination to extend its influence, its political machinery and fraternal organization until it reaches and includes all those whom economic development or intellectual comprehension have made ready for the socialist thought and the socialist program, then it will have constituted itself a landmark from which will be reckoned the period of great and rapid growth of socialism in America.

PUBLISHERS' DEPARTMENT

The International Socialist Review is not owned by any one individual or small group of individuals. It is owned by an increasing number of socialists, already over 250, each of whom has invested ten dollars or more, in most cases just ten dollars, for the purpose of extending the circulation of socialist literature. These stockholders are located at 193 different cities and towns in the United States and Canada. None of them subscribed for stock in the expectation of dividends. The only personal inducement offered to those subscribing for stock has been the privilege of buying socialist literature at cost. The following letters, taken at random from a large number, will indicate what our stockholders think of the work we have been able to do thus far:

"In response to your inquiry as to my being satisfied with the results of your efforts to carry on a business of publishing and selling socialistic literature at a nominal price, will say that since I became a stockholder in your company have been very much pleased with the prices of your various books and pamphlets and especially with the character of the literature. I hope to be able to take another share of stock in the company if you conclude to enlarge your capacity for work, which I hope you will decide to do."—Dr. A. J. Stevens, 233 South Broadway, Los Angeles, Cal.

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THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

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Tolstoy and Socialism

WHEN social evils reach such a stage that they commence to threaten the existing order, vague discontent and general criticism begin to give place to constructive thought, to the formation of new ideals and standards of life, which find their expression in two distinct movements different in character. The classes of society who are personally affected by the evils demand the abolition of an order which they have come to recognize as unjust through materialistic-utilitarian reasons. Hence these constitute the fundamental principle of their movement.

Those members of the upper classes who become aware of the existing injustice do not themselves experience its evil effects, but attain consciousness of it only through moral self-analysis, which reveals them as participators in the injustice, consequently, guilty of it. For this reason progressive movements among the upper classes assume an idealistic-ethical character, and the ideological principle is considered by them fundamental to progress.

The outcome of such an idealistic movement will be fruitful or futile, according to the course it follows. If its representatives perceive the trend of evolution, if they keep in close touch with the actual conditions and always feel the pulse of the living social organism, their efforts must necessarily coincide with the wide movement of the suffering masses, must strengthen it and bear fruit. But if, in pursuing a goal which they deem desirable, they attempt to revive past ideals and haughtily ignore the conditions that make these ideals historically impossible, then the noblest aspirations are doomed to futility. Past experience, it seems, should tell them that their efforts are vain. But experience counts for naught with visionaries, if only they find the phantom attractive. They cheerfully

pursue it and, determined to turn the tide of history, leap—in the imagination—over unsurmountable barriers of accumulated facts.

The mightiest effort of this kind in our days is undoubtedly Tolstoyism.

Tolstoy stands alone in our age. He is not only the greatest Russian novelist, but is almost universally acknowledged pre-eminent among the novelists of the century. Although twenty years ago he recanted his former conceptions of art and devoted himself to a different activity, Tolstoy continued from time to time to produce new undying artistic works. Recently "Resurrection" gave fresh proof that the genius of the author of "War and Peace" had little if at all declined with age.

Yet strange as it may seem, Tolstoy did not gain his world-wide renown through his works of fiction. His name became famous at the time when he renounced his former beliefs, and conceived a new ideal of life, founded on a new philosophy, a new religion, and a new science. Since then he has incessantly worked to rouse the conscience of men, to show them the absurd contradictions in our social order, the cruelty and injustice of the "Slavery of Our Times," and in his analysis and description of social conditions has exposed with striking force the lies of modern civilization. So far Tolstoy is a mighty warrior in the ever-increasing army arrayed against the old system. However, Tolstoy does not confine himself to criticism. He also proposes methods of uprooting the evils and suggests plans for the reconstruction of the social edifice. It is in regard to these methods and plans that Tolstoy not only differs from the socialists, but inevitably conflicts with them.

Now, however perverted his propositions may seem, it must be remembered that Tolstoy is a leading object of public attention and exerts a powerful influence. Therefore it seems proper to analyze his teachings and consider their relation to socialist philosophy.

Tolstoy, despairing of the possibility of scientific progress to abolish misery, turns his eyes to the past and finds in the teachings of Christ the all-sufficing means for the salvation of mankind. He does not recognize the evolutionary principle by which a brighter future can be founded only on present economic development. Instead of science, which he thinks bankrupt, he substitutes faith. "I believe in the doctrine of Christ and found my salvation in it," is in one form or another the constant refrain of all his reasonings, whatever subject he touches. All his teachings are but unavoidable corollaries of this fundamental premise. He thus disposes of all the vital problems of the day by means of the New Testament—an apocryphal book dating back nearly two thousand years. Whether we consider him as a philosopher, as a moralist or as a social reformer, we shall always come to this point of departure—the gospel, or rather a number of its propositions pronounced as infallible articles of faith. This certainly lends homogenity to his system, so that no one of his propositions can be detached from the whole. Therefore they all stand or fall together. They must either be all accepted or all rejected. If based on a valid foundation this fact must become a source of strength; if on an illusion, it is the cause of their weakness.

Tolstoy sees the highest mode of life in the fulfilment of the primitive Christian ideal and the pursuit of a land-tiller. But to make agriculture possible for all, the land must be restored to the people. In this restoration consists the solution of the social problem. Hence his half-hearted adhesion to Henry George—half-hearted because Tolstoy's teachings exclude the possibility of applying the single-tax method, which involves coercion, state administration and laws.

Most of the manufactured products, he holds, must be renounced, because they satisfy needs that grew out of the pursuit of pleasure, and in fact he would give up everything but what is indispensable to a mere existence, the object of which is the attainment of a certain abstract aim. "The eternal and highest aim of our life is good.....and life is nothing but a striving for good, i. e., a striving for God." This sounds well, but it ought to be remembered that not in life itself, i. e., not in the gladness of mere existence is where Tolstoy discerns the good, but in a transcendental principle, which is to be carried out by the renunciation of worldly enjoyment.

Thus the aim of life announced by Tolstoy is asceticism. Asceticism is the clue to all of Tolstoy's social philosophy, and once found, it becomes the criterion by which every phenomenon is measured and estimated, and upon which is based the solution of every question. Before the impartial tribunal of this doctrine all the integral elements of civilization—philosophy, science, art and industry—are found equally guilty and doomed to extermination. All philosophy is declared to be a texture of metaphysical cobwebs; August Compte's proposition that ours is the age of science receives a scornful sneer; art based on the validity of beauty as the source of enjoyment is sinful, and industry producing articles that increase human needs and foster new desires is also sinful in itself and moreover divers men from the pursuit of God's law.

It has often been suggested that the key to these singular teachings of Tolstoy must be sought in the depths of the Russian national spirit, in the peculiarities of its soul. This is true in a certain sense—in which sense can perhaps be seen best from the following statements taken from his writings:

"Like the thief on the cross, I, too, believed in the doctrine of Christ, and found my salvation in it. This is not a far-

fetched comparison; it worthily describes the condition of anguish and despair I was once in at the thought of life and of death, and it also indicates the peace and happiness which now fill my soul."

"I believe that true happiness will only be possible when all men begin to follow Christ's doctrine. I believe that, even if it be left unfulfilled by all around me.....*I cannot do otherwise than follow it, in order to save my own life from inevitable destruction.*" ("What I Believe.")

To one familiar with Russian life and literature these words strike a familiar note. They re-echo the struggles of a self-analyzing soul striving to find its own equilibrium. A predisposition for internal scrutiny is strongly developed in the Russian intellectual forming a marked part of his character. Russia knows a number of its remarkable men who solved the problem of their inner mental discord each in his own way, but always abnormally—Gogol, Dostoyevsky, Garshin.

From the passage cited above, the sentiment of which is with slight variations often repeated in his works of the latter period, we see that what led Tolstoy to the gospels was not so much the solution their teachings offered to the complex knot of modern problems, but that it was above all the "peace and happiness" with which these teachings "fill the soul" of the peasant-count. It must be remembered, however, that Tolstoy does not propose that man content himself with the gospel's wisdom and sit inactive and be blessed. We know that the last twenty years of his life, rich in works of love to his fellow-men, are a repudiation of this. But it naturally leads to the conclusion that the principal aim of the individual is to strive for inward peace. He who has found this peace has attained the kingdom of heaven, for "the kingdom of heaven is within us," contends Tolstoy, accepting Christ's saying literally. As to the poor and destitute, they must wait until the wealthy and powerful shall have become enlightened by the gospel of truth and ashamed of living by their blood and sweat. He seems quite unconscious of the inconsistency when in another place he concedes that "the capitalists will do everything for the workers except get off their backs."

To advocate non-resistance and expect salvation exclusively from individual moral consciousness is possible only to one who assumes human nature to be immutable, believes in its inherent goodness and in free will, i. e., in men's capacity to think and wish with absolute freedom, regardless of all the conditions and environment that determine his conscious being. As, however, inherent good-naturedness and free will are not philosophical principles but theological dogmas, a doctrine based on them cannot but be opposed to the deterministic philosophy of socialism, which founds its teachings on evolution and science.

The way toward a solution of the social problem, toward a realization of a more perfect social ideal based on science is certainly intricate and beset with errors and false conceptions whose elimination from the truth is necessarily a long, gradual and painful process. It winds in zigzags, sometimes seemingly leading astray, backward or even into a maze, and to follow it is often very wearisome. It is therefore natural for an impatient mind passionately seeking for complete and immediate truth to look back upon the simple wisdom of the ingenuous carpenter of Nazareth as upon the only infallible way out of the sombre wood of modern civilization. Tolstoy does not recognize that the Christian teaching based on an anti-biological and anti-natural self-renunciation, could not as a social factor but degenerate into the monstrous lie of official Christendom. He practically proposes to try it all over again.

The incongruity of his ascetic propaganda becomes still more glaring when it is recalled that as an agnostic Tolstoy does not bother about the life beyond the grave, but strives to bring about the happiness of men on earth. While the moral sense of a believer in future retribution may logically be completely satisfied with the Christian doctrine of renunciation, it is strange for a non-believer in revelation to discern in it a basis of practical morality. No one denies the exalted nobility of the golden rule or still more of the saying, "Resist not him that is evil; but whosoever smiteth thee on the right cheek turn to him the other also." It is a lofty ideal of moral perfection. But who can for a moment seriously consider it as a basis for regulating human life relations?

Buckle somewhere in his "History of Civilization" points out that a few ethical propositions known for thousands of years had been adopted and assimilated by all the great religions of the world without having undergone any substantial change, save for a few slight variations in form. "Do to others as ye would that they should do to you" is the rule to which the ethics of all great religions and systems can be reduced. This rule had been taught for ages in all forms and languages without having produced the desired effect, and continues a perpetual commonplace void of all significance if taken independently of existing relations. All the attained improvements in manners, morals and refinement of feeling can, on the contrary, be traced in the industrial and intellectual development of society which determine the moral code of a given age. Chattel slavery began to be considered immoral not before it had been outgrown by all the conditions that constitute an environment, chiefly by the economic progress. To the noble-minded Plato it did not even occur that slavery might be a discord in the harmony

of his "Republic." The suggestion that slavery was incompatible with "equality" and "justice," the two fundamental elements of his ideal state, would have seemed to him as absurd as that of granting equal rights to domestic animals.

Tolstoy not only founds his teachings upon an abstract principle, but without criticism accepts as eternal truths all the precepts alleged to have been uttered by Christ. As has been remarked, this gives homogeneity to his system, but, on the other hand, leads him to queer contradictions. He repudiates metaphysics, discerning its pernicious influence even in theoretical deductions from concrete social and economic phenomena, and yet himself writes a work in elucidation of the gospels* which is but metaphysics simplified. He certainly endeavors to put in them a plain meaning, but does not see that the very possibility of so many interpretations, often mutually exclusive of each other, points to metaphysical confusion. He ignores the fact that every one reads in the Bible his own mind, and that a certain crafty set of sophisters even contrive to find in it the justification of all the atrocities he condemns. He denounces Kant, Schopenhauer and particularly Hegel, whose doctrine he mockingly labels "the philosophy of the spirit," while he himself bases human progress on an "inborn religious sense." But is not an "inborn religious sense" developing independently of all material relations strikingly similar to a self-sufficient "absolute idea"? Tolstoy merely limits its application to the human race.

For all vital problems Tolstoy offers final categorical solutions based upon or, at least, in strict conformity with the same source—the New Testament. On it he founds his attitude as to science, art, industry, social relations, relations of sexes, and every other factor of modern culture. As regards science he has a contempt not only for what is designated social science —philosophy, history, sociology, political economy—but includes under his ban also biological and the greater part of positive science. "Medicine is a false science," with all its adjunct branches, of course. Of positive science he would retain only what is immediately useful. He denies the utility of all knowledge that has no immediate practical purpose, as astronomy, higher mathematics, etc., and repudiates all research not actuated by a definite utilitarian object. Research for the sake of truth in itself is said to be a fruitless waste of time and energy and those who indulge in it are idlers that seek the mere satisfaction of their fancies. He seems not to comprehend the primary truth that it is not the search for useful inventions that leads thinkers to the inquiry and discovery of nature's laws, but vice versa. In consonance with these

* "My Religion."

views he does not care to popularize science, as the people, he contends, are not in need of it. The only knowledge they require is the "genuine" knowledge taught by Confucius, Buddha, Moses, Mohammed and, above all, Jesus, of how to live morally. But in condemning science he condemns that which brings light and warmth to the human race. It appeared to him impotent and worthless because it did not answer his transcendental questions as to the aim of life. Its plain contention that the aim of life is in life itself, i. e., in enjoying it, and that, in this sense, science constantly amplifies it, he ridicules, scoffing at an ideal of the civilized world in which "machines will do all the work and men will be but enjoying bundles of nerves." It is contrary to his asceticism indeed.

It is this asceticism also that determines his conceptions of art. In the pamphlet "What Is Art" Tolstoy, with remarkable force, attempts to prove that nearly everything generally understood as art is not worthy of the name and is false art. Here, as everywhere, the indictment against the curse of commercialism and intellectual corruption poisoning the artistic spirit in capitalist society is masterly. "So long as the traders will not be driven out of the temple, the temple of art will be no temple." ("What Is Art.") But Tolstoy does not content himself with the denunciation of the monstrous outgrowths of modern decadence. In his destructive rage he does away with Shakespeare, Milton, Michael Angelo, Beethoven, Raphael, Goethe, all because the avowed object of their art-productions is the expression of beauty, conveying enjoyment, and is therefore contrary to his life principle. Only those art-productions that have nothing but a moral object are "genuine" art-productions. His ideal of art, as of everything else, lies not in future development, but in the past simple and even barbaric stage of society. Its criterion is its comprehensibility for the untrained mind. He overlooks that this inevitably leads to a complete negation of art. "My own art productions I reckon within the province of bad art with the exception of 'God Sees the Truth' and 'The Caucasian Prisoner,'" (Ibid.) It is scarcely conceivable that this assertion should come from the very depths of a firm conviction, and is rather to be regarded as a conclusion Tolstoy forced upon himself in strict accord with the whole of his teachings.

To what lengths of absurdity Tolstoy is led by constantly following out his ascetic doctrine is best demonstrated by his views on one of the most important social functions—the relations between man and woman. On this point not much need be said here. The philosophy of his "Kreutzer Sonata" is sufficiently known. In all his subsequent productions he zealously maintains the essential principles of the "Kreutzer

Sonata." Their chief feature is the mortification of the flesh: "Life dwells in the spirit, in the flesh is death. The life of the spirit is goodness and light: the life of the flesh is evil and darkness." The sexual instinct is regarded as an "imaginary want" not in reality existent. Upon cohabitation, whether legal or not, he looks as upon a hindrance to higher spiritual life. If a man and woman do have conjugal intercourse they must be bound to each other forever and produce children without limit regardless of their means of subsistence, for otherwise, he says, "men would be delivered from the cares and pains of rearing them up, which are the retribution of carnal love." He urges women to give up the folly of striving for science, education, and, if married, to exclusively devote themselves to the bearing and rearing of children; this is their destiny, because "such is the law of God to Moses, and it cannot be transgressed with impunity." Tolstoy realizes that sinful man will not so readily acquiesce in the opinion that one of the most powerful instincts of life is an imaginary one, and he makes a slight concession declaring that absolute chastity is an ideal which is worth striving for, as it would enable men to realize the law of life, which consists in disinterested love to each other. He seems not even to suspect the kinship between sexual and altruistic love, which has long ago attracted the attention of biologists. One of them in a recent work* conclusively establishes the fact that the benevolent sentiments originate directly from the sympathy of the male to the female, which then gradually extends to their immediate offspring, family, group, clan, community, etc. Thus, far from thwarting mutual sympathy among men, the sexual instinct is to be regarded as the primitive cause of this feeling. Contempt for science will spare Tolstoy the cheerless recognition of the fact that his propaganda of abstinence deprives his abstract altruism of any foundation.

These being essentially the fundamental principles of Tolstoy's teachings, it is now superfluous to draw a parallel between them and the socialist conception. The difference so obviously appears from the foregoing review that it would necessarily be a repetition. There now remains to be outlined the practical inferences of Tolstoy's philosophy with regard to the emancipation movement of the workers, and the more specific charges Tolstoy makes against socialism.

Tolstoy agrees with socialists precisely as much as socialists agree with him, i. e., in the indictment against the present system. For the rest they are entirely at variance, and Tolstoy on many occasions gave expression to this antagonism. What must be considered his most complete and direct at-

* Alexander Sutherland: "The Origin and Growth of the Moral Instinct," 2 vols., London, 1898.

tack on socialism appeared in a pamphlet published about a year ago,* in which we find a special chapter devoted to exposing "The Bankruptcy of the Socialist Ideal." Let us say right here that were it not for the name of Tolstoy the attack it contains could be passed over without a word. The promisingly sounding title naturally suggests a heavy armory of elaborate arguments arrayed for the overthrow of the principal tenets of the socialist philosophy, to-wit: The materialistic conception of history, the theory of class-struggles, the analysis of the mechanism of capitalist production and the theory of value. But whoever expects a single word with regard to all these propositions, which to ignore and at the same time to destroy socialism seems to be unthinkable, will be thoroughly disappointed. Tolstoy evidently includes them in the general anathema of science and therefore deems a separate refutation superfluous. But then, it seems, he should not have thought it worth his while to expound the "Bankruptcy of the Socialist Ideal," since the latter is based on premises already done away with.

Let us consider his objections. Having repudiated the economists for their attempts to infer laws of industrial development and their assertion, "that rural laborers must enter the factory system," he contends that not private ownership of capital and land is the cause of labor's destitution, "but that which drives them from the villages." He further says: "The emancipation of the workers from the state of things (even in the distant future in which science promises them liberty) can be accomplished neither by shortening the hours of labor, nor by increasing wages, nor by the promised communalization of the means of production. All that can not improve their position, for the misery of the laborer's position consists not in the longer or shorter hours of work, nor does it consist in the low rate of wages, nor in the fact that the railway or the factory is not theirs, but it consists in the fact that they are obliged to work in harmful, unnatural conditions often dangerous and destructive to life, and to live a barrack life in towns—a life full of temptations and immorality—and to do compulsory labor at another's bidding."† In other words: the misery of the laborer's position consists not in long hours and low wages, but in "harmful, unnatural conditions often dangerous and destructive to life;" not in the fact that the means of production are not theirs, but in the fact that they have to do "compulsory labor at another's bidding,"—as if those who strive to obtain shorter hours and higher wages do so for the abstract liking of short hours and high wages and

* "The Slavery of Our Times."

† "The Slavery of Our Times," pp. 86-87.

not for the sake of removing "harmful conditions;" as if socialists proposed collectivism not to abolish "compulsory labor at another's bidding," but because *communalization* spelled differently, *private ownership!*

Tolstoy reproaches socialists that they wish to perpetuate the causes that drive the peasants from the villages and "think it better for people to live in towns and to do compulsory machine work in factories rather than to live in villages and to work freely."* This is utterly false. On the contrary, socialists recognize the causes that under the present system drive peasants into the industrial slavery of towns and direct all their efforts towards bringing about a state of things which will abolish the contrast of town and country. In the above assertion the arbitrary interpretation of the socialist theory is so obvious that it needs no further discussion.

"But even allowing this assertion there remains in the very ideal itself, to which the men of science tell us the economic revolution is leading, an insoluble contradiction."† The contradiction which Tolstoy discerns in the socialist ideal is fourfold: First, how decide the length of time each man is to work, since the production must be apportioned? Second, "how are people to be induced to work at articles which some consider necessary and others consider unnecessary and even harmful?" Third, "which men are to do which work? Everybody will evidently prefer to do the light and pleasant work." And last, how will the degree of division of labor be regulated? These are essentially his objections to the socialist ideal. What they evince in the first place is that their author has not thought it worth his while to study or read socialist literature. And even if so, it is only blind predisposition that could make it possible to consider such naive objections as material. Moreover, even were they justified they could be disregarded, since socialism is not a scheme but a stage of economic evolution which is inevitable and must follow competition and private monopoly regardless of individual preferences. But socialists can afford to be generous and remove the scarecrows of a frightened imagination.

How long each man is to work and how the degree of division of labor will be regulated are questions that do not press for immediate settlement. When the world will be confronted with them it will have no difficulty in coping with these problems according to prevailing conditions. This will be the easier, inasmuch as the principal industries shall have been to a very great extent socialistically organized before they will be communalized. Nor need there be one central

* "Slavery of Our Times," p. 55.
† Ibid.

industrial administration over the whole globe. It is natural to suppose that the socialist state will form a confederacy of industrial republics, larger or smaller, in accordance with local conditions. As to production of articles which some may consider unnecessary or harmful, it is enough to say here that there is no reason to think why Tolstoy, for instance, would be compelled to work in a distillery or a butcher-shop if he is a vegetarian. In general, compulsion can hardly be spoken of in a co-operative society, where no one would have to be subjected to authority and each would be obliged to do his share of work in order to satisfy his own needs. What concerns unpleasant and hard work, there will not be much of it in a society with a high stage of technique and without profit-seeking as the only motive in industry. It should also be remembered that the modern cant of the "dignity of labor," in which wealthy idlers so much indulge, will necessarily become a truth in a commonwealth based on the co-operative labor of all. Besides, it may be conjectured that those who will do harder and more unpleasant work will work less. All these objections are especially strange as coming from Tolstoy, who professes so much confidence in the altruistic nature of men. He, more than anyone else, should have made allowance for the prevalence of this feeling in a society where all are economically safe.

It cannot be expected that these plain answers would satisfy Tolstoy or any other apostle of non-resistence. It is in the nature of things that a believer in free will should also believe in "absolute" freedom. He will therefore discern coercion in every natural obligation resulting from communal life and labor, forgetting that "absolute" freedom can be but an ideal and will never become an "absolute" reality, since one man's freedom must end where another's begins.

Now, what does Tolstoy offer instead of socialism? His propositions to the world's workers can be inferred from the foregoing elucidation of his views. He repudiates Malthus, of course, but by his teachings on sexual relations practically proposes to the workingman Malthusianism, leaving him no other choice than to altogether abstain or to starve himself by producing a large family. It makes no difference to the laborer that Malthus was actuated in his proposition by his economic class-interest, or Tolstoy by a would-be moral principle. His views on art, science and industry evince a tendency not to increase the worker's share of enjoyment in them, but to reduce the higher classes to their primitive level, or lower still. According to him, one of the causes of evil lies in the too highly developed wants of the proletariat, while socialism sees in their low standard of life, in "der verdammten Bedurfmisslosigkeit der Massen," an obstruction to their cultural

progress. Together with the rotten fruits of civilization he rejects all the fresh and nourishing ones, whose cultivation took thousands of years and were raised by mankind at the expense of its blood and sweat. Socialists will retain all that is worth having, for it is folly to suppose that the human race will renounce all that has been acquired by its geniuses. Some of Tolstoy's propositions have some positive meaning for the propertied classes: renunciation of their wealth, moral regeneration; but for the toiler who has nothing to renounce, they remain high-sounding Christian sermons void of inner significance. He tells him to be patient and wait until his oppressors shall become pervaded with Christian love and ideas of the happiness of ascetic life and agricultural labor. Still better, if the workingman realizes that the "kingdom of heaven is within us," then he would become happy in his mundane misery and free in his bonds. Tolstoy had no right to scoff at the metaphysicians who declared that the only actual freedom is that of the spirit. This is indeed the only logical result of his teaching of non-resistance so far as the "modern slaves" are concerned. The doctrine of non-resistance, convenient as it is to all kinds of oppression, is the culminating point of his reactionary tendencies. It would enervate and emasculate labor and render it the perpetual prey of the exploiters. Like the church it actually preaches subjection, with the difference that the church does it in the name of future retribution, and Tolstoy in the name of morality. Tolstoy hates war and strife. So do socialists. But while Tolstoy would have peace even at the price of liberty, socialists prefer war for freedom to the peace of slavery. Tolstoy's philosophy involves quietism and, if accepted, would lead to intellectual apathy and stagnation. Socialism based on evolutionary science means development and progress. Fortunately, the unreasonableness of Tolstoyism is so manifest to plain common sense that its influence need not be feared. In its unceasing forward movement the human race with unerring instinct borrows from its thinkers only what it can assimilate in its historic evolution. It was thus France acted with regard to Jean Jacques Rousseau—Tolstoy's great prototype of the eighteenth century. When Rousseau sent Voltaire a copy of his famous prize essay on the causes of inequality among men,* in which he eloquently depicted the evils of civilization and recommended that humanity should return to nature and to the simple life of primitive men, the patriarch of Farney acknowledged the gift in a courteous letter, where he remarks with fine irony: "You may please men by telling them the

* "Discours sur l'origine et les fondements de l'inegalite des conditions parmi les hommes."

truth about them, but you would not make them better. It would be impossible to paint the horrors of human society in stronger colors than you did. No one ever displayed so much intelligence striving to make us stupid; reading your book one is overtaken by a desire of crawling on his fours. However, as it is more than sixty years since I lost this habit, I unfortunately feel that it will be impossible for me to return to it."*

France of the great revolution, so vigorously promoted by the negative analysis of Rousseau's genius, has together with Voltaire declined his positive proposals and did not return to the age of crawling on fours. Nor will our age of a still greater and more thorough revolution renounce its manhood and return to its primitive stage by adopting the beliefs and ideals of Tolstoy's ascetic Christianity. Still, as in the case of Rousseau, the great social forces of the coming revolution will hail with gratitude the marvelous work Tolstoy is doing in uprooting the pillars of bourgeois society. Future generations will study Tolstoy the artist; but his teachings will probably in due time be forgotten by the bulk of the civilized world. Tolstoy will survive Tolstoyism.

B. H. Brumberg.

* Voltaire, Oeuvres completes. Paris, 1824-1832, LXXVI., 112 et seq.

French Socialism and the Lyons Congress

THE comrades abroad will have some difficulty in understanding French socialism. It is a veritable chaos of whirling groups, sections and sub-sections that enter into alliances, fight one another and combine under the most varying and unexpected forms. And as the cause and at the same time the effect of this unceasing division of the socialist forces in France, we find personal disputes, fights of individuals against individuals. However, if we observe more closely and do not simply judge from mere appearances, we easily become aware that personal rivalries are not the only cause of the differences among socialists. Without any doubt, personal differences thrive well in such a disorder, but they alone do not create it. Differences as to tactics and methods also contribute their share, and although they are just as strong in other countries, they are there easily restrained by the reins of a united party. This seems impossible in France, at least for the moment. The whole historical past with its feuds of groups and individuals weighs us down as heavily as the individualism that characterizes our national temperament. All this cannot be abolished in a single day, if it can ever be overcome at all.

This is the lesson taught by the Lyons congress. The elements that were hitherto restrained by factional union, but cannot be assimilated, separated at last from the others and took up their own respective positions. Compulsory marriages always end in divorce.

The French socialists are not yet ripe for unity. Or at best they could have attained only an imperfect unity. Those who wanted to go too fast and make a clean table of it with the old organizations and their historical rights, have compromised everything. The old organizations manifested a growing restlessness in view of the arrival of new elements in the party. They resisted a too hasty union, strengthened their positions and finally detached themselves one by one from the artificial block in order to resume their former independence.

I.

The history of the movement for unity in France is very instructive. In 1893, after pronounced successes in the elections, a considerable number of socialists penetrated into par-

liament. This unforeseen success had somewhat mitigated the old internal feud, and at least on the election ground, face to face with the common enemy, a union was maintained from 1893 to 1898 between the socialist parties: Parti Ouvrier Francais (Jules Guesde), Parti Socialiste Revolutionnaire (Vaillant), Parti Ouvrier Socialiste Revolutionnaire (Allemane), Federation des Travailleurs Socialistes de France (Jaures, Millerand, Viviani). This union for election purposes was not always respected. Especially the Allemanists detached themselves or rather never adhered to it properly. But feeble as this union was, it was superior to the disorder and mutual devouring that had previously characterized French socialism.

To push farther ahead the work of the growing union, to make a permanent and organic unity out of this purely momentary alliance on the election ground, this was a thought that strongly appealed to the new men who had come into the party without being linked to its past.

Jaures, who joined the party during the elections of 1893, and became the great parliamentary leader of the legislature from 1893 to 1898, made himself the most ardent advocate of the new idea. The masses who seemed tired of the interminable fights of schools and leaders, welcomed him with joy. And since 1897 a strong movement in favor of unity developed in the deep recesses of French socialism.

It seemed as if this movement were to bear its full fruit, or to yield at least its first results when the passionate discussions provoked by the affaire Dreyfus threatened to break up everything. It is well known that, while Jaures displayed a prominent activity, the old parties—the Parti Ouvrier Francais of Jules Guesde and the Parti Socialiste Revolutionnaire of Vaillant—refrained from all intervention and severely denounced the course of Jaures who, by the way, did not have all the independent parties on his side at the outset. We have not yet forgotten the vigorous polemics that stirred up all the French socialists during 1898, especially after the legislative elections, and during the year 1899.

However, from the excess of evil the remedy was to come. In view of the daily more threatening menace of militarism and clericalism, the disruption of the socialist forces constituted a grave danger. The force of the circumstances was stronger than all resistance, and if we wished to oppose the reactionary elements we had to unite. Unity first came in its most elementary form. On the initiative of Jules Guesde, a "Vigilance Committee" was created in the latter part of 1898, whose duty, as indicated by the name, was to watch the situation.

The movement for unity gained once more in favor and claimed recognition through the force of circumstances.

This became so apparent that everybody in the party recognized the necessity of calling a general congress of all socialist organizations for the purpose of creating a permanent united organization. The old rudimentary "Vigilance Committee" had already been replaced by a "Committee on Agreement" that by its daily action united more closely all the sections still maintaining their independence in spite of everything. But even this "Committee on Agreement" seemed insufficient, and the congress of 1899 assembled in the Salle Wagram at Paris to devise a more perfect organization.

Unhappily, the Millerand incident once more broke up the ranks of the socialists in June 1899. Mr. Waldeck-Rousseau had formed his cabinet by choosing General de Gallifet and the socialist deputy Millerand. The party was stirred to its depths. The "Cas Millerand" was discussed by the militant socialists under three points of view: 1. As a question of principle: Does the class struggle permit the socialist party to take part at any moment, through the agency of one of its members, in the central power of the bourgeoisie? 2. As a question of tactics: If so, under what conditions is it admissible? Was there any danger of reaction at the moment of the formation of the cabinet? 3. As a question of fact: Has a socialist a right to take a place by the side of General de Gallifet, the murderer of the communists of Paris, even if he could or should enter the cabinet?

The first beginnings of unity just mentioned by us were immediately shattered by these passionate discussions. The Parti Ouvrier Francais of Jules Guesde and the Parti Socialiste Revolutionnaire of Vaillant issued a scathing manifesto excluding Millerand and his defenders from the party. Their deputies ostentatiously left the parliamentary group of socialists and formed a purely revolutionary group in the Chambre.

The old parties availed themselves the more eagerly of this opportunity to break away from the rest of the party as the advocates of unity; especially Jaures urged the immediate necessity of a complete union. Jaures and his friends demanded the complete absorption of the old organizations and their final fusion into one great united party. The old parties were afraid of such hasty action, rallied among themselves, and when Millerand entered into power without any previous consultation with the party, solely on his personal responsibility, they made this another strong point in their defense.

Amid these stirring scenes the congress of 1899 opened. Nevertheless it brought about some progress, by constituting a central body for the unification of all socialist parties. It formed a general committee for the permanent representation of the united party. The different organizations were to send a number of delegates proportionate to the number of their mandates. It also recognized the existence of the first autonomous federations, sectional or departmental, whether of older or more recent origin.

This general committee existed until the congress of October, 1900, in Paris. Its role was not brilliant. The elements it harbored in its bosom were deeply hostile to one another, and constant and irreconcilable differences occurred among them. It accomplished no serious and practical results. Its only effect was to render more pointed the troubles between the groups and persons arising from the acts of the ministry Millerand-Waldeck-Rousseau.

Consequently when the International Socialist Congress assembled in September, 1900, the Frenchmen, passionate and divided, forced it to devote itself almost exclusively to the "Cas Millerand." The Kautsky resolution, which was adopted, did not succeed in harmonizing them, and at the national congress that was held a few days later a new schism took place. The Parti Ouvrier Francais bolted and resumed its isolated position. Its ally, the Parti Socialiste Revolutionnaire, did not follow. It remained in the Salle Wagram with the secret intention of serving as a bridge between the bolting Parti Ouvrier Francais and the majority of the party.

The national congress of October, 1900, dissolved, charging the new general committee with the preparation of a plan for the complete unification of the party, and with convening a new congress after the lapse of six months, to the end of accomplishing a definite union.

The general committee nominated by the October congress of 1900 prepared a unity program. But the difficulties separating the parties that composed it became more pronounced instead of diminishing. The Parti Socialiste Revolutionnaire took part in the deliberations, but in a rather loose manner. In the country, the fighting continued over every act of Millerand. And the differences between the adversaries of ministerialism and its partisans augmented daily. In the beginning, the defenders of Millerand thought of his entry only as being provisional, exceptional and accidental. But when the cabinet lasted, these same defenders made of the participation in the government no longer a question of circumstances, but of a new method of action. This was the cause of all evil. In view of these theoretical affirmations of the ministerialists,

the anti-ministerialists retreated more and more and accentuated their uncompromising attitude to exaggeration.

Hence, at the moment of opening the Lyons Congress (May 26-28), the Parti Socialiste Revolutionnaire was attached to the general committee in name only. In heart and spirit it was with the Parti Ouvrier Francais, toward which the actions of the ministerialists removed it more and more.

The resulting schism, unfortunate as it is, was only quite natural. It was a question of making an end to the cause of division. For this purpose the congress had to exhaust for once and all the "Cas Millerand." The attempt was made, but it did not succeed. The Parti Socialiste Revolutionnaire, together with the Alliance Communiste (Groussier, Dejeante) and some autonomous federations, cut the last ties that bound them to the rest of the united party. This proved that, for the moment at least, unity of all French socialists is impossible.

We must now turn to the work of the congress itself.

II.

If the congress had adhered to the tenor of the call, it would have discussed only the unity programs submitted to it. Nevertheless, a question of prejudice pre-occupied all minds: to terminate the "Cas Millerand."

The question really imposed itself, so to say. Nobody protested. The discussion was accepted on all sides as necessary. It was well understood that it was useless to formulate unity programs, unless this unity was first made possible, or unless the possibility or impossibility of unity was first ascertained.

The congress was confronted by two resolutions which differed only in one expression: Both of them declared that the French socialists must treat the Waldeck-Rousseau cabinet like all bourgeois cabinets. But the first resolution, that of de la Porte, stated that Millerand had placed himself *outside of the party* by his entry in the cabinet. While the second resolution, that of Briand, said that he had placed himself *outside of the control of the party.* If unity could have been accomplished, it would have done so on one of these two resolutions. To say that one of our members has placed himself *outside of the party* or *outside of the control of the party*—is not that the same thing for us? If a man is *outside of the control of the party,* is he not *outside of the party?*

Because there existed opposite doctrines and tactics that were irreconcilable for the moment and seemed incompatible while Millerand's ministry lasted, therefore no agreement was possible on any of these resolutions.This became clearly apparent in the course of the discussions, that were particularly violent, abusive and painful. Evidently there was no hope for the organic union of such inimical brothers.

The history of the discussion on the de la Porte motion and later on of the Briand motion is interesting and may explain what happened to those readers who were ill informed by an ill-informed press. The words *outside of the party* in the de la Porte motion were interpreted in the most offensive sense by the defenders of doctrinary ministerialism: they believed that the simple statement of the situation of Millerand in regard to party discipline had the afterthought of excluding from the party those who defended him. And for this personal character, which was attributed to it wholly gratuitously, de la Porte's motion was abandoned by many of its partisans for Briand's motion. If the majority rallied to the support of Briand's motion, it was solely due to these accidental and in no way decisive reasons.

Nevertheless, Briand's motion is a defeat for the convinced ministerialists in spite of its adoption. Briand was careful to point out in his speech that those who had signed his motion had pledged themselves solemnly to avoid in the future all hateful discussions of ministerialism in the party and not to attribute to the existence of the cabinet of Waldeck Rousseau a prime importance for the actions of the socialists.

The Blanquists and a few signers of de la Porte's motion refused to change anything. The terms of the declaration accurately expressed their ideas. Therefore they left the congress when the vote turned out to their disadvantage, and declared that they were unable to further take part in any work with socialists who were so far removed from their principles.

I must mention an incident to which the International Socialist Review had given place. I was one of the signers of de la Porte's motion although after its rejection I supported Briand's motion. Jaures, the leading champion of Millerand, fought de la Porte's motion and one of his principal arguments was taken from the article on the "Trade Union Movement in France," which I had the honor of contributing to the May number of this review. In this article I stated that the presence of a socialist minister in the cabinet had exerted a favorable influence on the trade unions. Jaures found a contradiction between this statement and de la Porte's motion stating that Millerand did no longer belong to the party. Hence he concluded that I had one opinion for use in America and another for use in Europe.

As the question has some importance, I request permission

to explain it here very shortly. How is it a contradiction to say on one side, that such and such a minister, who has marked sympathies for the working class, has at a given moment strengthened the organic evolution of the proletariat; and on the other to deny all solidarity between the same minister and the socialist party to which he may have belonged, but from which he separated?

Unhappily the working class and the socialist party do not coincide completely. The socialist party is indeed essentially a workingmen's party, but it encompasses only that part of the proletariat which has arrived to the full consciousness of its class interests and its revolutionary role. While the working class might, without a higher ideal to guide it, compromise with capitalist society and seek to improve its functions instead of transforming its bases, the socialist party, on the contrary, fights for the purpose of breaking down the bourgeois order and substituting a new regime for the old.

No doubt, in this fight it helps the laboring class to obtain as many political and juridical safeguards as possible, and it concentrates all its efforts on labor legislation. For this reason it is led to support all liberal ministers who are more or less in sympathy with the laboring classes in proportion as they serve the interests of the labor movement.

When, therefore, a minister like Millerand stimulates by certain phases of his work—not by all—the trade union movement, why should we deny the results of his actions in these special points? Why should we furthermore refuse to recognize that his capacity as a socialist, which is being attributed to him rightly or wrongly, has on one side provoked numerous strikes by creating futile hopes in the laborers, and on the other has also broken down a certain distrust of the laborers in the public powers and encouraged the proletariat to unite against the employers?

Nobody has ever denied this work of Millerand, just as no one denies the work of Waldeck Rousseau, the father of the law of 1884 on trade unions. All this is the general result of the activity of all democratic ministers who wish to give the working classes their share in a capitalist environment. The history of labor legislation proves this.

To recognize this truth—to affirm that the working class has profited in a certain measure by the presence of Millerand in the public power—does that prevent us from *placing ourselves on another standpoint, the socialist point of view*, and from saying that the action of Millerand has put our party out of place and arrested its organic development?

After appreciating the reform minister, cannot we pronounce

judgment on the party member, the deputy who belonged to the parliamentary socialist group? And after recognizing that the minister has occasionally played a useful role on the reform ground, is it not allowed to declare that Millerand, on the socialist ground, has violated the essential laws of party discipline and placed himself outside of the party?

This idea of the party must be introduced in order to judge Millerand. A party is an organism complete in itself, with special laws for its internal management, a special code of ethics, theoretical principles and tactical rules. Millerand transgressed this code of laws, principles and rules. No matter how good a democratic minister he may be, he cannot be a socialist worthy of the name.

This is what I wanted to say, as well in the International Socialist Review as by signing de la Porte's motion. This is what I have always said in Le Mouvement Socialiste, which I have edited since its foundation.

III.

What is the socialist situation in France after the Lyons congress?

If we glance at it superficially it seems that there are two clearly defined socialist camps in France: on one side, those who stayed at the Lyons congress; on the other, those who bolted and those who did not come at all.

Those who stayed were: The majority of the autonomous federations that are practically anti-ministerialist but wish to accomplish unity and are opposed to all schisms; the independent party, partisans of ministerialism, who rallied a little force for the support of Briand's motion; the last groups of the Allemanists who are in full dissolution; and the remainder of the Broussists who are almost extinct. Those who bolted were the Blanquists, the Alliance Communiste and the autonomous revolutionary federations allied to them. Those who did not come at all are the Guesdists.

Among those who stayed unity remains established, all the more so because a unity program was adopted which no doubt has only a transitory value, but still is no less real for all that. Among those who bolted or did not come at all, that is among the elements of the extreme left, a revolutionary alliance is on the verge of being created. The deputies belonging to these factions have already left the parliamentary socialist group and formed a so-called revolutionary group in distinction from the other.

On examining the situation more closely, however, it does not seem that this division of French socialism is anything else

but a quite accidental state of things that cannot last very long. Every one of these two groups, in fact, comprises such heterogeneous and contradictory elements that their association cannot have a definite meaning and a long duration. Among those who stayed at the congress and who will retain the name "Parti Socialiste Francais," there is an extreme right, ministerialists, reformers and anti-revolutionaries; and beside these, there is the greater part of the autonomous federations that are frankly revolutionary. Among the groups of the extreme left, there existed old feuds that provoked such personal rivalries that their union can apparently never be very solid; they are also separated by profound doctrinary differences. And as for the autonomous federations that have followed these groups so far, they are absolutely independent from them.

It cannot be said, therefore, that an absolutely distinct revolutionary party is on one side and a reform party on the other side of French socialism. There are revolutionary and reform elements; but the ranks that enclose them are not clearly defined.

The truth is that new forms of organizations assume a more and more important part: the autonomous federations. They occupy in a manner a central position in French socialism, just as far removed from the uncompromising dogmatism of the old parties as from the opportunism of the simply reformatory ministerialists. They will develop and gradually withdraw the members and influence from the old organizations, thus founding slowly the bases of future unity. Geographically they form the natural mould into which all the energy and activity must flow. But evidently they are still far from playing this dominant role. They are not numerous enough, they are too young and above all they are too isolated from each other. They are nevertheless our future, and the facilitation of their evolution is the duty of all French socialists who await a better organization of their party.

This development can be assisted only by insisting on peace among the socialist parties. While internal feuds are raging, our activity and energy are diverted from practical work. Under a comparative peace in the party, on the contrary, the autonomous federations will be able to follow their logical course and to mature all their fruit.

In order to obtain this socialist peace, organic bonds of contact should be created between the two present groups that were formed after the Lyons congress. We must return a step and improve the "Committee on Agreement" of 1899, that was so supple and plastic and left to all the interested factions

their full independence. But is it possible to form this "Committee on Agreement?" We think so. The old parties have no logical reason to refuse it, and it is plainly desired by the autonomous federations. If we accomplish this, we shall have obtained the highest degree of unity that is feasible for the moment and prepared the way for future unity

Paris, June 8, 1901. *Hubert Lagardelle.*
Editor of "The Mouvement Socialiste."

(*Translated by E. Untermann.*)

Paganism vs. Socialism

THEY are surely the world's true philosophers who seek to relate the contemporaneous things of the world. Whether the other philosophers want to see them related or not the facts of man's world must be related. Two of these facts are Christianity and Socialism, and the couple seem now to be approaching each other with amicable intent, and several friends of the parties seem to differ about the affair; some, like myself, favor the union, because it is inevitable and we hate runaway matches anyway; and others, like Julian, are disposed to forbid the bans, not liking one of the parties.

Julian complains of "the persistency with which the relations between Christianity and socialism are thrust forward" by persons he has in mind; persons, who, despairing of introducing socialism into Christianity, are now attempting to Christianize socialism. Let them go ahead, brother Julian. That they love socialism enough to have made the former attempt should make us love them: that they failed in that attempt should remove any occasion to fear them: that they have faith enough in socialism to abide here and to get along with us while our Julians would fain get along without them makes us long for more of them.

A few general characteristics of Julian's essay may be noted here, after which I will proceed to my own purpose of showing that Christianity and socialism belong to each other. I note in Julian's method the following: 1. A generous transition from one meaning to another in the use of words. 2. A phenomenally poetic mind engaged in building a strictly materialistic philosophy on the foundations of fancy in Greek history. 3. A singular deftness in angling out of the stream of history the rag needed and leaving all the rest there. 4. A notion that there are two sorts of human minds, one of which is materialist and the other not. 5. A simple child-like faith that he knows enough of the ancient world experience to find and sum up its lesson in a couple of pages of our International Socialist Review. 6. A bland and beautiful belief that he is the possessor of an unprejudiced scientific mind which enables him to see things just as they are. 7. A strange delusion concerning the identity of egoism and socialism. These are my impressions of the machine that produced the Julian essay. I now proceed to my own production, in the full conviction that the tinge of my mind and its resulting expressions of it are

just as much the product of my environment as Julian's thinking machine, or this piece of paper.

He says: "That the attempt to unite socialism and Christianity is a failure, both sides faring indifferently in the process."

I admit that Christianity as an institution fares indifferently by the process to which Comrade Herron has been subjecting it, viz., of contrasting it with its own ideal as an organized following of the steps and instructions of Jesus. On the other hand, the sober earthly doctrine of economic and political revolution needed to-day and called socialism, has not fared indifferently by that process; but it has fared very well and will so continue to fare while the process goes on—while Christians come our way bringing their moral enthusiasm with them, and recognizing the material elements for which we contend, and having the class consciousness with which at this stage of labor's subjugation we must struggle.

Mere revivals of religion have come and gone into the stomach of Mammon over and over again, because they began with the mind, were aimed at the mind and culminated there, and only incidentally and temporarily did they improve the conditions of the slave class; but a dual movement resting upon, and aiming primarily at that which hitherto has destroyed all other revivals, taking possession of economics as its own, alone secures the spiritual salvation of the race, which, I believe, always has meant the salvation of each man from the selfish to the social, that is, *from* Julian's paganism *to* socialism, and the salvation of society from its armed aristocracies.

He who perceives that continuity is the law of natural processes should be able to see the same law in mental and religious processes, and therefore to approach religion, so large a part of humanity, without fear or hatred. We cannot appear very sincere in our trust or love of humanity if we separate ourselves from its principal experiences with loathing—and though a pagan may claim to be a mere sublunary worldling as compared with all the others who lift their thoughts above earth and say prayers, yet as a matter of fact it is the dissenter from the common way who in this case is living the superlunary life. The majority of people under the moon have formed a habit of believing in religious practices and the philosopher who would work with that majority should learn, in the mental and moral propaganda, the lesson of the continuity of nature's processes. I mean the lesson of not running away from that which is.

He seeks to accomplish too much and will therefore accomplish nothing who requires, in the name of socialism, that all men who are not materialists shall change their creeds, and abandon the social habits of their religions, and shall pull out by the roots the sentiments and traditions of centuries of child-

hood. And he will do nothing who superciliously separates himself as a new-fangled pagan from the common life, which it is his duty to abide by and help into the cleansing thoughts of socialism, the equality of all men, and our equal right to the business and pleasures of life all together. Whether religion has been planted among us by accident or something more; and, whether to the critic it seem to be good or bad, wise or foolish; its prayers efficacious or ridiculous; its precepts philosophical or otherwise; the truth still remains that religion is one of the most extensive facts of the human race's experience; and those comrades who plume themselves on their special devotion to the fact and science are not well establishing the validity of their claim by ignoring, or antagonizing, the fact that religion is a prevailing habit of the people; that its poems, prayers and traditions supply expressions, the only expressions for their emotions and affections; those that are plus the sexual, and which make man a creature now longing for socialism. It would be a far better evidence of their scientific tact and temper to drop quarreling with that which seems to be almost a part of the constitution of man, and if they love socialism to learn to love it wisely on behalf of the people; that is, by hating religion less. Of course the pagan egoist who sneers at the one universal message of religion—self-subjection; who believes in the intrinsic and eternal sanctions and rightness of the single life, and the certainty with which, if let alone, it will work out the problem of the collective, will not try to hate religion any the less for the sake of the commonweal, but will throw the rein freely on the necks of this and all other aversions, and will be himself; suffering the soul of society, Mazeppa like, to be riven asunder, in concession to a blind faith in the validity of the personal life for public matters. This is the pagan attitude of mind favored by the essay under review; it is also the anarch attitude; and it is, in my opinion, wholly incompatible with the successful propagation of socialism in America, or any other country, not excluding pagan Greece, where an antagonism to the mental habit of the people would have been as barren in the fertility of a new propaganda as elsewhere. The true attitude of a scientific socialist, that is a socialist who knows how to succeed, is to accept that marrow fact around which all religions cluster,—the necessity of subordinating the single life to the greater life—doing it consciously and willingly; thus the main truth of socialism,—the collective life, becomes the complement of the religious main truth,—self-denial, which this writer scornfully thinks of as a cowering mystical orientalism.

The propriety of assailing religion should never be questioned, for few things on earth require it more; so weighted is it with falsehoods, and so charged with treason to its trust—the life of the people: yet to assail it for anything smaller than

itself is a treason greater than its own; to assail it on behalf of a personal paganism, an archaic anarchy, is a pigmy's enterprise; but to correct and rebuke it in the interests of socialism is simply to check the child in the interests of its own future manhood; for socialism is to be, shall be the future manhood of all religions.

However we may blush to see the churches adapting and incorporating into themselves the hideous crime of capitalist slavemaking and indorsing the loathsome philosophy of competing with and overcoming human life for gold, it is still a human gain, I think, that the habit of the Christian church compels ministers to speak every week words of justice, love and surrender, by which they are self-condemned at least, and which, in spite of their odious practices, keeps the ideal of a larger life, personified in God, alive. However they stagger, the lamp still burns.

The new and true attitude of socialism towards all religions will result in spiritualizing socialism and placing, in our case, Christianity on the six-day materialistic basis of the world's daily work, daily deeds and daily needs. This attitude will indeed Christianize American socialism by socializing American Christianity, and the result will be not an indifferent faring for both, as the Julian article states, but a very decided welfaring.

We have committed some blunders heretofore in our rigid economic deliverance of the socialist hope,—we have been loyally demanding the impossible from those about us when requiring them to understand along with our new politics an entirely new academic philosophy of life, and our unreasonableness has cost us half a century of success. But now a stranger thing still is demanded of us; we are asked to become pagans as a necessary preliminary step to socialism. What about circumcision!

The distinction attempted by Julian between paganism and Christianity is this; that the people, or the aristocracy of Greece, whichever he chooses, were materialists only and did not believe in the supernatural, but he is wrong. What the people believed in the poets indicate, and whether it be in Hesiod or Homer we look, there is enough of the supernatural to match all the miracles and fancies of Christianity, with quite a museum of odds left to the credit of Greece. They had their altars, lustrations, priests, priestesses, holocausts, prayers and other such things; none of which can be accounted for on the purely materialistic and anti-supernatural theory. To be sure the writer affects the society of those intellectual aristocrats, the stoics of later times, but they were not Greece—they were not paganism. If on the other hand, he desires to limit the word paganism to that school, why travel into an-

tiquity for his paganism, since we have it better expressed in our own materialistic writers.

We should learn to pity believers whose faiths we cannot adopt, if their faiths came into their lives without any action of their own; and we should learn to pity because some of us stand in need of such commiseration ourselves, even for opinions we have voluntarily adopted. It does look as if most mortals were doomed to a certain amount of gullibility; not including poor Julian in this his passing fancy for the Greeks as the people who have the real religion for socialism, because they had none. The whole thing is so super-materialistically, naively, and credulously pretty, that if you will permit an Irish critic to have his native he cow, I think that it was not the author who wrote it at all, but his sister Juliana. The modern highly developed intellectual egoist has, since the revival of ancient literature in the middle ages, sighed for Greece. That little peninsula of poets, pirates and philosophers finds a devotee in every student who, by culture, sweetness and light, desires to find a place among the best minds. This Greek worship early stamped itself on the individualist revolt known as the protestant reformation, and the most pronounced egoists among the modern poets were ever since Hellenists. From Hellas there came down ready-made God-descended aristocrats. In London or New York we have no such genealogical mountain turning us out polished off personalities, but we have an individualistic self-culturing, competing process of regularly evoluted aristocrats under Spencer and the banks.

The pagan mind held up to our admiration here is described as the objective, seeking all knowledge boldly because unscious of its limitations; while Christianity is "the cowering attitude of the oriental mind, paralyzed before the unknowable," and therefore not seeking knowledge; and yet, strange to say, getting all the knowledge Julian has and giving it to him. One of the many things in this paper which I do not understand is why a people unconscious of their limitations, as the Greeks are described to be, should so ardently seek knowledge; and why the other people, described as conscious of their limitations, should therefore never seek to overstep them. It is to the mind conscious of its limitations we owe our all. The oriental mind, the mind that came out of many ages of tribulation, and which had learned its limitations among millions of its fellow creatures; the individual, crushed into passivity under the despotic power of a barbarous collectivism sitting on the thrones of ancient empires; this mind to which society had long taken the place of nature, brought its message of law and stamped it on the Roman world. Rome, far reaching, autonomous, regal, imperial Rome brought the East to the West thus, and Greece, because of its inherent anarchy, shriveled under the touch, its

paganism perished; and though capitalism has galvanized it into artificial life for a night, it will perish in the morning of economic solidarity.

True philosophy reconciles the subjective with the objective mind in a social compact. The subjective mind in action yields the religious life, the life of unreliance upon ego, the life of allegiance to the greatest, the one that seeks its endorsement, its support, its consolation from the higher reservoirs of social consent. It is this, and not the pagan type of self-culture and the assertion of self-sufficiency, that is fittest to survive into socialism; yet not necessarily at the unequal cost of the other. Egoism needs no philosophy for its defensiveness—it is provided in the very fact of its separate physical organism with a complete armory of defense. The whole power of philosophy and intellect must ever be called in on behalf of the true defendant, society, which the pagan anarchist is born to attack.

But strictly speaking the paganism of self-culture never stood alone anywhere; neither did the Christianity of self-surrender; Greece could only be kept alive by this oriental principle. The impersonalism imposed upon slaves or voluntarily yielded by many wise people—the principle of self-abeyance, of personal subordination—has always been the salt of society—the best thing in the world, and therefore the pearl of great price, the one thing that all religions enshrine. I do not believe in Julian's method of analyzing history with a butcher's cleaver. I do not recognize that the East was ever so separated from the West as he imagines. I believe the same mental forces were always everywhere present in the whole human social experience, and I recognize in Julian a good religious dissenter, who, like the late Mr. Ingersoll, simply takes his rosary out to a little cave of his own, while the other fellows stay on the church pavement.

In the last analysis the mental life of the world has been the swing of the pendulum from the man self-esteemed and the man self-surrendered; and the latter is the man of socialism.

We are all more or less in this conflict, but the man who is conscious of his limitations is more likely to get good, and to bring good out of the experience, than he who acts as if cosmos had been always in labor to bring forth himself. Comrade Julian has struck socialism simply because he is not a pagan, and he sticks to it for the same reason. When he acts as he reasons there will be one more anarchist. First, and this did not make him a pagan, he disliked Christianity. Second, he adopts socialism. Now, inasmuch as he has adopted socialism, it must, he thinks, be something very different from Christianity, say paganism. Whereupon it seems natural to him that they should be antagonistic to each other. It only remained for him to identify his paganism with everybody else's social-

ism to prove to him that socialism and Christianity are opposed to each other.

Paganism was merely an unabashed childlike study of the laws of nature, thinks Julian, while the religion of Christianity—the oriental ideal—stood for the complete annhilation of self, and it was only what he calls the social instinct of self-preservation that saved the world from Christianity. This sounds odd, but the full-grown self-centered egoist has a self that soon centers the universe, and therefore must needs think that self-preservation is the only social instinct, whereas, had it not been for the social sense—the gift of God—self-preservation would have put an end to humanity long ago.

"It was due to paganism," he adds, "that the doctrines of the humble and meek carpenter of Nazareth became militant and aggressive." This is correct. The paganism of the individual life soon conquered social Christianity, and it is the reconquest from the pagan church goers that now engages the persons who are miscalled Christian socialists, to distinguish them from materialist socialists. As well seek to separate Christian art from the paint, canvas, marble and chisels employed in it! Neither the word materialist nor the word Christian is big enough to cover the science of complete human living. The word Christian is not big enough for that which has preserved the race through its terrible economic experiences ready for the merciful revolution of socialism, and the word material, or its new equivalent, "pagan," substituted by Julian, is not big enough to cover the splendid activities either of the present class struggle or the noble legislation of future days.

In conclusion let me remind Julian and others that scientific people have their cant and other little weaknesses, not always obvious to the eye of self-delusion, just like other mortals; that the modern unprejudiced student of mankind with that glassy eye and all enveloped in the cold white sheet of reason, penetrating into such awful places as holies of holiests, neither railing, scoffing nor deriding, but just only studying, inquiring and tracing facts to their origin and examining things as they are without fear or prejudice, *armed with the weapon of science*, is a fiction, a mere self picture of the student's own fancy only; as truly spooky to fact as if Hamlet's father were to stalk across this page. The original does not exist, neither outside nor inside of Julian. To admit the existence of such a philosophy is unphilosophical, "it deals with beliefs which forbid and exclude rational discussion," which is one of our critic's opening remarks concerning Christianity; a good remark, by the way, with which to decline the discussion of Christianity altogether, but not a very good one with which to commence such a discussion—in a philosophic way. But philosophers are odd creatures.

I will not apologize—no, not with half a tear, as Julian does—for the Grecian philosophy that could not rise above the recognition of slavery as a proper condition for some men in former times; neither can I condemn Christianity because "its precepts were for a society of masters and slaves, of rich and poor," since, as a socialist I do not accept the supernatural in morals; but I do protest against the unfairness of saying that Christianity contemplated the perpetuity of slavery while paganism did not. (The perpetuity of contemplations may not weigh much anyway.) But neither the wisdom of Zeno nor the charity of Jesus could enable the ancient or mediaeval worlds to maintain cities and states without slaves. Not until the birth of the race's material redeemer was emancipation from slavery a possibility—not until that cross was raised, the modern machine on which the proletariat is now crucified, was the fact of the race's solidarity developed and our ensuing liberation from private property made imminent. Therefore, this is the first time in our history that we have been called upon to choose the philosophy of a race. Personal paganism, the ego culture of the best minds of Greece, is not that philosophy. The modern scented, soulless epicureanism of a sneer is not that philosophy. The system which thinks that human hearts and brains must be laid on ice in order to know the truth is not that philosophy—it is not the paganism of the unit life but the spiritualism of an impersonal life that shall survive into the aeon of socialism.

Peter E. Burrowes.

The Detroit Conference

THE fact which was made most prominent by the Second National Social and Political Conference was that the logic and principles of socialism are absolutely invincible. Some said that the socialists captured the conference. But it was not socialists but socialism that carried all before it. Over and over again the principles of clear-cut international socialism were sent forth from the platform with a challenge to deny them. But not a single person of all the multitude of "reformers" dared to take the platform in opposition to those principles. Some complained of the arrogance and conceit of socialists, but none essayed the task of exploding the socialist principles.

It cannot be denied that from the "reformers'" point of view the socialists were arrogant. They organized two meetings for the especial purpose of demonstrating their superiority to the general mass of confusion that made up much of the conference. They never lost an opportunity to tell the defenders of the various "schemes" and "isms," that their plans were but mere phantasies of the brain, while socialism was the one great and imminent fact in modern social development. As there was no disputing these facts those attacked responded by saying that the socialists were intolerant and narrow,—a logic that is difficult to answer even if not convincing.

Just a word on the make-up of the conference. There were about twenty-five single-taxers who clung to their sixteenth century doctrines with a tenacity worthy of a better cause. A dozen or so professional party politicians were looking for timber to repair badly dilapidated party fences, but finding nothing suitable and being annoyed by those miserable socialists, who insisted on telling them some wholesome truths to their faces, they nearly all left the city before the last days of the conference. Another dozen was made up of what might properly be called "cranks,"—poor monomaniacs, with some scheme for social regeneration, whose overwhelming importance in their eyes had made them lose all sense of proportion.

The remainder, and the great majority of the delegates, of whom the public has heard almost nothing, were enthusiastic intelligent men and women who were eagerly seeking to learn as much as possible concerning social relations and laws. It was this class that socialism captured, and it was a worthy conquest.

The one greatest obstacle that could arise to the advance of socialism in this country would be the formation of a

pseudo-socialist party. Yet I am not of those who attach very much importance to the appearance of such a party because I believe that industrial development has reached such a stage in America that there are not enough elements with conflicting economic interests and intellectual confusion remaining to support such a party for any great length of time. In my opinion nothing on earth can prevent for more than a very few years the final line-up between socialism and capitalism. At the same time I do not believe in whistling to keep my courage up when a real obstacle appears. Neither do I believe in an ostrich-like hiding of the head in the sands of prejudice and party conceit and declaring that no danger exists. The fact is that there is nothing now that is within the realm of probabilities that would be as great an obstacle to social progress as the formation of a Fabian, anti-class-struggle, public ownership, non-partisan, initiative-and-referendum-first, confused and nondescript, "socialist" party. That there was great hopes of forming such a party at Detroit there is no doubt. Lee Meriwether and his followers were there with a half dozen democratic politicians who had been kicked out of the regular democratic machine. The organ of the "Public Ownership" party of Missouri was distributed to all the delegates. It was noticeable that the trump card of the representatives of this party was the statement that the socialists were with them. This was an eloquent testimonial to the respect in which the small but powerful socialist movement is held by the politicians. When this lie was crammed down their throat and the conference was informed that the socialists had had no connection whatever with their party, save one of uncompromising hostility, this particular crowd of politicians left the conference in a body.

Congressman J. J. Lentz showed the hand of this body of confusionists when he poured out a fulsome eulogy on the work of the German socialists, ending with a nauseating climax of political trickery by touting Bismark as the "greatest of German socialists." It was but the work of a minute for one of the socialist delegates to expose this falsehood and drive him from the conference. The opportunity was taken at this time for the socialists to show that this speech was but an indication of the intention on the part of the "New Democracy" to "Bismark" America. The Iron Chancellor never made any secret of his hostility to socialism and never denied that his famous "socialistic" measures were efforts to stem the rising tide of socialism. But his American imitators are less honest if more skillful. They seek to secure the support of the socialists in the effort to fight socialism and boldly declare themselves to be socialists in order that they may get close enough to the revolutionary movement to stab it in the back.

The appearance of this movement in America is simply an indication that socialism has become a power with which the politicians must reckon. It is also an indication that the time has come when socialists must prepare to reckon with politicians when counting up the enemies of their cause.

Owing to the activity of the socialists at the conference, to their continuous exposure of the tricks of the politicians and the errors of the reformers, all attempts to form a "Bismarkian socialist" party were abandoned. On the contrary the group which was called to form such a party unanimously agreed to recommend to the conference the endorsement of the Social Democratic Party and the sending of delegates to the Indianapolis convention.

On the closing day of the conference came an incident that testified once more to the invincibility of the socialist principles. The socialist group had prepared a series of resolutions embracing the full position of class-conscious revolutionary socialism with independent political action. But these resolutions were arranged in the form of a series of logical arguments from fundamental and indisputable premises. The result was that by an overwhelming vote each one of the series was accepted individually. This demonstrated that no person of intelligence could dispute or even dared to vote against the principles of socialism. But as soon as the timid members of the conference discovered that what they had endorsed was socialism they became suddenly frightened and voted to lay on the table as a whole the thing they had just adopted seriatim. It was perhaps the most ludicrous admission by a body of men and women that they did not have the courage to stand by their convictions, that history has ever afforded. When the humorous side of the social revolution is written the historian will find a rich mine in the proceedings of the Second National Social and Political Conference.

Taking the conference as a whole every act and result justified the part taken by socialists in its deliberations and showed that those who opposed the participation of socialists spoke from their ignorance, while those who went acted on the knowledge they possessed. It should be a lesson to those who are ever ready to criticise the actions of others.

It is practically certain that there will never be another conference. No power on earth would drag the politicians and confusionists into range of the socialists again. But there is just one suggestion arises out of this fact that may be of value to the socialists. Would it not be a most desirable thing if a socialist conference could be called for each year where the points of differences between socialists could be discussed. Practically every body of professional men and women with common interests make a practice of holding such gatherings

and find them very profitable. There is certainly no body more in need of them than the socialists. Points of differences could be there discussed and disagreements fought out. The conference would have no power to act save by virtue of what influence it might have because of its intellectual ability. Consequently there would be no material benefits over which to struggle and its deliberations could be marked by an intellectual impartiality impossible in an official national convention. Such a gathering would be of the greatest propaganda value and would attract thousands who could not be reached by other methods. The suggestion is at least worth the consideration of the Indianapolis convention and of the party at large.

A. M. Simons.

False Critics vs. False Prophets

MANY years of practical participation in socialist propaganda and agitation should have taught any careful student that the prophets, extravagant prognosticators, sentimentalists and sanguinary participants are necessary to a world-wide movement. They furnish the spirit and animation while the doctrinaire supplies the vertebrae or backbone of the movement. The sanguinary temperament certainly deserves to be lauded and cherished if borne by reason and conviction. Choleric attacks upon a movement or its supporters, which lack sufficient material to base the contention upon, shake the self-confidence of the young and their faith in mankind. Though the earnest and honest student will emphatically protest against restriction of research, he will detest fallacies and wrong conclusions contained in criticisms that can have but one purpose;—to irritate and confuse those who are in search for truth. If criticisms shall be beneficent to the critic and student, they must be made for the sake of the truth that shall be revealed. The use of accurate terms is an indispensable necessity if a clear comprehension of the point in view shall be obtained. As it is necessary in physics to distinguish between attraction, repulsion and gravitation, so it is necessary in political economy to discriminate between value, use-value, exchange value, price and surplus value. Though by the abstraction from the one, the other may be obtained, they are nevertheless distinct phenomena; for instance, a price may be put upon the head of an officer who has committed treason to his country. His head may have no value, though nature was its mother and labor its father. It assumes the form of a use-value as soon as, beside the owner of it, another individual desires to possess it. Its exchange value it derives from the willingness of two parties to exchange, for instance, the head of the officer for a cabbage. In this particular instance the cabbage would be a price upon the head, whilst "an object may have a price without having value."

In the June number of the International Socialist Review appears an article by Herman Whitaker, "Some Misconceptions of Marx," in which the writer pretends to reveal "erratic thought, erroneous statistics and exaggerations current in socialistic circles." On page 776 he says: "He (Marx) says himself that labor gives exchange value (i. e., makes them exchangeable) to all commodities."

Marx never committed himself like this. Vol. 2. "Capital." "What makes them exchangeable is the mututal desire of their

owners to alienate them." If labor were to "give" exchange-value, then everything created by labor must be exchangeable Labor "gives" neither exchange-value nor use-value but it creates both, that is, with the aid of nature.. A use-value that has also exchange-value must be of use to others beside its owner. A product may have value because labor is invested in it. It may have use-value because its owner can make use of it; but it has not the quality of "exchange" unless it is of use to some one else beside its owner. Use-value exists only because labor-power has been invested, aided, of course, by nature, and it can be measured only by that which created the value, that is, labor-power, the quantity measured by time.

Furthermore our critic says on the same page, "Of course the wine of '72 was superior in quality to the wine of '71, but nevertheless the difference in quality renders it unclassifiable by the labor-theory." If the labor-theory means anything, it is "that the value of a commodity is determined by the quantity of labor spent on it." "Capital," Vol. 1. It is not the wine or the product that is rendered unclassifiable on account of its quality; it can only be the quantity of labor-time spent upon it that renders it unclassifiable, in so far as the period of the aggregate output of wine was too short to measure it by the "labor-time socially necessary that is required to produce an article under normal conditions of production, and with the average degree of skill and intensity prevalent at the time," "Capital," Vol. 1. Two objects must be qualitatively different that they may stand in relation as commodities. The critic says: "It is almost pathetic to watch the efforts of a well-meaning and earnest socialist when he attempts to prove that the price of every article exchanged on a modern market is determined by the quantity of labor which produced it." Without even an attempt at setting this pathetic effort aright by saying that it never was and never will be the price of an article exchanged that is determined by the quantity of labor, he proceeds to add to the confusion by proceeding as follows: "Under existing conditions this law (the Marxian law of exchange?) can apply only to averages and every attempt to make it cover all individual cases is bound to result in failure." Speaking of *price*, the author can mean nothing else by "apply only to averages" than the *price*.

Where did Marx confound price with exchange value? Our "well-meaning and earnest socialist" should primarily be set aright in that the quantity of labor does not determine the *price*, as prices cease altogether to express value, although money is the value-form of commodities. To criticise a student of Marx it requires a clear and distinct use of the terms used by Marx and political economists in general. Marx should not be quoted as understood, but literally. The author's

second endeavor to make dwindle the surplus-value and surplus product, is founded upon wrong and imperfect statistics and wrong conclusions from such statistics. When using imperfect statistics one may avoid drawing wrong conclusions by using them only to show a general tendency. The statistics made use of in this paper are taken from editorials by Carroll D. Wright in the Bulletin of Labor, Washington, D. C. According to the census of 1880, the average price of the product of each laborer was $1,888; the 1890 census gives the average price as $2,204, or an increase of $316. The average wage of the laborer who produced the product is given for 1880, $347; for 1890, $445, an increase of $98. While the price of the product of the laborer rose $316 his wage went up only $98. This is a relative decrease of wages, or in other words, a larger share of surplus-value went into the pocket of the capitalist. Failing to see how the difference of $218 can be conjured from the pockets of the capitalist into the pockets of the laborer, the actual producer, we await further enlightenment. The percentage of 1890 census is divided as follows: 20.18 per cent to labor, 24.74 per cent to profit and 55.08 per cent to "material." This so-called raw material constitutes the bulk of the laborers' product, that is, $1,294 out of $2,204.

"Every element," says Marx, "is either the spontaneous produce of nature, or invariably owes its existence to a special productive activity, exercised with a definite aim—an activity that appropriates particular nature-given materials to particular human wants." Thus the $1,294, or 55.08 per cent of the laborers' product which is supposed to constitute material, must, according to Marx, be the spontaneous produce of nature or must owe its existence to a special productive activity. Is it to be supposed that this enormous bulk could pass for a "product of ability?" Or is it a sort of "Manna," a kind of heavenly gift to the capitalist? Until a more scientific explanation is given than furnished by the United States labor statistician, as to its wherefrom, whereabout and whereto, we shall classify it to its larger degree among the price-lists of the capitalist. It is nevertheless safe, in want of better evidence, to rely upon Marx's scientific view-point. He says, "Capital," Vol. 1, part 1, chapter 3, section 1: "An imaginary price-form may sometimes conceal either a direct or indirect value relation; for instance, the price of uncultivated land, which is without value, because no human labor has been incorporated in it." The smaller per cent of this bulk of "material" we shall classify as "useful labor expended upon the product; taking away the material substratum which is furnished by nature without the help of man." This material substratum is the "Manna." The fact that the wage of the laborer and the profit of the capitalist can not buy the part called material as they

stand together at $990 wages and profit, as against $1,294 material, should set any serious student of political economy thinking as to the imperfection of our statistics. Out of every 100 points the laborer scores but 20.18 per cent, and the rest counts almost entirely against him as surplus value, surplus product, or some other kind of fleecing. No matter how the remaining 79.82 per cent may be disposed of, "either in champaign and other luxuries or in more wage slaves and more machinery," they certainly are in the possession of some one else than the producer of the product. It is reserved for the laborer to learn and know that capitalist economics do not permit him to go beyond the limit of 20.18 per cent, and it is for him to decide when and at what period there shall be called a halt to the downward tendency. Anything in value, or better at the capitalists' price, equal to 20.18 per cent, the laborer may buy out of the market and all that he may decide in the bargain is, what degree of abstinence may I reach?

No, a thousand times no, the trouble does not lie with the "misconceiving" student of Marx nor with the prophet socialist nor with any of the epigony of Marx. The trouble lies with those who trust too much to capitalist vulgar economists. It is this trust that causes workingmen to see a constant diminution of surplus value and surplus product and causes them to fall back into their arm-chairs with complacence and "begin to materially alter their views of things." This gradually develops into a fancy, like calling England a "political democracy" and a dream of the benevolent, though unconscious historical capitalist activity of converting capitalist institutions into quasi-public institutions, or "Industrial Democracy" established without the conscious mind of the working class or capitalist class being aware of such development. The Marxian conception of science is to them unscientific; Marx himself "behind the age" when he says, "One capitalist always kills many," because those capitalists that fear to be killed in the mad struggle for supremacy shall unconsciously work toward the establishment of state socialism. To save themselves they will become the unconscious promoters of the socialization of the centralized means of production, and all the discipline, unity and organization of the working class caused by the very "mechanism of the capitalist process of production itself" will count for naught, and the revolt of the working class, which naturally should grow "with oppression, misery, degradation and exploitation caused by the usurpation and monopolization of all the advantages of the capitalist process of transformation," will be "benevolently" and "providently" avoided by the "constantly diminishing number of magnates." Glorious revolution! Upon thy pedestal shall stand, to your eternal glorification, the personification of Private Capital.

The vulgarity of economics manifests itself in the making-up of statistics. Great items are mentioned under one heading and neither the capitalist statistician nor the student apply them properly by making abstractions from them. The one avoids an analysis in the interests of capital and the other is under the influence of capitalist economics. Thus: Raw material (the material substratum) does not drop into the lap of the capitalist. Superintendence is an addition to the value of the product and therefore wage. Rent is everlasting fleecing. Insurance ditto. Taxes are the debts incurred by all citizens alike and paid by the capitalist from the surplus value and surplus product extracted by the capitalist fleecing process from the laboring class. Additional direct taxes which are not mentioned by the statistician are paid by the laborer from the share (20.18 per cent) allotted him. "Freight" is an addition to the value of the product and is constituted partly of wage and partly of fleecing. "New equipment" is surplus value transformed into surplus product called constant capital. "Other expenses" is too general a term to be dealt with in a scientific manner. "Repairs" is another term for new equipment, or extension of plant, and the like. All these and more the labor power of the laborer has produced, in the production of which he is "constantly helped by nature." The laborer does not own them, has no voice in their management and is therefore justified in demanding the surrender of capitalist private property on the ground that it is immoral and dangerous to permit a few to usurp the powers of economic administration. It is in the interests of the capitalist that a capitalist statistician shall not go into a scientific analysis of statistics, as Karl Marx did, because a revelation made known by the powers that be would certainly have a detrimental and immediate effect upon the stability of the present system. The workingmen who under such a system are prone to submit to the execution of the "bond," would suddenly refuse to live up to the "bond" in the hands of the capitalist Shylock. This would probably include a more speedy manner of bringing our theories in harmony with observed facts, and a still more rapid development of a nobler and more equitable system.

As to the "looking for votes among the great mass of the people" let us be candid. Is not this the greatest error of the politician in the socialist? Yes, he looks for votes. He does not look for men who have the courage of their convictions, or at least have the consciousness that they are individuals of a class that is constantly wronged, and shall be wronged until the mass of the people awakens to the fact that a time-limit must be set and that no one will ever do it for them if they do not do it themselves. They do not look for men that realize the inability of the system to set its own time-limit, though all private capital may have been centralized. They do not look for men that should know it to be an eternal truth that a slave with the ability to write and read is not worthy of his freedom unless he free himself, and make common cause with his fellow slaves.

August Bebel, who more than thirty years ago fixed the time limit at twenty years, still battles with the courage and conviction of a true, militant and class-conscious socialist, who cares naught for the votes of the masses but very much for the intellectual status of his fellow wage-workers. Wilhelm Liebknecht would have preferred to be sent to prison instead of being elected to the "Reichstag," if it had not been for the opportunity a seat in the "Reichstag" offered to speak to his fellow men of the different processes of capitalist fleecing, excessive waste of surplus value and surplus product,—"the motor power which is to drive society to socialism."

"The Roman slave was held by fetters; the wage laborer is bound by invisible threads," says Marx. Therefore it is our bounden duty, the duty of the more advanced and clear-sighted among the wage-workers, to make those invisible threads visible to the intellectual eyes of the workers; and if the limited education of the fellow wage-worker does not permit of the scientific language of Marx, then shout into his ear: More fruit is permitted to spoil upon the farms than is sold in the markets, because it does not pay the farmer to barrel it! If this does not bring him to his senses, shout into his ear: Sixty-five thousand dollar champaign and Burgundy banquets, while your children are in need of the necessities of life! Those "observed facts" and many more are easily procured and can be brought into "harmony with our theories."

Carl Pankopf.

The Charity Girl

By Caroline H. Pemberton, Author of "Stephen the Black," "Your Little Brother James," Etc.

CHAPTER X.

FIVE months passed by. A great international tragedy had taken place. The battleship "Maine" was blown up in the harbor of Havana. There was an immediate prospect of war; the nation, while breathing hard, was struggling for calmness; but every one knew this was merely preparatory to striking a blow.

Julian resolved that if war should come he would offer himself as a volunteer. In all ages, men had found on battlefields the one solace that exists for broken hearts—the kind of solace that a red-hot iron administers to the bite of a mad dog. His work for humanity had lost its power to bind his thoughts; he craved an overpowering distraction; and lastly, he declared to himself that he had always sympathized with the Cubans in their struggle for liberty.

During those long months Julian had been summoning his spirit before a tribunal which sat in perpetual session; with perverse ingenuity he had been pleading a defense of Marian which carried with it an indictment of himself. The incidents of his acquaintance with her now assumed the proportions of a tragedy, in which she appeared to him as driven, persecuted—overwhelmed by an unhappy destiny.

He recalled her appeal to him on the evening when he last saw her. He remembered the strange dejection of her replies which grew fainter as he insisted with the rapture of the idealist that he could find happiness in any world that held both himself and her. The world which had seemed so small to him no doubt appeared as illimitable space to her. His mood took on a bitter self-reproach. Marian at that moment was appealing to him to save her, and he had cast her from him when she stood alone on the edge of a precipice, looking down. Might she not have thrown herself as willingly on a sacrificial altar if he had so commanded? But he had given her no word of guidance—no help of any kind.

There was a chance for his mood to turn into derision of her pitiable weakness; but Julian shut the door of his mind on this view of the question. Pity of the most tender and exalted kind sat in the judgment seat of his soul when the image of Marian rose before it.

In some way he believed he might have saved her; he knew not how, but his confidence in his own integrity was strong and conclusive. He might have protected her, had he tried, from

the "influence" that was pursuing her with such malignancy. The being to whom she had decided to link her future had now lost personality and become a mere personification of evil, and as Julian contemplated the ugly abstraction his jealous anger died to the ground.

He knew now that his words during their last interview had been uttered in the secret faith that their lives were really intertwined and could not be separated. He had meant her to understand that the spiritual bond between them, invisible to all the world outside, was destined to hold them together, mysteriously, irrevocably! Marian was expected to read between the lines of his elevated discourse the sweet, vague hope which inspired his own soul and gave it courage to face the future, but she had not so read. The poor child had accepted her fate literally as he had spoken it; she had succumbed to the unutterable horror and loneliness of her position. Thus had she fallen a victim to the terrible power which had not scrupled to drag her into the depths of misery and dishonor.

So argued Julian from one long day to the next; he completed his moral surrender by lapsing into a condition of hopeless, irrepressible longing to behold once more the object of his thoughts. Would she have fled with *him*? was his secret question. At intervals he tried conscientiously—desperately—to bury himself again in his work.

The "Association" was now exhibiting a praiseworthy activity in opening its lecture hall for a series of profound discussions on Human Brotherhood. The chairman of each committee in charge of each department was to deliver an address on the subject from her special point of view, and afterwards there were to be discussions in which a fashionable, feminine and generally youthful audience was expected to take part.

Julian had been present at these meetings only when required to address them himself. He was frequently out of the city, and his work left him little time for theoretical sociology. During the week of a heavy blizzard, however, he found himself unable to carry out his plans in any direction, and his restless spirit drove him one day into the lecture room while an animated debate was in progress.

The audience was small in number but great in enthusiasm. The fair, fur-wrapped students who had braved the storm-swept streets sat gazing at the matronly chairman with rapture in their eyes; they laid brilliantly flushed cheeks against their costly fur collars and made of themselves pretty pictures of soulful womanhood. When called upon to express their opinions on the views of former speakers, their speech and bearing were at once elevated, earnest and parliamentary. Dogmatic assertion was a bugbear each was determined to

avoid. Their attitude of devotion—not bigotry—to a lofty, disinterested ideal had almost the effect of a religious inspiration. It was heightened possibly by a soft light falling on their faces through stained-glass windows; it was indeed both aesthetic and convincing.

Julian, sitting in a corner near the presiding officer's desk, looked and listened in dull wonder. The sympathetic voices, the refined pronunciation, the delicate phraseology, and the soft appeals of "*Does any one agree with me?*" or "*I should like to know the feeling of the meeting on this point,*" fell pleasantly and persuasively on his ear. It made a pleasing contrast to a meeting he had attended the night before of Single Tax enthusiasts, where everybody disagreed with everybody else, "on principle"—where each man could see nothing but his own principles violated in every verbal change suggested for a petition that was being drawn up for the reformation of society. Such radicals were far too much in earnest to be entertaining.

Julian was more than ever impressed by the extraordinary aptitude of the female mind for organization. Had he ever before thoroughly appreciated the abilities of his lady managers in this direction? He resolved now to listen more attentively. What was the point under discussion? He had not quite discovered it, but evidently it bore some relation to the noble theme of universal brotherhood—a phrase that was forever floating on the air within the walls of the "Association," for as his managers repeatedly said, it was the underlying basis of their work.

Accordingly, when the next speaker rose from the audience to turn toward the Chair a young, chiseled face beneath a dark purple hat covered with waving plumes, she commanded Julian's undivided attention.

"A point I should like to emphasize is one that has not been touched upon yet. No doubt it is on the program, but will the Chair give me permission to mention it now?"

The chairman nodded graciously.

"It is one that troubles me a great deal in visiting the poor; I think I really need to hear the subject discussed thoroughly. Please tell me if any other student in sociology feels as I do. When in the homes of the miserably poor, a morbid dread that I am doing these poor creatures more harm than good constantly overpowers me with a feeling almost of guilt."

"I think we need always to have that doubt in our minds, do we not?" suggested the chairman, with gentle, reproachful emphasis.

"Speaking generally, of course, I quite agree with you. But the thought borne in upon me is that we should avoid exciting envy in the minds of our unfortunate sisters when we go among them. I ask myself, do they look at my dress and vainly long

to imitate it? When we tell them that we come as sisters, believing in the universal brotherhood—that we are all sons and daughters of God—ought we not to take every precaution to prevent the rise of wicked thoughts in their hearts? Dear friends, you have no idea how much better I feel when I leave my carriage at home and wear my plainest gown! The thought I wish to suggest for your consideration—and I hope I may hear from all of you on the subject—is this: Ought we not to adopt a particular style of gown for our visiting—something severely simple and perhaps—ah—tailor-made—that would pass on the street for any other tailor-made costume, but would impress the idea of simplicity and economy on the minds of the improvident poor?"

Another fair student rose gently to her feet.

"This seems to me a *very* important suggestion. We certainly wish to do good and not harm, and no detail is too trifling for us to consider. But may I ask, merely for information, as I have done so little visiting myself, do not many of our less fortunate sisters know that tailor-made gowns are just as expensive as frills and furbelows—take the sewing-women, for example?"

"I have no doubt the sewing-women do," admitted the former speaker in a tone of extreme sadness; "perhaps they all do; one tells another, of course. Do you think a long, dark cloak would answer the purpose better? Is there not some way by which we might avoid suggesting the awful gulf that exists between the rich and the poor in this world? It is dreadfully depressing to have it blazoned forth by everything I wear! Take the weather of to-day, for instance. Of course, I *had* to take my boa and muff, and wear my sealskin besides, to get here at all. Well, on my way—it is only a step, you know, and I wanted the exercise—on the way I met two poor women that I visit. They were clad in the thinnest of shawls, and really, really I *did* wish I had left *some* of my furs behind! They must have felt the difference, poor old things—and how they did stare at me!"

A beautiful young matron stood up to make reply. She gazed at the ceiling with a heavenly expression.

"I think we are all in danger of falling into a very common error through our sympathies," she began softly. "We are constantly making the mistake of judging the poor by ourselves. Just here we need more faith, more enlightenment. I am sure all of us believe that there is a law of compensation in the divine economy, do we not? I think we need to apply it in a practical way. We must not assume that the poor like what we like, and feel just as we feel in every particular. We *know* that they do not. As they cannot rise to the heights of refined enjoyment over the things that we enjoy, neither can

they sorrow over the tragedies of life as we sorrow over them. You see they have not the same sensibilities. We ought to be *thankful* they have not! It should increase our faith in God's wisdom and goodness every day!"

This eloquent plea produced a sensation. A rustle went through the audience and a look of relief was visible on nearly every face. But the young girl wearing the purple hat said doubtfully:

"But the cold—surely they feel cold and hunger just as we should?"

The young matron turned upon her the look of a seraph; no artist has ever yet achieved on painted canvas such a look of angelic tenderness—combining with it all the philosophy of the ages—as this beautiful young matron now cast upon the assembly.

"*Certainly they do not!* We must believe more firmly in the divine economy and realize that it is *we* who suffer for them; it is we who discuss their grievances and who build these halls that the wrongs of suffering humanity may be heard and adjusted! I often wonder if the poor who pass these doors would have any stirring of gratitude in their hearts if they should come to realize that these discussions are conducted solely for *their* benefit? But we need to bear in mind the great fact that if we permit our discussions to drift from the academic standpoint we shall certainly lose the power to benefit those whose cause lies in our hands. We must *not* descend to—" The speaker's tone was becoming sonorous and her expression transcendental as she gazed vaguely about the room, which was perhaps the reason why there came a timely interruption from the tactful chairman.

"Speaking of the 'academic tone' reminds me that the next meeting will be on the 'Negro Problem,' and that we shall need all our wits to preserve the tone of such a meeting, if we permit colored delegates to be present. The wife of a brave Confederate officer is to address us, you will remember, on the 'Causes of Lynchings and the Retrogression of the Negro Since the War.' Now I have here several petitions from colored persons who want to read papers 'in rebuttal,' they say; but it stands to reason that they cannot refute evidence that has not yet been presented. Shall we or shall we not allow these papers to be read?"

"At a meeting on the negro problem that I once attended," observed a soberly dressed little lady, "all the colored delegates present asked permission to present their grievances, and the whole time of the meeting was taken up with listening to a recital of them, so that not a single white person had a chance to say a word! The meeting was an absolute dead failure so far as any illumination of mind was concerned. Those colored

delegates went home without obtaining a single ray of light on their own problem—poor things!—and we were obliged to listen to the most tiresome examples of false reasoning. They had all schemed apparently to say the same thing: 'How is the negro to become industrious and self-supporting if he is persistently refused employment?' They seemed to be actually *hinting* at us to employ them! Imagine! And the result was that I had no chance to present my plea for 'Special Schools to Train Negroes in Habits of Industry'—none whatever!"

"I am sure we all thank the speaker for this graphic account of her experience which may well serve as a guide to us," said the chairman with gracious firmness. "We do not meet here to *employ* the negro—but merely to discuss him in a truly academic spirit—and this we can only do by keeping him out in person. When he realizes that we have his interests at heart—"

After the words "interests at heart" Julian heard no more; the speakers had begun to bewilder him with the usual doubt as to whether they could possibly be in earnest. Do the angels in heaven laugh or cry over such discussions? This one had passed the brink of the ludicrous and entered tragedy, he thought—and then the speaker, their theme and their absurdities were suddenly forgotten and swept out of sight.

A stranger, simply and unobtrusively clad, had stolen noiselessly into the rear of the audience. Her face was in shadow, although the richly-colored light from the casement fell on her bonnet and shoulders. Her profile drooped away from the audience; her cheek touched her gloved hand in an attitude of sorrowful meditation. Julian started as his eye fell upon her face. It was Marian!

She seemed to him to wear the air of one who in desperation seeks refuge in a sanctuary to escape the tortures of conscience. How sad, how mournful her whole expression! When she raised her eyes and looked directly at Julian, her glance said distinctly:

"I am unhappy—forgive—comfort me! Is there any comfort for me under heaven?"

Her glance smote him with all its former beauty and power. He groaned inwardly; he bowed his head, and sat without looking at her for some minutes. Why had Marian returned to the city? Why had she entered that lecture-room? Was she seeking *him?* And was he so bound by conventionalities that he could not speak to this conscience-stricken woman, that he could not offer her a word of guidance, that he could not stretch out a hand to help her—though it might be in his power to save her, even at this late hour?

His young cheek burned like a passionate coal on the hand upon which he was leaning it; while his veins were thrilling from that one look at her face, he resolved that he would not

look again. He would wait until he had regained control over himself. There would be time to speak to her after the meeting. But through all his self-control and his averted looks, his pulses were bounding with joy—with the unutterable joy of seeing her again. No wonder that he heard not a single word more of those mellifluent discussions! He was deaf and blind to everything but that one lovely presence.

Once more he turned and looked in the direction of Marian. She was not there—she had disappeared! Had she misunderstood his downcast looks? He would find her and explain!

The chairman was saying blandly as she looked at Julian, who was moving swiftly and silently toward the door of the lecture-room, "I think the discussion to-day has been most helpful; I only wish more could have heard it—and we still have time for a word from Mr. Endicott—"

CHAPTER XI.

Forced to stop, Julian turned quickly, conscious in spite of his disappointment that something within him was dimly rejoicing that his pursuit of Marian was now made out of the question.

He retraced his steps and ascended the platform, taking the position assigned to him by the chairman. An indignant protest was already in his heart against the assumption of inherent superiority which he recognized as the key-note of the discussions he had just overheard. It was indeed the cherished dogma on which the whole fabric of class distinctions are built. Could he not pierce the hide-bound complacency of these worldlings? At lease he would try. So he poured forth his soul with an intense scorn of the detestable cant he had been listening to, quite regardless of the effect his words might produce on the audience or on the minds of his managers.

He asked them how they could presume to measure the needs of the poor if they regarded them as beings of a totally different order? Where and by whom had they been created different? What meaning was then left in their magnificent phrase, "the brotherhood of man?" And if they denied the fact of brotherhood themselves, how dared they preach it to the poor as a new gospel? Could any one present say that she had ever investigated the truth of this arbitrary ruling of the caste spirit? He could assure them that not a day passed that the poor did not investigate it to its utmost limits, and prove their own power to suffer all that humanity can suffer in this world.

"Let the poor be called in to testify in their own behalf what hunger and cold feel like—what overwork and disease and hopeless poverty feel like!" he cried with eyes flashing and a tumult of angry shame in his heart that he had chosen to be the hireling of these idle theorists.

"I beg of you to abandon this cruel philosophy which teaches

that God has made you different because he has permitted you to be more fortunate. Your long cloaks and your tailor-made gowns can never conceal the proud disdain in your hearts which works vastly more injury to the minds of the poor than the sight of your silks and furs can possibly do. If you go into the slums to learn the lesson of their patience, their strange acceptance of poverty and suffering as their lot in life, you will understand that these people do not feel *less* than you, but more. You will discover that they are making the same allowance for *your* lack of sensibility that you make for theirs—only I really believe with more real charity in their hearts than is found in yours!"

Now surely he had pierced the class egotism of these idle women. Surely he had rebuked them as becomes a moral reformer! Alas! Only too clearly was it made apparent that his words reached their ears as the mere lifeless formulas of his craft; they were no more to these women than the set phrases with which they repented in church of their sins—acknowledging that they like sheep had gone astray!

"Next Friday," interrupted the chairman with an apologetic smile for Julian, while she pointed to the blackboard on which were outlined the studies of various classes for the coming week—"next Friday has been set apart for a tour through the slums—'To Inspect the Tenement Life of the Abject Poor,' during which we shall also give our course of free lectures on 'How to Live on 15 Cents a Day' and distribute our recipes for making 'Soups without Meat,' and 'For Stewing Turnips and Cabbages without Causing Unpleasant Odors in the House.' (She was quoting from the headlines on the blackboard). Having heard our secretary's eloquent plea for a more sympathetic application of our principles of human brotherhood, it is hoped that all will embrace this opportunity and that we shall have the benefit of Mr. Endicott's instruction besides. We really cannot think of making the tour without him."

"You know I do not approve of intruding into these people's homes," protested Julian with distressful earnestness, "and by what standard of justice do we strive to teach them to make bricks without straw?—'Soups without meat'—indeed!"

'We go to study their needs, and not one of them has ever raised an objection to our coming; and you know we never *give* them anything!"

"That is only their courtesy—their unfailinig grace of hospitality. Good heavens, how blind, how totally blind is this spirit of class privilege! You seem to see the world upside down by it!"

"Class privilege?" repeated the chairman with a puzzled smile; "I really believe this is the first time we have heard those words in our halls. It reminds me that I am negotiating with

an eminent college professor to lecture next month on the 'False Reasoning of the Socialists,' so we may as well make ourselves familiar with the term 'class privilege,' for I believe it is one that the socialists constantly employ." She cast her eyes down for a second and then continued with careful deliberation:

"We must guard against the use of misleading terms. We appreciate"—she turned to Julian with a smile—"your enthusiasm—it is of inestimable value in our work. But you have often told us that your early life was passed where there was no poverty except that which was shared by all—the community—and consequently there was no organized helpfulness such as we find so important in the higher civilization of today. It is perhaps inevitable that you are hardly prepared to enter fully into that higher sense of obligation of which we are so deeply conscious. The only 'class privilege' that we know anything about is the privilege of ministering to the unfortunate! Some day you may understand this more fully than you do now. But in carrying out the aims of the Association our secretary (she now turned to her audience with a smile) has shown the deepest devotion to our ideals—an incredible amount of self-sacrifice! It is unavoidable that coming in such close contact as he does with the poor and the working classes, he should sometimes see things a little out of their true perspective; whereas it is *our* aim to see everything in right proportion, and in the highest harmony with the Divine will. When we do this in the true academic spirit, we are the better able to realize the meaning of the words, 'The poor ye shall have always with you,' for without them, how should we ever attain the true standard of disinterested devotion to the cause of humanity? Think how selfish and mean and *horrible* our lives would be if we had not the poor beside us always to make our hearts tender and stir within us the noble impulse to study their problems and needs! But all things have their uses, and I believe that our secretary can fulfil his part better if he does not quite comprehend the *whole* meaning of the great plan he is carrying out in our name. I assure you, his zeal and *personal* enthusiasm are quite indispensable to us." She finished by announcing that the meeting would now adjourn.

Julian stood where he was on the platform pondering her words. Had he been rebuked or praised—and why did she apologize for him? But presently the lady approached him with extended hand and her kindliest greeting.

"Do not, I beg of you, let anything I said trouble you for an instant," she entreated. "We would not have you different from what you are. It was a little awkward that I had to explain your attitude to them. You see I was afraid that it might

be misunderstood—that *we* might be misunderstood, I mean. It all works together for the best—you being *as you are* is just what *we* want—what we must have."

"But our point of view seems different," objected Julian.

"Of course! It naturally would be, don't you see? You would not be useful to us otherwise."

"As a connecting link between you and the poor, it is better that I should be different?" questioned Julian in melancholy study.

"Exactly—different from *us*—not necessarily different from the others." She smiled sweetly as if to lighten the harsh construction he might put on her words.

"Created as a different order of being, I may yet serve your aims without comprehending them because I am not so far removed as you are from the 'lower classes'? Yes, I see—I understand. You are entirely right!—I *am* a different order of being from you—I am, I am!" They shook hands with every appearance of hearty good will, the lady not being in the slightest degree embarrassed by the wide-open stare of Julian's eyes as he fixed them on her face. He parted from her with the remark:

"How delightful that you not only recognize this fact but accept it as proof of my increasing usefulness! I take this as evidence of great breadth of spirit on your part."

"That is something we must all strive for," she murmured, withdrawing rather hastily, perhaps vaguely suspicious of sarcasm in the young man's words.

Julian then went home in great wretchedness of spirit. He was dissatisfied with himself, disgusted with the attitude of the Association and more than ever inclined to doubt the wisdom of his choice of philanthropy as a vocation. Very soon he fell to thinking about Marian and became supremely agitated, downcast and rebellious against fate for the remainder of that afternoon and evening.

Then to his delight he read in an evening paper that Mrs. Starling was a guest in the city and that her hostess had issued invitations for a box party at the opera the following week.

Resolutely as he set himself the next day to solve the problems of his work, the picture of Marian in an opera box, within sight of himself, formed a background on which all the realities of life painted themselves only to be extinguished by this alluring vision. He determined that he would attend the opera, but he would not go alone. He must see Marian, he must speak to her, but to fortify himself against the temptation of staying too long by her side he would take a companion, but whom?

Julian reached this conclusion while sitting behind the desk in the society's office. He raised his eyes and found

Elizabeth regarding him with that singular expression of absorbed anxiety which he had noticed before.

Elizabeth's head drooped as her glance met his; she was merely absorbed in her work—her manner seemed to say—she was soon too deeply preoccupied to observe Julian's intense gaze. Her face cooled; she wrote more vigorously than ever. She belonged to a race that had borne heavy burdens. She could endure great self-repression and still live.

Julian was pleased with the thought that his guardianship over her had been of the most practical, beneficent kind. A brother could not have done more. She seemed to him an ideal younger sister, looking with affectionate eyes into her brother's face, and always ready to glow with pride over his achievements.

Elizabeth being such a good, helpful little sister should accompany him to the opera. It was hardly necessary to ask her consent before purchasing the tickets, for never yet had she refused a request of Julian's.

When he showed her the tickets her eyes opened very wide; she seemed on the verge of giving expression to some thought that stirred her deeply—probably it was gratitude—but she thought better of it, or perhaps could find no words suitable for an occasion so great. At any rate, she turned away abruptly and closed the interview.

Julian's country breeding left him unconscious of social transgression in thus planning to take Elizabeth to the opera. He had never been told the decree of the Eastern civilian—that young men and maidens may attend concerts together, but never operas without a chaperone. And of course Elizabeth, who had never known a chaperone in her life, was even more ignorant of conventional standards.

So the next week, Elizabeth and Julian attended the music-dramas which make up Wagner's Trilogy. In that enchanting world, like two unsophisticated children, they sorrowed together over the unhappy loves of Sigamund and Sigalinda. They wandered through the woods with the innocent Siegfried in his search for Brunhilde on the fire-encircled rock; they thrilled with poetic delight when the maid awoke to sing her beautiful invocation to light in response to his kiss. Finally, they mourned with her over his dead body and refused to be comforted when she cast herself upon his funeral pyre. Julian could not analyze his own bewildered absorption in the dominant and splendidly constructive power of the orchestra, by which he was delivered bodily into the hands of the supremest of all the arts and carried to the very mountain tops of poetic inspiration. The relief of getting out of himself was great, however, and the intensity of feeling portrayed suited well his overwrought imagination.

But during those three long evenings Julian caught only a momentary, unsatisfactory glimpse of Marian. He did not discover her box until he left his seat during one of the intermissions and swept the lower house repeatedly with his glasses. Unfortunately her face remained turned from him. Should he descend and speak to her? Might he not at least stand near by to gaze stealthily upon the beloved features, and if she had a message for him, would she not beckon to him that he might approach and help her? What was there to prevent? He happened to look back at Elizabeth. She had turned her face toward him. Her dark eyes seemed to be entreating his return. Slowly he went back to her.

Again he bought tickets for another night, and took pains to select seats in a part of the house facing the box in which Marian had been seated. He felt sure she would be there again, for "Tannhauser" was to be played next, and he knew it to be her favorite opera.

CHAPTER XII.

On the evening of the performance of "Tannhauser," Julian and Elizabeth mounted the stairs of the upper gallery and took their seats in one of the cheap stalls against the wall. The house was dark at first, but presently the dazzling electric lights revealed the fashionable throng of a great city. Julian watched with a shame-faced eagerness a certain box downstairs, until its occupants began to arrive as the orchestra started to play the overture.

From his safe retreat in this unfashionable part of the house he was able to stare unobserved through his opera glasses upon the face and form of Marian, whom he discovered in the rear of the box as if shrinking from the world's gaze. He thought she looked paler than usual. But presently she turned her head to respond to a greeting back of her, and a beautiful flush spread itself over her cheek; her smile shone as sweetly and spontaneously as ever. Apparently her eyes were full of the joyous light that Julian could not recall without a thrill of pain; they were looking into the eyes of a man whom he recognized at once as her "evil genius."

Breathlessly he watched every expression of her face. It was like looking at one who has risen from the dead—alas! who has not yet risen and is still among the dead—no, it was worse, for the dead do not smile with an exquisite tenderness meant for others; though they make fountains of our eyes they have not the power to stab to the heart as every play of Marian's features now stabbed Julian.

In the anguish of the moment, he turned away and looked into the face of Elizabeth. The startled expression of her large eyes held his gaze mysteriously for a second. He opened the

libretto of the opera and began to relate mechanically the story of "Tannhauser." But neither the printed page nor Elizabeth's eyes could hold his attention long. His heartsick glance flung itself once more across the house; it transcended space and gathered the beloved object close to his heart—and still, it was a thousand miles away! In the consciousness of eternal separation, he beheld Marian as distant and inaccessible—as beautiful and as near to him—as the lovely evening lamp of Venus when it touches the horizon.

To his relief the lights were suddenly lowered and Marian's face disappeared in the gloom of the amphitheatre. The curtain rose on the brilliant interior of the cave of Venus. Julian had not seen this opera before. He knew that it was composed on more conventional lines than Wagner's later works, and he imagined that he would enjoy it less. Its very title seemed vulgarized by association with rival breweries and street corner saloons. He looked and listened indifferently while he held the libretto between himself and Elizabeth, to whom he pointed out the English meaning of the German verse that the tenor was singing. The fame of this tenor was world wide; his voice and acting were magnificent and Tannhauser was said to be his greatest part.

Julian's eyes wandered mournfully over the darkened house in which a bejeweled and glittering audience still shone with a subdued glory, as if conscious that its right to dazzle was only momentarily suspended to enable a mimic stage to hold its own without danger of an eclipse. As his gaze passed from one row of dim, silent human beings to the next,—from the parquet to the parquet circle and on to the first tier above—he seemed to be looking down from a great altitude upon the human race of the nineteenth century.

What were they all but spectres, he thought, masquerading for an hour in the flesh and color of life? How strange they should ever forget that their home was under the ground—their natural lineaments those of the death's head and skeleton! How preposterous were all efforts to forget this fact! He for one in this assembly of living ghosts would not forget it. He knew that Marian and himself were spectres—nothing more; an immortal love might have made them worthy of immortal life—but now they sat as it were among the dead, drinking in the breath of decay with every heart throb; waiting their turn with the rest to descend into the arms of the vast, hated, hideous majority.

A sudden clap of thunder and the immediate darkness of the stage roused Julian from this unwholesome reverie. The song of the shepherd followed in the peaceful valley of Tannhauser's home. The scene was one of great beauty. Julian's eyes, riveted on the silent figure of the knight in the foreground,

were slowly captivated by its human personality. The chanting of the pilgrims in the distance chastened his heavy heart. When the knight kneeling before the footlights broke into his incoherent, remorseful cry: *"Great are the marvels of Thy mercy, O God!"* Julian felt that he was listening to the cry of the human soul in all ages; the great struggle between good and evil was apparent, and the noble theme carried the drama forward to its intense climax.

In passionate self-consciousness, Julian now entered into every pang of unavailing remorse that marked the backward gaze of the hero into his past revels. He forgot the young Elizabeth by his side in his absorbed contemplation of Elizabeth on the stage. He did not forget Marian, but he avoided looking at her more than once between the acts, when his eyes fixed themselves reluctantly and curiously upon her. Had the wonderful theme awakened no response in her soul? If he judged correctly the charming gaiety of her face and manner, it had not. There was absolutely no change in her expression. As he watched her, a chill fell upon him and he could not bear to look at her again.

The orchestra's mystic and deeply tragic prelude to the third act was like a voice speaking to Julian from the depths of the spirit world. Accusing memories of his neglected work assailed him with piercing cries. Through his infatuation, his high ideal of self-consecration had been dragging in the dust for many months!

But as the curtain rose upon the scene of Elizabeth clinging to the shrine, his egotistic self-abasement slowly forgot itself in the triumph of the religious principle. During Elizabeth's exquisite song, *"Er Kekrt nicht zuruck,"* even the worldliness of the audience stood abashed before the climax oi earthly sorrow and heavenly purification. Blasphemous now seemed to Julian the mouldy materialism which had spread itself like an ill-smelling pall over his thoughts early in the evening. Life had again triumphed over the eternal nothingness; the spirit having lifted man above the temptations of the flesh, self-sacrifice once more seemed glorious and set its shining seal upon renunciation as the secret of life.

Remembering Elizabeth by his side, Julian turned to her with a smile of comfort in the thought that she was still there. He looked at her; her eyes were full of tears. Her hands were clasped together; she had hardly stirred during the performance except to look from the libretto to the stage, backward and forward from time to time. It might be the death of Elizabeth—her namesake—that affected her so profoundly; the deep meaning of the opera that overwhelmed his guilty soul was surely lost upon this innocent girl. He hoped it was.

SOCIALISM ABROAD

Professor E. Untermann

ITALY.

Something new under this sun, Rabbi Ben Akiba notwithstanding! A monarch in favor of anti-monarchial socialists, and a bourgeois cabinet supported by revolutionaries! However, before getting ready to shake hands with comrade King Victor Emanuel, christian socialist, read what our old comrade Ferri said in the Chamber of Deputies: "Our present government is economical and political. The ideal of the proletariat is collectivism. The means by which we endeavor to attain this ideal is the class struggle. The socialization of property is irreconcilable with monarchial rule. The bullet and barricades may bring about a change in the political system, but never a change in the economic conditions. This change requires a gradual development. The cabinet Zanardelli has taken to heart the lessons of the last campaigns: it proposes to maintain a neutral attitude toward the irresistible labor movement and to respect liberty. It is simply a question of tactics. Either the reactionary parties bar our way—then all responsibility falls on their shoulder. Or they must permit the normal transition from feudalism to bourgeois liberalism in a peaceful and legal way. It is to the interest of the proletariat that this transition take place unhampered. Therefore we shall support the ministry."

The general committee of the socialist party defines its position in these words: "In harmony with the parliamentary group we express our conviction that we cannot place the least confidence in a government which is the representative of class interests directly opposed to those of the proletariat. But in view of the present political and economic condition of the country, the parliamentary group is authorized to consent to such measures and reforms as tend to further the normal development of the class struggle and the interests of the proletariat."

If you want to gauge the strength of the socialist movement of a country, watch the attitude of the government and the comments of the capitalist press. "In many parts of the country," writes the Berliner Boersen Courier, "even in the North of Italy, the members of the leghe di resistenza (leagues of resistance formed by farm laborers) wear the photographs of the socialist leaders on their hats or on their breasts. They kiss these photographs and reverence them like they did the Madonna or the holy Antonius of Padua until quite recently. When one of these leagues orders a strike, the landowners cannot introduce foreign laborers, for this would lead without fail to bloodshed. The authorities know this and prefer to leave the strikers in possession of the field."

This is the key that opens the secret of the king's conversion. The misery and wretchedness of millions of Italians, the groans of the oppressed, the demands of civilization, all these do not move his heart.

But when the socialists grow so strong that the monarchy is threatened, then the old Bismarckian game of state socialism is played, in order to act for a little while longer a useless and purely ornamental part in society. The king's own words convey a world of information to socialists: "It can't be helped. The interest of my house may demand some day a ministry that shall contain a republican or a socialist." With grim candor writes Innominatus in the Chicago Tribune, July 15th: "By becoming democratic the monarchy would give itself a longer lease of life. To drive a people thirsting for reform it was necessary to become its guide. The house of Savoy is playing its last trump; will it win? For the moment the ministry has things its own way. It is hatred of the Pope; it is the instinct of self-preservation. God will not bless such shameless and cynical commercialism." Calm yourself, Innominatus. Neither the King nor the Pope will win. Socialism stands at the gate of the new era and says to them: "Lasciate ogni speranza! Abandon all hope!"

BELGIUM.

The class struggle is rapidly lining up on one side those elements of Belgian society that fight for freedom, progress and enlightenment under the banners of the proletariat, on the other side those who stand for wage slavery, profits in perpetuity and intellectual darkness. And the name of the loadstone that sifts the forces of light and darkness is Universal Suffrage. All indications point to a speedy approach of the acute stage when a violent crisis must cleanse the body social of its impure elements.

Who holds the control of the fighting forces? That is the important question at this moment. The clerical Gazette reassures the government by affirming that the militia will not refuse to serve and obey the officers against whom it revolted quite recently. However, the humorous and serene comment of Le Peuple leaves little doubt about the true state of affairs:

"Everything will go its accustomed course," says our contemporary. Hm, hm, we should not feel too sure about that. Our friends of the Gazette ought to remember that militia men entered the Maison du Peuple holding the butts of their rifles up in the air. But as our liberal friends are so well informed, could they not instruct the government on the state of mind of the real soldiers, the sons of the people? If necessary, we could show our liberal friends a few reports of meetings held by socialist soldiers."

Lieutenant-General Tournay, of the militia in Tournai, lately called the officers of his corps together and instructed them in the "rules for upholding law and order during strikes." In conclusion he said: "It is probable that riots will shortly break out on account of the universal suffrage. The militia must be ready to suppress them!"

"What signifies this aggressive language?" asks Le Peuple, with mock surprise. "The country is calm, profoundly calm. Has Mr. Tournay been intrusted by the government with the mission of agent provocateur? By using such language he admits that the obstinate resistance of the clerical government to the legitimate and just universal suffrage, which is the desire of the majority of the population, might at a certain moment create grave trouble. And he counts on the militia to suppress this demand and drown it with blood. However, may the brave general entertain no illusions and curb his bloody ardor, old bedizened brute that he is. The members of the militia

are mostly citizens, like all of us, and like the overwhelming majority, they are in favor of universal suffrage. If Mr. Tournay should attempt to hurl them against those who wish to obtain the very reforms which they themselves want, he might cut his own flesh and find that he would have to execute his own orders. He has no doubt sense enough not to do that. So much is certain, when the services of the militia men of Tournay are required, the standard they will follow will not be his old leather breeches."

The country is calm, but it is the calm before the outbreak of the cyclone. The storm announces its coming in the following lines of Le Peuple:

"'No referendum will be taken,' that is the cry of the clericals. Does that mean the country will not find a way to express its will? Of course, the citizens will no longer express their will by going in a quiet and orderly way to the ballot box and returning to their homes with a sense of duty well performed. The clericals want a fight. But so much are we accustomed to see reactionary governments give way only to force and fear, that nobody is disturbed by such an alternative. Matters will be settled all the more quickly, as a well planned harmony exists between the revolutionaries and the troops that are to suppress them, and no Belgian officer dares to deny this. In a few days, perhaps in a few hours, the country will know and nail to the pillory the names of those conservative politicians who seem intent on proclaiming by their vote that all legal avenues are closed to the defenders of universal suffrage."

A heated discussion of the Tournai incident took place in the Chamber of Deputies, and one socialist deputy threatened to kill General Tournay in case of an uprising.

Even capitalist papers admit that universal suffrage is inevitable "No matter what we may think of this reform," says Le Soir, "it is an illusion to assume that universal suffrage can be avoided by the help of speeches or otherwise. Evolution is the law of the world, and those are the real revolutionaries who attempt to bar the way of incessantly advancing humanity."

The proposition to submit universal suffrage to a referendum was defeated by a vote of 85 against 50; two deputies abstained from voting. The names of those who voted against the referendum are published in all the socialist newspapers. Immediately after the result of the vote was known the general committee of the socialist party held a special meeting for the purpose of deciding on the next step. The result of this meeting was a manifesto addressed "To the People," outlining the situation in bold strokes and concluding with these words: "True to its tactics, the Parti Ouvrier declares that it will use all legal and peaceful means for obtaining universal suffrage. When these means are exhausted, it will not hesitate to take revolutionary measures."

A significant result of the growing socialist strength is the marked inclination of the clericals to bestow the franchise on women, in the openly avowed intention of profiting by the influence of the clergy over this politically uneducated half of the population. The socialists, well aware that the franchise will prove an education to women as it did to men, will gladly accept this present from the clericals and thank them for their trouble.

The inauguration of the maison du peuple in Vilvorde was the occasion of a great socialist demonstration in favor of universal suffrage. Le Peuple sees in this first rural people's palace the beginning of the conquest by socialists of the vast mass of country people by the help of economic improvements and education. Other large villages will also have their maisons du peuple in the near future. Not

the least service rendered to the socialist cause by these institutions is that of teaching women the importance of co-operation between laborers and of transforming them into enthusiastic workers for socialist propaganda.

FRANCE.

The luckless little band of radicals who no longer find a place of refuge in the reactionary parties, and who furnish us no end of amusement by trying to avoid their being swallowed by the rising tide of socialism, recently held their annual congress in Paris. They are interesting only because they and the Bernsteinian compromise and immediate measure wing of socialists are gradually approaching one another. Their ludicrous position, as defined by one of their spokesmen in La Dépêche, needs no further comment: "I admit frankly that the substitution of one class for another has no charm for us. We don't feel any desire to exchange the demands and tyranny of capital for the caprice and oppression of labor. We wish decidedly that labor should receive its full reward, but under the impartial authority of a state representing everybody." National socialism with the competitive system retained versus Proletarian collectivism. The same old, old will o' the wisp. While these men are nursing their misty dreams the capitalistic Le Soleil denounces the "despot Millerand," who, "drunken with his unexpected success," wishes to unite in his person the executive, legislative and judiciary power. The unhappy congregations suffering from the blow of the law on the associations received another kick from Allemane, whose resolution to suppress the congregations will be introduced by the parliamentary group of socialists. Eight thousand building trades members are on strike in Cannes, and the socialists of Havre, where the bourgeois employers have closed the bourse du travail and locked out 8,000 union members, appeal to the comrades of the nation for funds to build their own maison du peuple.

HOLLAND.

The elections for the parliament resulted in a gain of three new seats for our comrades. Seven out of the ten districts contested by the socialists were carried by the following candidates: J. H. Schaper, 2 districts; Van der Zwaag, 2 districts; H. Van Kol, K. Ter Laan, G. Melchen, one district each. The election of Troelstra on one of the supplementary ballots in Schaper's or Van der Zwaag's spare districts is almost certain. The total socialist vote amounted to 11,625. The majority in the Chamber is now held by 25 catholics, 23 protestant anti-revolutionists, 6 free anti-revolutionists and 2 historical christians. The opposition is composed of 27 liberals, 8 radicals and 7 socialists.

AUSTRIA.

By the election of comrade Dr. Victor Adler with 4,298 socialist votes in Favoriten, the 10th district of Vienna, the Austrian comrades have gained their first seat in the Landtag, the parliament of German Austria, and won a doubly significant victory. For the franchise for these elections is restricted to persons paying at least 7 kronen 20 kreuzer ($1.50), and this was the first socialist candidate for the Landtag.

THE WORLD OF LABOR

By Max S. Hayes

A crisis appears to be confronting trade unionism in this country. The long-threatened contest between the iron and steel workers and the billion dollar trust has come. About 75,000 men walked out of the plants controlled by the United States Steel Corporation on July 15. Their immediate grievance was the refusal of the combine to allow its non-union mills to be unionized. Several months ago the issue was first made in a preliminary skirmish in a combine mill at McKeesport, Pa. After several days of fighting the trouble was patched up until after the national convention of the Amalgamated Association. When the convention adjourned the association's officers, acting under instructions, made a formal demand that the union scale be signed for the "open" mills, and that they be allowed to organize the employes. After several days of negotiating three of the "constituent" companies of the billion-dollar octopus refused the request and thereupon the men went out.

For upward of a year the mill-owners have steadily attempted to encroach upon labor organizations by offering employes extraordinary inducements to remain out of the unions, following the policy of Carnegie. The scheme was transparent enough upon its face. During slack periods the non-union mills were to be kept running, while the plants in which union men were employed were to be closed, and by this putting a premium on non-unionism it was hoped to destroy every vestige of organization and place the magnates in a position where they would not be harassed by labor demands during their campaign to secure control of the world's markets.

So the Amalgamated Association is fighting for its life, and it is not improbable that affiliated organizations will be drawn into the struggle if it is prolonged any length of time and the battle waged all along the line.

It is barely possible that, after the mills have been closed a week or two to make necessary repairs, the magnates will hold out the olive branch and make some sort of concessions in order to fill its orders and await a more favorable opportunity, when business becomes slack, to strike a death-blow at organized labor. I am informed by a person in New York, who comes in contact with some of the big bosses, that this line of action is advocated by some of the heavy stockholders. They do not want to lose too many dollars that are in sight.

The strike of the firemen in the anthracite region of Pennsylvania for an eight-hour day; the strike of the molders in Chicago for higher wages, in defiance of the wishes of their national officers, and which inaugurates a second great struggle with the National Foundrymen's Association; the bitter fight that the machinists are still putting up against the combined bosses in a number of places, and the mutterings of miners, railway workers and other laborers in different parts of the country, all portend an industrial crisis of mammoth proportions in the near future. The present troubles may be adjudicated, but the war of extermination will be simply postponed.

The employing class of this nation has decided that organization of labor is inimical to its interests. It believes its mission is to become the greatest power in the world. Morgan is to the capitalists of America what Caesar was to the armies of the Roman Empire and what Napoleon was to the armies of France—a conqueror.

"The capitalists of this country have absolute and implicit faith in all that Morgan does," said a New York newspaper man who knows whereof he speaks to me recently. "If Morgan came forward with a proposition to finance a railway to the moon he could raise the capital. When he stepped ashore the other day after his trip to Europe his friends were inspired with such confidence that stocks increased in value one hundred million dollars!"

As the various industries—iron, steel, coal, copper, oil and so on—are becoming more thoroughly linked together, it stands to reason that labor must become more compactly organized, that the old "autonomy" feature of trade unionism must be dumped overboard and industrial unity must take its place, and that alleged leaders who would block the way to a "sticking together" must be sent to the rear.

Furthermore, since the courts are constantly at the beck and call of union-smashing capitalists, and legislators spurn the pleadings of labor for relief from injunctions, blacklists, militia and other oppressions of capitalism, the time has come when workingmen must cease throwing away their political power on demagogical politicians in the two old parties, but wheel in line with the Social Democratic party and place class-conscious men from their own ranks into the various branches of government to safeguard their interests, overthrow the tyrannical capitalist system and inaugurate social democracy.

The Western Labor Union, a strong federation of organized workers west of the Mississippi, has taken some heed of the centralization of capital, the smashing of labor laws, the hurling of injunctions and the calling out of the militia during labor troubles. The W. L. U. is less stubborn or stupid than some national bodies, and the object lessons taught by capitalism are not lost. At its recent convention in Denver the Western Labor Union adopted resolutions declaring that "the capitalist class is in complete possession of the means of production, and thereby controls the Republican, Democratic and Populist Parties to further its political and industrial ends," and that "the working class has nothing in common with the capitalist class, either politically or industrially," and that "we take such steps politically as to completely separate as a political body from all parties controlled by the capitalist class and that the incoming executive board put forth every effort to assist the working people of the different states in furthering and establishing the political movement as above outlined." The Western Federation of Miners, controlling the mineral workers of the West, also adopted the foregoing resolutions. Of course, this action will not please Messrs. Hanna or Bryan, or some alleged labor leaders, but it nevertheless shows that the westerners are still bold, manly people who refuse to bend the pregnant hinges of the knee.

Readers of this department will no doubt have noticed that whenever striking machinists have gone back to work in a town here and there without securing the nine-hour day the daily press heralded that fact far and wide with big headlines. But where the men won their

demands the facts were either suppressed or shoved into some obscure corner of the dailies. The truth is that the machinists have won the nine-hour day quite generally. Where they lost in one place they gained most or all of their demands in ten. It is, of course, quite natural that losses should be met with in some cities, especially in those poorly organized. There never was a trade that successfully introduced the shorter workday everywhere and at the same time by a strike. The machinists are simply meeting with the same obstacles that other unions met. But order is coming out of chaos, and there is no doubt but the settlement of the fight in many cities and towns in favor of the workers means that the more stubborn bosses will be brought to time in the near future, as the full strength of the organization can be centered on them until their losses become so great that they will be forced to yield. The nine-hour day is here for the machinists, and in many places the men are discussing the advisability of following up their advantages by moving for an eight-hour day. It is worthy of notice, also, that in at least a dozen cities where the fight is hottest the employers appealed to the courts to protect them, and the judicial politicians, true to their capitalistic instincts, issued blanket injunctions against the strikers. It would appear from this situation that the machinists ought to have the intelligence to understand that there is a class struggle on, and that it is likewise to their interest to vote the capitalistic politicians out of office and place class-conscious workingmen on guard—that is to withdraw from the old parties and join the Social Democratic Party.

Two inventors in Warrenton, Ill., have built a rotary engine, at a cost of but $75, that competent authorities claim will revolutionize motive power. They have been offered $50,000 for the American patent, which they refuse. It is stated that the new engine will cause a shaft to make 2,000 revolutions a minute, which would be sufficient speed to drive a locomotive at the rate of 480 miles an hour if the train could be kept on the rails.—A rotary type-making machine has been invented in England, which casts 60,000 letters an hour, as against an average of 3,000 under the present system. The new device is especially designed for job printing establishments, as it will cast any size of type, and its operation is so swift and withal so inexpensive that it may be cheaper to make new type than to distribute the old.—An Ohio man has perfected an automatic bag-making machine which will be a great saving to flour, cereal, salt and other manufactories as well as bonanza farmers.—A new street sweeper attached to an automobile has come out, and they say that the faster it runs the cleaner it sweeps. Another sweeper attached to a street car is on the market.—A Massachusetts man has perfected a camera which, it is claimed, will preserve colorings and largely revolutionize lithography.—In Virginia a tobacco stemming machine has been put into operation that will dispense with 50 per cent of labor, ultimately displacing about 10,000 workers.

While this magazine is being printed the socialist hosts of America will be gathering in Indianapolis to finally unite the scattered factions of the country. From present appearances both the adherents of the Chicago and Springfield executive heads will be largely represented, as well as numerous state and local independent bodies. The new party, if all ends well, will be able to enter the field this fall with at least 15,000 dues-paying members, about forty newspapers and scores of able speakers. It is also quite probable that if amalgamation takes place

many able men who are sympathetic with the socialist movement, but have up to the present held aloof on account of petty squabbles, will lend their support to the united party. Certain it is that the reform parties, viewed from a political or economic standpoint, have no future before them, and that the S. D. P. is the most promising third party in the United States. The questions that will arouse the most discussion are those of form of organization, party name, seat of national headquarters and whether or not the "immediate demands" should be discarded. It is reported that committees from reform parties will also be present to urge some sort of combination with their organizations, but it is doubtful whether anything will be done in this direction.

At least thirty injunctions of the blanket variety have been swung at workingmen by the courts during the past months. Many trades are affected, including machinists, molders, miners, waiters, etc., and the injunctions are more far-reaching than ever before. The men are not only restrained from picketing and boycotting, but are commanded not to visit homes of non-unionists to persuade them to stop work and not to talk to others regarding specific labor troubles, or to do aught to injure the business of the plaintiff, and so forth. The fact that the courts are working overtime to assist capitalists who are at war with organized labor is a pretty safe indication that trade unionism is growing more powerful despite all obstacles. A further result will be that those same trade unionists will soon be forced to the conclusion that they possess no standing in court and have no political power, and that they will line up at the polls with a party of their class and prepare to take control of the governing forces.

The semi-annual dividends on July 1 resulted in about one hundred million dollars of wealth flowing into the coffers of a few dozen multi-millionaires, as "wages of superintendence," of course. Rockefeller is reported to have cleaned up $40,000,000, and the Goulds, Vanderbilts, Morgan and others also received large sums, which are being re-invested in railways, mines, mills, steamship lines and other properties. Many new trusts have been formed and old ones strengthened by the absorption of independent plants, and international combinations are increasing in number. Morgan is putting the finishing touches on his transportation combine that will encircle the globe; the mammoth soft coal trust is assuming shape; the tobacco branches are being welded together, and many other vast enterprises are being worked out by the magnates. Hardly a financial transaction is spoken of nowadays without the names of Rockefeller or Morgan are associated therewith, and these gentlemen are building more wisely than they know.

After considerable lobbying to secure the enactment of an employers' liability law, which, wonderful to relate, proved successful, the Colorado trade unionists were saddened by the report that somehow the bill got "lost" before it could be engrossed. What politician was responsible for "losing" the bill has not been determined. All that is known is that the bill continues to stay "lost."—The Pennsylvania miners are saying the "sassiest" things against the members of the legislature because all their bills were turned down, while the Michigan miners are not only denouncing the tricky old party politicians, but their executive board has issued a manifesto declaring that it is a

waste of time and money to attempt to secure any relief from the capitalistic parties, and the working people are called upon to elect class-conscious men from their ranks to the Legislature, when their rights can be secured and protected.

Reformers in Baltimore have launched a so-called Federate Socialist Party to agitate for municipal ownership and similar palliatives, and the Social Reform Union, with headquarters in New York, is taking a referendum vote on the proposition of starting a socialist party on the lines of the British Fabians.—The Public Ownership Party of St. Louis has spread out as a state organization in Missouri, but not sufficient enthusiasm has as yet been engendered to gain a foothold in other states.—The Populist Party is to hold a conference in Kansas City in September to discuss the guestion of re-organization, the fusion element in Kansas and other states having been repudiated by the democrats. It is not believed, however, by close students of political affairs that the reform parties will succeed in resurrecting themselves.

It looks as though another fight over the question of "autonomy" is coming. This time the seafaring workers are likely to mix it up. At last month's convention of the International Longshoremen's Union, in Toledo, it was decided to absorb the engineers, firemen, seamen and other branches of toilers along the lakes. The seamen have quite a strong union, and they have recently reached out for all who work on board of a boat and come in conflict with other nationals. The new move of the longshoremen will consequently start more discussion regarding the jurisdiction of national bodies now organized.—The leather workers at Philadelphia combined various branches and start out with a membership of 8,000, and administer a swift kick to "trade autonomy."

Western railway employes fear that they are going to be forced into a struggle with the corporations. The Southern Pacific has notified some of the brotherhood men that agreements will be annulled after sixty days, and this sudden notification is interpreted as the beginning of a move to destroy organization on transcontinental lines. In California a union similar to the A. R. U. is reported as having been formed and rapidly growing in strength. Railway workers in the East are also dissatisfied on some lines and on others they fear they will be dragged into fights by the striking metal workers and dissatisfied miners.

Ohio unionists are somewhat perturbed because a Dayton manufacturing company has begun suit for $25,000 damages against organized men, individually and collectively, for being boycotted. If the company wins, it will be useless for workingmen to struggle for "little homes," for they can be sold out at any time.

The Chinese exclusion act lapses next year, and Western union men fear that the Washington politicians will not re-enact the law, as many American capitalists are very partial to Chinese labor.

SOCIALISM AND RELIGION

Professor George D. Herron

THE END OF THE GODS

I.

When the gods are dead to rise no more, man will begin to live.

After the end of the gods, when there is nothing else to which we may turn, nothing left outside of ourselves, we shall turn to one another for fellowship, and behold! the heart of all worship is exposed, and we have omnipotence in our hands;

For fellowship is man's true lord and only heaven—the divinest power the universe holds and the divinest glory our eyes shall ever look upon—and all that has gone or that shall yet go before us is but to prepare the way of fellowship.

It is fellowship our untaught and stumbling souls have sought for in the gods, and by the kiss of fellowship have the gods always betrayed us to our destroyers.

It is by keeping men from fellowship that the gods have reigned, and by hiding the might and faith that are in fellowship have the gods preserved their thrones.

But when to the doors of life men come with the key of fellowship, every secret of the universe will be given up, and there will be no place for the gods to dwell in.

II.

In the depth of human need will the key of fellowship be found, for the fate of humanity is wrapped up in its weakest members.

The downmost man is the savior to whom mankind must turn, for he is the little child who is to lead the world to fellowship, and to the strifeless progress of the dreamers.

When society at last sits at the feet of its despised and its worthless and its ignorant, to learn from them the way and the truth and the life of fellowship, it shall receive power to enter into its rest through the flaming gates of equality.

III.

There will be no more priests nor rulers nor judges, when fellowship comes and the gods are gone;
And when there are neither priests nor rulers nor judges, there will be no evil in the earth, nor none called good to stand over against others called evil;
For the priests and rulers and judges are the authors and preservers of evil;
It is by dividing men into good and evil that these have made themselves to be priests and rulers and judges, and so by their own shamelessness exalted themselves upon the separation and shame of their brothers.
Evil is but the lack of fellowship, and the lack of fellowship is the whole of evil.
There will be neither good nor evil when fellowship comes, nor great nor small, but all will be equals, judging not nor being judged, each to the other a shrine and a prayer, and a sure and perfect pledge of freedom.

IV.

Freedom is the ever-lost while ever-pursued because we seek it in the storm or on the height, or in the solitary places of self-will.
In none of these is freedom found, but rather where these are not.
Freedom is fellowship, and save in fellowship there is no freedom.
It is because fellowship is not that masters and tyrants are.
When fellowship at last appears,
When the long rule of yesterday and the fierce dread of tomorrow no more separate us from one another,
When we see our life as it is by falling in love with the great whole,
Then will come freedom—
Freedom to live, each man his life, full-blossomed and original;
Freedom to love, each man his own;
Freedom to work, each man after the pattern that is in his soul—
And the soul at home, after the wild, sad journey through the wilderness of the gods, almost endless—
At home, and the red torments of the journey lost in the ecstasy of self-forgetfulness.

BOOK REVIEWS

Social Control, A Survey of the Foundations of Order. Edward A. Ross, Ph. D. - Macmillan Co. Half leather, 463 pp., $1.25.

Professor Ross has here done an extremely valuable piece of social analysis. He has set forth in great detail the elements that give continuity and regularity to the working of social institutions. The author states (p. 293): "The thesis of this book is that from the interactions of individuals and generations there emerges a kind of collective mind, evincing itself in living ideals, conventions, dogmas, institutions, and religious sentiments which are more or less happily adapted to the task of safeguarding the collective welfare from the ravages of egoism." It will be seen that in this very sentence he has no conception of an egoism which might be identical with the "collective welfare." He takes up and analyzes with a wonderful wealth of illustration all the means whereby social control is secured and order maintained. He points out the social function performed by public opinion, law, belief, social suggestion, education, custom, religion, personal ideals, ceremony, art, personality, illusion, and all other possible means of "social control." At times he seems to confuse "class control" for the benefit of a parasitic section of society, with "social control" for the benefit of the social whole. But when he comes to the chapter on "Class Control" he clears this point up in a masterly manner. This chapter is especially suggestive to socialists, as the following quotations will show: "It was shown in an earlier chapter that inhibiting impulses radiate not only from the social mass, but also from certain centers of extraordinary prestige and influence. Control of this kind is still social; but when the chief center of such inhibition is a class living at the expense of the rest of the community, we no longer have social control in the true sense, but class control. This may be defined as the exercise of power by a parasitic class in its own interest.

"There are various devices by which a body of persons may sink their fangs into their fellows and subsist upon them. Slavery, that is the immediate and absolute disposal of the labor force of another, is the primary form of this parasitic relation. By modifying this into serfdom the parasitic class, without in the least abating its power of securing nourishment from others, places itself in a position more convenient to it and less irritating to the exploited. . . . Finally the institution of property is so shaped as to permit a slanting exploitation under which a class is able to live in idleness by monopolizing land or other indispensable means of production."

He then goes on to show the means which are used by an exploiting class to keep its slaves in peaceful submission, and gives a most interesting and instructive suggestion. They permit the ablest of the slaves to attain a degree of success for "The heaving and straining of the wretches pent up in the hold of a slaver is less if a few of the most redoubtable are now and then let up on deck . . . No

people will toil and sweat to keep a class in idleness and luxury unless cajoled or compelled to do so. The parasitic class, therefore, is always a ruling class, and utilizes as many as it can of the means of control. . . . The props of parasitic rule . . . are force, superstition, fraud, pomp and prescription."

The work is very scholastic in its treatment and lacks coherency of view. The author does not seem to think of the possibility of a common factor or cause lying back of the phenomena which he traces and giving unity and order to the whole. The only glimmer he seems to have had of this fact is seen in the statement that "the changes that rack the social frame and so lead to a tightening of all the nuts and rivets in it are nearly all connected with economic conditions." Perhaps the gravest defect in it, especially to the socialist, is seen in the fact that while he gives a very extensive bibliography, much of which has little relation to the subject matter of the book, no reference whatever is made to books written by socialist writers, many of whom have covered, with equal research, the ground upon which he is working. No reference is made to the Communist Manifesto in the chapter on class control, although that set forth many of his positions in much the same language fifty years and more ago. He has evidently never heard of Marx, Engels, Lafargue, Loria or Kautsky, although he has unconsciously accepted much of their work which has filtered down to him through their influence on current thought. Taking the book as a whole, it is one which no student can afford to ignore, and the defects are such as not to mar its value to the actual seeker after information.

Collectivism and Industrial Evolution. Emile Vandervelde. Translated from the French by Charles H. Kerr. Charles H. Kerr & Co. Cloth, 199 pp. 50 cents; paper, 25 cents.

The author explains in his preface to the present American edition that he has written the book to answer the question so often met by socialist workers, "Will you please direct me to a good summary of your teachings?" That he has succeeded in supplying the long felt want suggested by that question we believe few readers will deny. He has produced a work that is at once scientific in its positions, comprehensive in treatment, and yet so simple in language as to be easily understood, and sufficiently condensed to permit of thorough reading even by the busiest of men. It is not too much to say that this book is destined to become the text-book of international socialism. It has already been translated into nearly all modern European languages, although it has been published less than a year.

The introduction lays down the basic principles of socialism and gives the general thesis of the book. Then follows an able and exhaustive study of the process of capitalist concentration, the decadence of personal property, and the progress of capitalist property. The objections that have been offered to the basic principles of socialism are taken up and discussed and their weakness exposed. This is the point where most books on socialism written by socialists end. Very few of the really scientific socialist writers have attempted much of anything constructive. They have left this work for the utopians, who have generally made a sorry mess of it. But the time has now come when the socialist can begin to project many of the lines of social evolution into the future and can give more satisfying answers than formerly to questions concerning the methods of socialization and co-operative management. Prof. Vandervelde takes up and discusses these questions in the latter half of the book. He examines the present claims of the capitalist to a share in the social product, and shows all

such claims to be baseless. He then examines into "The advantages of Social Property," and shows the tremendous gain that must come from this next step in social evolution. He meets the anarchist and the "tyranny of the majority" as well as the "paternalistic" government argument in the chapter on "The Administration of Things." Those who are worrying about whether the socialists advocate confiscation will find the whole matter thoroughly discussed in the chapter on "The Means of Realization," and there is scarcely an objection to the ideal of socialism that is not met in the final chapter. This is the very book that all socialists have been waiting for, to read for themselves and to give to the hoped for convert.

Imperialism and Liberty. Morrison I. Swift. The Ronbroke Press, Los Angeles, Cal. Cloth, 500 pp. $1.50.

This is certainly the most extensive view as well as the most scorching denunciation of the subject of imperialism that has yet appeared in print. The hollow hypocrisy of the claims of the philanthropists are exposed and imperialism shown to rest entirely upon the demand for wider markets on the part of plutocratic rulers. The part played by the press, and especially that portion of it that is now pretending to be most active in its opposition to plutocracy in bringing on the war with Spain, is clearly set forth. Of McKinley's alleged reluctance to enter upon war he says: "He held on to his stock of national peace and honor until he thought he would lose if he held it any longer, and then he threw it on the market and stepped from under." The author sees no hope in the "New Democracy," because "in the face of history, reason, and the torch of progress it says, Break up trusts; the Republican party catches the trick and reverberates, Break up trusts. There is no adequacy in this principle, nor is it even a principle. Progress and principle together say, Save the trust and nationalize it." But the author utterly lacks the honesty to point out that the only party that is saying this very thing in the political world is the socialist party. As a text-book on the subject of imperialism, as a rather highly strung rhetorical indictment of this one phase of capitalism, this book is certainly extremely valuable. As a social study it is manifestly deficient. There is but a glimmer of the fact that imperialism is but one expression of class rule and but a natural and inevitable result of production for a competitive market.

Woman: Her Quality, Her Environment, Her Possibility. Martha Moore Avery. Boston Socialist Press, 37 Maywood street, Boston. Paper, 29 pp. 10 cents.

A discussion of woman's economic position under capitalism and an appeal to her to throw off the slavery under which she suffers. An excellent propaganda pamphlet for work among women.

AMONG THE PERIODICALS

"The Revolution in Agriculture," by Prof. L. H. Bailey, of Cornell University, in the World's Work, is an exposition of the education now being carried on in agriculture, and especially in Cornell University. Perhaps the most significant passage is the one showing the appearance of an "intellectual proletariat" in agriculture. "Time was when

the two year man could hope for a position in an agricultural college or an experiment station, but the struggle for existence is now too severe. There are not positions enough for them all, and in the long run the fittest win and persist. Even the graduate of a four-years' course now stands little chance of securing the good positions in the institutions; he must have had at least one post-graduate degree." Booker T. Washington tells of the work of Hampton Institute, where he is using most excellent educational methods to produce more efficient wage slaves. He declares that "the first object of Hampton was to make the negro student appreciate the difference between forced and free labor." But as his idea of "free labor" is wage slavery, one can hardly wish him success in his teachings.

The Ethical Record distinguishes itself by publishing an article defending "The Moral Effects of Militarism in Germany," which contains about as many lies and as much rot as it is possible to get into the same number of words. Nothing is said of the way in which that army has syphilized whole cities, or of the magnificent results of this "moral training" shown in the recent war in China, as revealed by the notorious "Hun letters." It would seem like a strange commentary on an "Ethical Society" to appear as the apologist for what is perhaps the most rotten thing in the whole festering mass of capitalistic society.

H. G. Wells writes in the North American Review on "Certain Social Reactions, An Experiment in Prophecy," that contains some very suggestive discussions of ways in which housekeeping could be lightened by a proper application of labor-saving machinery. He shows how servants are destined to disappear, and how the occupation of housekeeping can be rendered light, pleasant and attractive. The article, although evidently intended to be socialistic, is so marred by a ridiculous Fabianism and a disregard of all facts and laws of evolution as to be much less valuable than might have been possible. His idea of the future society is a sort of middle class purgatory, an apotheosis of mediocrity, and aggregation of social and economic compromises.

EDITORIAL

NEW TENDENCIES IN AMERICAN SOCIALISM

That the present moment is a critical one in the history of the socialist movement in America is a commonplace. Every observer has noticed that both within and without the socialist organizations, the influences that affect the socialist movement appear to be approaching a climax. Whether this condition will continue to grow more acute for some time to come no one can say. But it would seem probable that the Indianapolis convention would mark the turning point. Coming as it does at such a crucial time, that convention will perhaps mark the beginning of the greatest setback it is possible for a movement resting on economic development to receive or, as we all hope, the date from which the socialist movement will have shown itself large enough to effectively cope with an industrialism, whose rotten ripeness has prepared the way for a new social organization.

One thing is sure, and that is that in the midst of the most tremendous, political, social and industrial chaos the world has ever known, the one center of intelligent evolution is to be found in the developing socialist thought. Every field of art, literature, science, music, education, or industry, is feeling the influence of that thought. A delegate from the recent meeting of the National Educational Association at Detroit states that the whole proceedings swung round a contrast between the new pedagogical theory, demanding educational advance and growth, and the capitalist environment that cramped and deadened all things educational.

The populist party is today but a memory so far as a political organization is concerned. But the impulse which once led to the casting of a million votes in blind protest against a galling capitalism is becoming more intelligently revolutionary. The suffering of the American farmer during the past ten years, together with the lessons of general economic development, have made the farmers of America ready for socialism. But the socialists are not yet ready for the farmers. The majority of socialist writers and speakers are so hopelessly ignorant of the problems of agriculture that they cannot possibly have an intelligent opinion upon them. Yet they are

anxious to write farmers' programs and to give voice to farmers' demands. Many a socialist talks learnedly of the problems of agriculture from the depths of a city office who not only knows nothing of practical farming, but would be hard put to it if asked to name a single periodical or book on agriculture. If such men will first study the needs and demands of the farmer they will find that he is simply making, in a more or less intelligent form, the age-long demand of the slave, that he receive what he produces and that he possess in common with his fellows the tools with which that product is created.

The great body of trade-unionists, too, through the formation of trusts, issuance of injunctions, and use of militia, are being forced to recognize the necessity of independent political action to secure common possession of the essentials to life. When they have recognized this fact they are socialists. The labor fakir is losing his grip all along the line. Capitalist politicians are being driven from the unions. Active socialists in the trade-unions are hastening this process at a multitude of points.

Within the political parties all is chaos. In the height of its power the republican party is panic-stricken lest its old dummy adversary disintegrate and give way to a real antagonist. Hanna shrieks out that the next struggle will be between republicans and socialists. Wayne MacVeagh repeats the same statement in more guarded language. The leading spokesmen and writers of the republican party hover round the fading form of their dearest enemy and urge the "reorganization" of the democratic party, and hail with joy all signs of reviving strength. But the case is hopeless. The economic class whose interests were represented by the democratic party has ceased to be of sufficient importance to be hereafter represented in the political world. Therefore, that party has ceased to exist save as a disgusting memory that one would fain put aside and out of mind. From the old party organizations of Ohio, New York and Illinois, as well as from countless individuals comes the proof that since the class of little exploiters has disappeared, there is nothing left for the professional politician save to choose between the proletariat and the capitalist class. But the vultures flock only where carrion calls, and proletarian bones have already been picked too clean by the hyenas of capitalism to invite the visits of the foul birds of politics. So all these, whether formerly democratic or republican, try to cling to plutocracy. Neither one sees anything to be gained by espousing the cause of the workers. And they are right, for he who comes to the proletariat of today can rob him of nothing but his fetters.

Millions in America today have been prepared by economic development for acceptance and understanding of the principles of socialism. But the socialists, who should be spending every energy in bringing those principles before the people who are ready, are wasting their time in child-like wrangling. The time is now here for action. If we who are in possession of the machinery of socialist

political parties have not intelligence enough to adjust that machinery to accommodate the new elements that are ready for socialism, then those elements will form a political machinery of their own and we will be forced to accept their work. This will mean perhaps years of costly blundering and human suffering, as unnecessary as cruel and costly.

One thing is certain. This fiercely fomenting new wine demands new bottles. A mighty social upheaval, a great political party, an economic revolution cannot be confined within the bounds of a fraternal society for propaganda purposes. The greatest need of the hour is not, as in the past, a training school for propagandists, so much as a political expression of the movement that is already at hand. Questions of dues, officers, constitutions, and membership, must give way to the larger facts of economic exigency and social evolution. The current of revolution has grown too broad in America to be confined within the limits of any lodge-like organization, and any attempt to so confine it will fail with disaster to those who make the effort, as well as to the socialist cause. This does not mean that officers, dues and constitutions are not necessary, for they are of great importance. Those who would seek to dispense with such essentials are emptying out the baby with the bath. But from now on these things must be looked upon as merely means to an end, and not always the most important means. This is not a question of choice. It will not be by vote, but by social development that this condition will come to pass. When socialism shall have begun to spread into every nook and corner of the country, when nominations are made in legal primaries by voters whose qualifications are determined by capitalist law, when success shall have given us the responsibility for official actions as well as the work of propaganda, when, in short, we shall have become a political and social force instead of a mere educational cult, then the fundamental change will have come no matter whether we have had sense enough to realize it and accommodate the forms of our organization to it or not.

Purity of economic doctrine can no longer be secured through party discipline. The time is even now here when the attempt to uproot economic heresy by personal expulsions becomes the broadest of burlesques. The purity of socialist principles must henceforth be maintained by the burning away of all dross in the heat of free discussion. The right and true must be made to triumph because of their logical power to conquer and not because of the support of party discipline. This demands the greatest freedom of personal discussion and action within the party. At a time when the socialists were but a chosen few in a hostile land, when the corrupting influence of capitalism beat ceaselessly upon each individual from every side, then it was perhaps necessary that those principles be intrusted to the few who would protect them from contamination and preserve their purity. So long, too, as there were confusing, but still powerful, economic classes with conflicting interests, there was pressing

danger from those who would steal from the socialist armory a portion of its weapons only to bend them into forms that could be used against their rightful owners. But today, when socialists have left their sectarian seclusion to take the offensive upon the field of battle, and when development has progressed to the point where there is no class or party that can afford to accept a portion of the socialist logic, lest they be at once compelled to take the whole, this danger is no longer imminent. If today such a party is allowed to grow up and to act as an obstacle for a few years to the progress of revolutionary socialism it will be because the organized socialists have not recognized the changes of economic development and have sulked in cowardly seclusion within their tents while those of perhaps less knowledge of socialist principles but more courage of their convictions and greater grasp of present social movements have dared to act, even if unwisely.

Once more "it is a condition not a theory that confronts us." The socialist movement has already outgrown the reach of party discipline. With the hundred independent socialist papers of today grown into a thousand in a year hence, any press censorship becomes as impossible and as ineffective as personal expulsions. We grow, not because we will it, but because we are alive and obey the laws of growth.

Any organization that shall correspond to present exigencies must possess great flexibility. The socialists of no other time or place were ever confronted with such a task—nor such an opportunity—as that which now lies before the socialists of America. It is more nearly comparable to the international problems that have confronted the socialists of Europe than to any questions that have ever arisen within national boundaries. It is even more difficult and more significant than any international question, for in the last anaylsis all such problems could be solved by cutting the Gordian knot of international connection and leaving each nation free to solve its own problems. But political and economic relations force us to accept the fact of national unity, and it is but the part of a coward or a fool to refuse to recognize this fact. History, tradition, political practice and economic solidarity demand that there be but one national socialist party and any discussion of anything else is an idle waste of breath which may for the moment obstruct the coming of such a party, but cannot prevent its ultimate appearance and success. Whether that one party will come as the result of intelligent co-operation or as a survival after a bitter fratricidal struggle is for the socialists of America to decide.

But if there is national unity local diversity is no less a fact. There is as great variation in economic conditions between Maine, S. Carolina, New York, Mississippi, Illinois, Florida, Dakota and California, as between Germany, Belgium, France, Norway, Italy and Spain. Yet, as was said before, there must be an organic unity and not a federation of independent, isolated groups extending over the

entire United States. To talk of anything else betrays an ignorance of American political, social and governmental institutions too dense for argument to penetrate. The ideal must be complete state autonomy in local affairs with closest national co-operation in all affairs, and national control of national affairs. This ideal can be realized through the establishment of a central control that shall be almost entirely advisory and educational in its character and that shall secure obedience to its decrees only because of the possession of wider knowledge of the things on which it speaks.

Under the conditions of the future the maintenance of a membership in a dues-paying organization will be rather a mark of greater activity for socialism than a test of socialist orthodoxy. The party machinery will be an instrument of co-ordination and communication, not of discipline and regulation.

The whole attitude of the socialist movement from now on must be one of attack upon the entire capitalist organization at every point of opening. We must "bore from within" and strike from without. Let us become conscious of our strength. Let us lay aside utopianism in all its forms. Let us maintain the purity of our doctrines by striking them continually against the weapons of our adversaries that all unessential matter may be jarred away. Let us not fear contamination by contact with capitalism. Let us rather draw close to every old and decaying social institution, that, while preserving our identity we may strike the harder blow. This does not mean the slightest concession to Fabianism, compromise or fusion. We must always and at all times preserve the class-conscious position, maintain our independence and abate no jot of our principles. The evolution of the ages has justified the truth of those principles and every passing day emphasizes their truth. Today no man dare openly challenge the fundamental principles of scientific socialism. No man has challenged them for many years. Why, then, should we fear injury to them in closest comparison with the exploded positions of the defenders of capitalism?

We have nothing to gain from half-way measures, save delay to complete victory. Economic evolution in America has wiped out all stepping stones between capitalism and socialism and he who fears to take the whole leap will but fall into the abyss that separates them.

Two contending forces are struggling for the mastery in the socialist movement of America at this moment. One sees only this new phase of economic development and that the old institutions of socialism do not correspond to the new demands. They would wipe out all the work of years and surrender all to the exigencies of the moment. These men would abolish national organizations, and, indeed, all organization, and enter the field of capitalist politics to scramble for votes through the competitive offers of immediate amelioration. The other force remembers only the good work of the past and fails to recognize that new forces are here. They would seek to maintain a secular church, a doctrinaire seclusion, and a personal discipline. Let us

apply the Hegelian dialectics that in a modified form lie back of the earliest socialist classics, and seek the solution in a higher synthesis, that shall conserve the old and include the new,—that shall maintain principles intact, but shall give the greatest flexibility of form. If we can do this we shall have solved the problem that lay before us and acquitted ourselves like men and women and socialists.

Professor Emile Vinck will arrive in New York about the first of September with the purpose of making a lecture tour across the country as far west as arrangements can be made. Professor Vinck is a member of the faculty of the "New University" in Brussels, the most important socialist educational institution in the world. He is also the secretary of the Federation of Socialist Municipal Councillers of Belgium, and is without doubt the greatest living authority on socialist activity in municipalities. He speaks either French, English or German with equal ease, and is a fluent and eloquent speaker. He has made several short lecture tours throughout England, and the English comrades and the press agree in praising him as an instructive, enthusiastic speaker. We can say of our personal knowledge that there are few men in the socialist movement today who can speak in a more authoritative and interesting manner than Comrade Vinck. All that he asks is his expenses, including entertainment and railroad fare from the preceding town. He will certainly come as far west as Chicago, and as much further as arrangements can be readily made. Until the party reorganization is completed and the proper officials elected to take charge of his tour, all arrangements can be made through the International Socialist Review. Any towns where there is to be a municipal election should not miss this opportunity. Professor Vinck is accustomed to out-door propaganda in Belgium, and writes us that he is as willing to speak out of doors as in.

PUBLISHERS' DEPARTMENT

Collectivism and Industrial Evolution

Every active socialist knows that when he gets an intelligent man or woman once really interested, the first question is likely to be: "What book is there that explains just what socialists want and how they propose to get it?"

Up to now this has been a really embarrassing question. We have had plenty of good booklets, each covering some special phase of the subject, and plenty of books proving the injustice of capitalism and the impossibility of its surviving, but we have had no one book covering the whole field, and it has been particularly hard to find any scientific treatment of the necessary transition from capitalism to socialism.

The very book that is needed is now offered in Vandervelde's Collectivism. The first part of the book is devoted to capitalist concentration. With a wealth of illustrations from many lands he shows how personal ownership of the tools of production by the people who use them has become a thing of the past and how the trust, all over the civilized world, is becoming more and more the dominant form of industry. Before leaving this branch of the subject he analyses the cases cited by such writers as Bernstein to show the persistence of a middle class in certain lines of work, and he proves that the exceptions to the law of concentration are apparent rather than real.

The second part of the book is on the socialization of the means of production and exchange. The author begins by showing the utter weakness of the classic arguments for profit when applied to the profits of the modern stockholder in a great corporation. Then follows an exhaustive chapter on the advantages of social property; then one showing that "the administration of things" rather than the control of persons, would be the function of the state under socialism. Next comes a chapter on formulas of distribution which faces the difficult question of adjusting the rewards of labor to the work and to the needs of the workers and the helpless members of society. The means of realization are then considered, and the author explains the relative advantages and disadvantages of expropriating the capitalists with indemnity, without indemnity, or with a limited indemnity. In the final chapter the various objections of socialism, old and new, are answered in a way that is simply crushing.

The whole book is a masterpiece of propaganda. It contains the results of important studies that the best informed socialist cannot afford to miss, and yet it is easy reading for any intelligent student of the subject, even for one who has never before opened a socialist book.

"COLLECTIVISM" contains 199 pages and is published in cloth, uniform with Liebknecht's Life of Marx, at 50 cents, also in paper at 25 cents, postpaid.

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The Principles of Social Progress.

Rev. William Thurston Brown, of Rochester, N. Y., whose name is familiar to all readers of the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW, writes as follows:

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THE SILVER CROSS

OR

THE CARPENTER OF NAZARETH

By Eugene Sue

PREFACE

Eugene Sue wrote in French a monumental work: "The Mysteries of the People," or "History of a Proletarian Family." It is a "work of fiction," yet it is the best universal history extant: better than any work, avowedly on history, it graphically traces the special features of the several systems of class-rule as they have succeeded each other from epoch to epoch, together with the nature of the struggle between the contending classes. The "Law," "Order," "Patriotism," "Religion," etc., etc., that each successive tyrant class, despite its change of form, hysterically sought refuge in to justify its criminal existence whenever threatened; the varying economic causes of the oppression of the toilers; the mistakes incurred by these in their struggles for redress; the varying fortunes of the conflict—all these social dramas are therein reproduced in a majestic series of "historic novels," covering leading and successive episodes in the history of the race.

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THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

Vol. II SEPTEMBER, 1901 No. 3

The Children of the Working Class

AND THE PARTI OUVRIER FRANCAIS

EVER since it has had a general program—formulated by the Marseilles Congress in 1879, and further elaborated by the Havre Congress in 1880—the Parti Ouvrier Francais, this instrument of unceasing warfare, has always made the conquest of the City Halls its object. But these efforts became more pronounced and successful after the international congress of Paris in 1889. The Parti Ouvrier had then taken root more deeply in the country. Its adherents had increased in number and its power had grown considerably. The seed scattered through France by indefatigable militant Socialists under Jules Guesde and Paul Lafargue had germinated. We are beginning to harvest the fruit.

The eighth congress of the Parti Ouvrier, held at Lille in 1890, had reorganized the party on a new, but more solid, basis by regulating its internal affairs. Its advance on the enemy was now less hampered. The ninth national congress, held at Lyons in 1891, brought the weapons for fighting and conquering on the municipal battle ground. Without giving itself to any illusions in regard to the importance of the municipal powers that are not, and cannot be, instruments of emancipation, the Patri Ouvrier used the positions carried by it for strengthening the working class and preparing the social revolution. To-day it holds important municipalities, won at the point of the ballot in the elections of 1892, 1896 and 1900. The advantage to which it has used them has brought results that throw terror into the bourgeois ranks.

The municipality, a mere geographical term since 1789, is in all its vital acts under the bondage of the central power which always interferes to the disadvantage of the laborers. Outrage-

ously limited by bourgeois legislation, the municipal power is unable to accomplish any really Socialistic reforms. Nevertheless, the Parti Ouvrier succeeded in introducing measures for the benefit of the working class, wherever it entered into office. To delve into its municipal program and apply the reforms it contains was sufficient.

As we have said before, the municipal program of the Parti Ouvrier is the outcome of the deliberations of the Lyons congress of 1891. In the words of Guesde, this congress occupied itself with the armament of the French laborers by elaborating a common program which could serve as a banner for rallying us at all points to the advance against the enemy, no longer in loose file, but in serried ranks like a disciplined army. The congress took the existing laws into consideration. It did not demand that the city halls conquered by us should start the social revolution which requires that the powers of state now in the possession of the capitalists pass into the hands of the workingmen. It was simply called for the purpose of examining what advantage it could derive from that inferior tool called the municipal power.

Although the Socialists elected in the communities cannot eliminate the poverty and servitude of the workingmen, still they have at their command a series of immediate measures, of partial improvements, that are to the interest of workingmen and serve to rally to the support of our program of capitalist expropriation and social appropriation those masses that for the first time feel the protection of the authorities. Condensed into fourteen articles, these improvements and immediate demands make up the following program:

1. Institution of commissary departments in the schools, where the children may find at reduced prices or free of charge a meal with meat between the morning and afternoon sessions; and twice per year, at the beginning of winter and summer, distribution of shoes and clothing.

2. Introduction of clauses in the city regulations of public works reducing the working day to eight hours, guaranteeing a minimum wage determined by the council in harmony with the trade unions and prohibiting contract work, which was abolished by the law of 1848. Organization of an inspection service for the purpose of enforcing these causes.

3. Labor bureaus entrusted to the administration of trade unions and incorporated groups.

4. Abolition of revenue taxes on food products.

5. Exemption of small renters from all furniture and personal taxes and shifting of these taxes in a progressive scale to members of a higher class of taxation. Sanitation and repairing of unhealthy habitations at the expense of the proprietors. Taxation of vacant lots in proportion to their market value and of unrented rooms in proportion to their rental value.

6. The municipalities, the labor bureaus or the trade unions to act as employment agencies, and licenses of private employment agencies to be revoked.

7. Institution of maternity hospitals and homes for aged and invalids of the working class. Night lodgings and distribution of food for journeying and employment-seeking workingmen who are without any fixed place of abode.

8. Organization of free medical service and sale of drugs at reduced prices.

9. Establishment of free public baths and lavatories.

10. Creation of a sanatorium for children of the working class and utilization of existing sanatoriums at the public expense for the same purpose.

11. Free legal consultation for litigations in which workingmen are concerned.

12. Remuneration of municipal offices on the scale of the highest wages of laborers so as not to exclude from the public administration a whole class of citizens, and the most numerous at that, who only live by the work of their hands.

13. In the meantime, the jurisdiction of the prud'hommes (arbitrators) to be regulated in a manner corresponding to the interest of the working class, and prud'hommes of the laboring class to receive a salary high enough to make them absolutely independent of the employers.

14. Publication of an official municipal bulletin and posting of municipal decisions on bill boards.

As soon as the Socialists were elected they met for business. Elected by a class, the working class, they had to serve that class. Especially the successful bourgeois candidates received a lesson from them. Since the downfall of the empire the municipalities were, and still are in many places, in the hands of the Opportunists and Radicals, veritable reactionists. Both of them had profited considerably thereby, but none of them had ever done anything for the workingmen. As Lafargue declared with good reason, the municipal councils had in most cases been only instruments for them to make or increase their political or material fortunes.

It must be acknowledged that they never had any qualms about squandering the funds of the communities and giving themselves to all manner of intrigues. The future of the communities was pledged away and debts were contracted. Lille furnishes an absolutely characteristic example: When the Socialists entered the city hall they found that their predecessors had permitted the construction of gigantic works costing 1,200,000 francs without having one sou in their treasury, without raising and booking a single credit.

There was a scandal when this mare's nest was discovered. The same state of things developed elsewhere. In Rouilly-sur-

Seine, in Croix, in Ivry-sur-Seine, in Armentieres, in Roubaix, in Sainte Savine, everywhere the Socialists found themselves face to face with lamentable financial situations.

With the entry of the Socialists of the Parti Ouvrier Francais into the municipalities a new era commenced for the workingmen. The finances were put on a solid footing, order and regularity were introduced in the administration. Reforms were realized in hygiene, in school matters, in public works, etc. To-day it is possible to take a brief view of the work accomplished by the Parti Ouvrier. It is considerable and should be known.

Le us examine in rapid succession that part of it which relates to the schools, to the children of the working class. In this department of ideas the Parti Ouvrier has accomplished admirable results, such as the commissaries in the schools and the sanatoriums. We shall choose our examples from places where these reforms are carried out most completely, especially in Lille and in Roubaix.

THE SCHOOL COMMISSARY.

The school commissaries are not the invention of socialists, but the socialists of the Parti Ouvrier are the only ones who on their entry into the city halls have shown a serious desire to feed the children of the working class during the noon recess, by putting section 1 of their Lyons program into practice. Roubaix, conquered by the Parti Ouvrier in 1892, was the first to realize this reform, the most admirable of its creations. Other towns conquered by the party followed this example, especially Lille, Montlucon, Croix, Ivry-sur-Seine, Hellemmes, Marseilles, Roanne, etc.

Our friends thought that, if it was necessary to secure the intellectual bread, that is education, for the children, it was just as necessary to secure the material bread, that is food, for them. In our industrial centers, where the working class is so poor, how many children cannot go to school and thus come in conflict with the laws on free and compulsory education, because their stomachs are empty! One cannot learn anything when he is hungry.

What thc bourgeois republic neglected, the Parti Ouvrier accomplished. It feeds the children and instructs them at the same time. This fact of teaching and feeding at the same time contains, as it were, the embryo of the education of the future.

The school commissaries were instituted in Roubaix as the result of deliberations held on May 9., 1892. Their efficiency is assured by the school funds, since the municipality, in spite of its good intention, is not permitted by law to meddle with such matters. The children of all schools take part in these commissaries, which at the present moment number 29. The commissaries are open on all school days. The children are admitted

either free or for a small charge. The following tariff was fixed for paying pupils, who are as scarce as fine days in the regions of the North: 15 centimes (3¢) per meal for kindergartens and 20 centimes (4¢) per meal for primary schools.

The bill of fare, regulated by the medical service of the schools, is as follows: *Monday.* Beef tea, boiled beef, potatoes, bread, beer. *Tuesday.* Vegetable soup, roast, peas or beans, bread, beer. *Wednesday.* Beef tea, boiled beef, potatoes, bread, beer. *Friday.* Vegetable soup, roast veal, potatoes or green peas, bread, beer. *Saturday.* Beef tea, roast, peas or beans, bread, beer.

The fare is changed every day and the food, carefully inspected, is healthy and clean. The quantity of food varies with the age of the children. The youngest ones receive: Beef tea, 8.82 ounces; meat (raw) 1.76 ounces; potatoes (raw) 5.29 ounces; beans or small peas 2.29 ounces; bread 1.058 ounces; beer 3.527 ounces. The oldest children receive: Beef tea 14.109 ounces; meat (raw) 2.65 ounces; potatoes (raw) 8.82 ounces; beans or small peas 2.82 ounces; bread 2.82 ounces; beer 7.05 ounces.

The cook and her assistants, boarding at the commissary, recieve: the former 50 francs per month, the others 40 francs per month. Every commissary receives 40 francs per month for supervision, which is carried on in turn by the male and female teachers. About 4,000 children take their noon meal regularly.

The following statistics show the number of meals distributed and the sums spent exclusively for them.

School year.	Meals.	Expenses.
1892-93	161,432	33,721.59 francs
1893-94	239,691	43,087.05 "
1894-95	283,041	56,894.84 "
1895-96	384,233	76,873.09 "
1896-97	472,562	103,207.19 "
1897-98	496,245	99,924.57 "
1898-99	571,012	122,667.78 "
1899-00	605,446	131,913.30 "

This makes a total of 3,213,662 meals distributed at an expense of 668,289.41 francs during 8 years. It is significant. For, mark well, this sum does not include the expenses for utensils, rent, salaries and other sundry costs.

In Lille, where the Socialists have been in power since 1896 only, the school commissaries are nearly everywhere installed in the same manner as in Roubaix. Nearly all the school children are fed free of charge. The price of a meal is fixed at 10 centimes (2c) for paying pupils, who are as scarce in Lille as in Roubaix.

The bill of fare is as follows: *Monday, Wednesday* and *Saturday,* beef tea, boiled beef. *Tuesday* and *Friday,* vegetable soup,

roast. Bread and beer are given at all meals. The quantity of food given is the same as in Roubaix.

The cooks receive 2.25 francs per day; the assistants 1.75 francs. The male and female teachers who supervise the children receive 20 francs per month during the school months.

In Lille, the commissaries exist since 1897 only. The average daily attendance was 4,213 in 1897; 4,669 in 1898; 5,328 in 1899; 5,698 in 1900. The number of meals reached 54,251 in 1897; 899,671 in 1898; 899,144 in 1899, and 1,059,079 in 1900. The expenses for the meals alone were 71,251.34 francs in 1897; 112,692.29 francs in 1898; 121,256.84 francs in 1899, and 136,636 francs in 1900. This makes a total of 2,912,145 meals for 441,836.47 francs in four years.

I believe it will be useful to publish the statistics of the products consumed during the last year, 1900:

Products.	Quantity.	Prices.
Beef	76,278 lbs.	43,851.53 francs
Veal	19,309 "	12,538.22 "
Tallow	1,364 "	491.05 "
Cabbage	3,381 "	3,074.95 "
Codfish	792 "	360.00 "
Potatoes, onions	242,000 "	9,159.64 "
Sorrel	5,009 "	1,252.45 "
Beans	475 "	6,330.37 "
Sardines		1,497.30 "
Green Pepper		2,467.46 "
Maccaroni, rice, milk products.		3,710.00 "
Condiments		5,384.04 "
Eggs	110,000 "	6,985.96 "
Beer	38,573 gal.	19,332.08 "
Bread	156,402 lbs.	17,200.25 "

In Ivry-sur-Seine, there are also school commissaries that took up their functions in November, 1896. The number of meals distributed was 14,384 in 1896-97; 16,699 in 1897-98; 16,846 in 1898-99; and 18,720 in 1899-1900. Three hundred children were daily admitted to the commissaries. The expenses were 5,000 francs per year.

In Croix the first school commissary was opened on July 1, 1898, and distributed 8,198 meals up to December of the same year. It served 11,862 meals in 1899. A second commissary, opened May 15, 1899, distributed 10,750 meals up to the end of the year. Two new commissaries were opened in March, 1900, which brings the number of commissaries in the kindergartens up to four.

There is also a similar service in Hellemmes. In this community 10,381 meals were distributed during 1899. A sum of 1,968.64 francs was spent. Marseilles, which also has such a department, spends considerable sums for it. During the winter of 1900-1901 such commissaries came into activity in the kindergartens of Fourmies and were each patronized by an average of 150 children. The municipality decided to introduce such departments in the course of this year in all the primary schools of the town. For this purpose a credit of 2,000 francs was entered in the budget.

These commissaries were also introduced in the kindergartens of Roanne. About 700 children take their meals there. For these departments the town of Roanne spends in general expenses and for meal tickets the sum of 9,000 francs. The Socialist municipal council of Cette also installed such departments in its schools.

The towns of Wignehier and Rouilly-sur-Seine have entered in the budgets of this year credits for the creation of school commissaries. In the canton west of Montlucon such a commissary was established. Two hundred pupils 8 years old and over take their meals there. The annual expense is 6,000 francs. Besides, three new commissaries will be established. The expenses of construction and installation will be raised by a loan which is near its realization.

CLOTHING AND SHOES.

The inevitable corollary of school commissaries is the free distribution of clothing and shoes. The elected members of the Parti Ouvrier understood this. In conformity with the decisions of the Lyons congress, large sums were appropriated and spent for this purpose in nearly all the communities where the Socialists are in power. The distribution takes place in the beginning of winter. It is just as necessary as the distribution of food. One cannot go to school if he is hungry; neither can one go, if he has no shoes and clothing.

In order to gain an idea of the importance of this distribution, examine the following figures for Roubaix:

1892. 500 caps, 800 pairs of trousers, 2,450 jackets, 1,000 woolen skirts, 1,000 wraps, 2,082 pairs of brogans, 700 pairs of wooden clogs and 2,782 pairs of stockings, in all 11,314 objects with 14,139.81 francs.

1893. 490 caps, 780 pairs of trousers, 2,380 jackets, 4,480 pairs of stockings, 3,230 pairs of brogans, 1,250 pairs of clogs, 980 woolen skirts, 1,000 wraps, in all 14,590 objects worth 18,785.16 francs.

1894. 400 caps, 700 pairs of trousers, 3,450 jackets, 3,600 pairs of stockings, 3,600 pairs of brogans, 2,800 shirts and 2,000 aprons, in all 16,550 objects, worth 23,931.38 francs.

1895. 700 caps, 800 pairs of trousers, 2,400 jackets, 4,600 pairs of stockings, 4,600 pairs of brogans, 2,860 skirts, 2,000 aprons, in all 13,360 objects, worth 23,175.94 francs.

1896. 700 caps, 800 pairs of trousers, 2,400 jackets, 4,600 pairs of stockings, 4,600 pairs of brogans, 2,860 shirts, 2,000 aprons, in all 17,960 objects worth 24,903.91 francs.

1897. 700 caps, 800 pairs of trousers, 2,400 jackets, 5,600 pairs of stockings, 5,600 pairs of brogans, 2,840 shirts, 600 aprons, 600 woolen vests, 500 shawls, in all 19,640 objects worth 25,692.31 francs.

1898. 1,500 caps, 1,750 pairs of trousers, 3,400 jackets, 7,500 pairs of stockings, 7,500 pairs of brogans, 700 pairs of shoes, 3,950 shirts, 1,000 aprons, 2,000 woolen vests, 2,000 shawls, in all 31,300 objects worth 39,125.09 francs.

1899. 1,530 caps, 1,780 pairs of trousers, 3,429 jackets, 7,702 pairs of stockings, 729 pairs of brogans and shoes, 6,973 of so-called Polish brogans, 4,024 shirts, 995 aprons, 2,013 shawls, 1,715 woolen vests, in all 30,890 objects worth 38,027.94 francs.

In Lille the same assistance in clothing and footwear was given to the needy pupils of the public schools. The following objects were distributed.

1897. 4,076 clogs, 4,715 pairs of stockings, 2,475 pairs of brogans, 1,183 pairs of shoes, 4,318 pairs of trousers, 4,020 skirts, 2,723 vests, 6,456 aprons, 7,909 shirts, 120 wraps, in all 37,995 objects worth 43,724.69 francs.

1898. 4,076 clogs, 2,637 brogans, 1,784 pairs of shoes, 4,622 pairs of stockings, 4,285 pairs of trousers, 2,674 vests, 4,095 skirts, 6,388 aprons, 5,780 shirts, 270 capes, 470 wraps, in all 37,054 objects worth 45,481.06 francs.

1899. 4,225 clogs, 2,589 brogans, 1,522 pairs of shoes, 4,834 pairs of stockings, 4,382 pairs of trousers, 4,361 skirts, 6,841 aprons, 333 capes, 7,998 shirts, 458 wraps, 2,692 vests, in all 40,235 objects worth 45,480,79 francs.

1900. 4,087 clogs, 2,053 brogans, 2,684 pairs of stockings, 436 pairs of shoes, 4,477 pairs of trousers, 2,421 vests, 496 wraps, 7,414 shirts, 4,573 skirts, 5,164 aprons, 187 capes, 22 woolen vests, in all 34,014 objects worth 47,060.76 francs.

A sum of 2,961.18 francs was spent from 1896 to 1899 for clothing and footwear of the school children in Croix. In Ivry a credit of 2,500 francs was applied for the same purpose in 1895. In 1896 it amounted to 3,600 francs, in 1897 to 3,500, and so forth, to 1899. For 1900 a sum of 10,000 francs was apportioned for 1,200 children. Rouilly-sur-Seine also distributes large quantities of clothing and footwear. A sum of 3,000 francs was annually spent for clothing needy pupils of Montlucon. The expenses for the same purpose amounted to 3,600 francs in 1901, and 1,500 children received clothing.

THE VACATION SCHOOLS.

The Socialist municipality of Lille has created an institution which should be made known and for which the families of the laborers are very thankful. I am alluding to the vacation schools that are organized every year, since 1897, on the morning following closing day. Two hundred or 250 children, half of them boys, half girls, selected in proportion to the number of pupils in a school, are sent out to the farmers of the neighboring villages for twenty days.

These are generally children of delicate health who need the fresh air and sunshine of the country. They are also children who, poor and deprived of many things, will be glad to leave their habitual environment for another one which is momentarily more cheerful and agreeable. Boarding with the owner of the farm, singly or in groups of two or three, according to the room which the farmer can spare, the children drink good milk, run about through the fields and woods and breathe a pure and invigorating air different from that in smoky towns full of bad smells and various microbes.

In the first year, 100 boys and 100 girls had been sent to Calais, to the seashore. But in the following years the elected Socialists deemed it more practical to keep the children under their eyes and entered into negotiations with the farmers who enthusiastically accepted the offer made to them. The expenses amounted to one franc per day per child for 20 days.

In 1898, 200 children were sent to the country near Lille, to Louvil, Genech, La Caillere, etc. The expenses were 4,279.75 francs. In 1899, 204 children enjoying the same privilege required an outlay of 4,329.30 francs. In 1900, the number of children reached 250; 5,187.20 francs were spent for them.

Supervisors nominated for this purpose accompany the children on their trip back and forth and visit them several times during their stay. The results obtained by this trip have surpassed all expectations.

The Socialist officials in Roanne have put a similar system in practice since last year. Through the agency of the school funds, they send the anemic children to the farmers in the mountains surrounding their town. Care and good meals out in the pure air are given to the children.

These trips are made during vacations and last several weeks. This work for which the officials in Roanne voted a first credit of 800 francs, was unanimously applauded by the working population.

LOANS OF HONOR.

Another innovation was tried successfully by the Socialist municipality of Lille. Its council created a LOAN FUND which is of the greatest advantage to students just on the eve of examination, who are temporarily embarrassed for money. It is a well known truth that all who wish to pass their examination must pay up the entrance dues that are sometimes very high. The

same fee must be paid by all students, rich or poor. The sons of the bourgeoisie do not feel this as a hardship, but it is a crushing weight for the students who come from the ranks of the laborers and small employers, whose resources are so modest that the money is often missing on the eve of an examination, which is thus postponed for several months.

The Socialist municipality well understood all the difficulties confronting the children of the working class, who on leaving the primary schools wish to study and create for themselves a better existence by going through the course and examinations of the so-called official sciences. Therefore they created the LOANS OF HONOR for the convenience of poor or momentarily embarrassed students.

The institution of loans of honor by municipalities is an innovation in France, and we are proud that the Parti Ouvrier has taken the initiative.

This excellent idea was put into practice in the following manner. Every year since 1897 a sum of 2,000 francs was entered on the budget. This sum is left in the hands of the president of the university who disposes of it at his will. The municipality demands only that the money be used exclusively for loans to poor students and that a general report, without any names, be filed annually. The refunding of the loans is left to the convenience of the students.

As the Socialist officials wished to spare the feelings of the applicants as much as possible, they reduced the formalities necessary for admission to this benefit to almost nothing. The students have simply to file with the faculty a petition endorsed by the mayor, the dean or any professor, and that is all. To-day this innovation works to the best advantage of the students.

While speaking of students, let me mention the following little circumstance: Thanks to the Socialist officials, theater tickets are sold to the students of the Musical Conservatory, the Academy of Fine Arts and the University at a reduction of 50 per cent. Let me also add that the pupils of the primary schools are admitted free to the theater several times during the year. Clauses to this effect were inserted by the municipality in the contract with the administration of the theater.

ASSISTANCE TO MOTHERHOOD.

The Socialist municipal council of Ivry-sur-Seine took a special interest in motherhood. Considering that motherhood is a social function, the most sacred of all functions, which is entitled to the greatest attention, the Socialist officials introduced into their budget a column headed "ASSISTANCE TO MOTHERHOOD." What is more necessary than to care for the mothers of the working class who reproduce or perpetuate humanity?

The assistance to motherhood is in existence since July, 1898.

At that time 15 francs were paid at the birth of the third child. Since then this has been raised to 30 francs. Besides, the council decided that at the birth of the fourth child, an assistance of 15 francs per month for six months should be granted to mothers of the working class.

The credits raised for this purpose were as follows:

Six months 1898.....	750 francs	3rd child
Six months 1899.....	4,800 "	3rd child
Six months 1900.....	3,395 "	4th child

The municipal council of Rouilly-sur-Seine followed the example of Ivry. Since January 1 of this year the same service is in practice. Six thousand francs were entered on the budget. The Socialists of Rouilly added another article, which gives a prize of 100 francs at the birth of the seventh child.

In Ivry, the Socialist council has considerably enlarged the midwives' services granted to poor families. These families thus receive assistance at the moment when they need it most. The cost of assistance given by midwives amounted to 344 francs for 59 births in 1896; to 552 francs for 43 births in 1897; to 648 francs for 62 births in 1898; and to 700 francs for 59 births in 1899.

In Roubaix, every person who demands it receives a full baby's outfit free, besides the ordinary assistance in money given to mothers of the laboring class. For this purpose 6,000 francs are entered on the budget every year. Lille devotes 9,000 francs per year to assist mothers. The Socialist council of Cette has created a free service for the assistance of mothers, which is of real value.

THE NURSERIES.

Always with a view to assist the families of the working class, the Socialist municipalities have created nurseries. Article 7 of the municipal program of Lyons provides for them. In industrial towns nurseries are indispensable. Since the capitalist rule forced the women into the factories out of the homes, in which they cared for the children before the bourgeois revolution of 1789, nurseries have become an undeniable necessity. Before the entrance of our friends only two private nurseries existed in Roubaix, and they were without the most elementary necessities. The Socialists subsidized them, until the municipal nurseries could be established. At present two nurseries are under the administration of the municipality. The first one is established since May 2, 1894, the second since August 17, 1896.

The nurseries are open every day, except Sundays and legal holidays, half an hour before and half an hour after working hours. Only such children are accepted whose parents work outside of their homes. No child is permitted to pass the night in

them. Admission is free. The expenses for the nurseries amounted to 8,271.85 francs in 1894; 11,761.33 francs in 1895; 14,906.50 in 1896; 19,326.99 in 1897; 17,582.87 in 1898; 18,601.10 francs in 1899. During the last year 226 children attended the nurseries.

Since 1896 a nursery is established in Lille. During 1900 14,000 francs were spent as against 9,969.29 francs in 1899 for different expenses, such as care, food, salaries, etc. Only children of 15 days to 3 years are admitted. Absolutely nothing is charged for this service. The nursery is opened at 5:15 A. M. and closed at 7:30 P. M. The officials comprise 7 women; one female manager, two attendants, one washer woman, one scrub woman, one wet nurse and one cook. Their wages vary from 15 to 12 francs per week for 5 days work. The officials receive board.

The following details are not without interest. The little children are nursed six times daily; the first time at 6 A. M., the second at 9 A. M.; the third at 11:30 A. M.; the fourth at 2:30 P. M.; the fifth at 4 P. M.; and the sixth at 6 P. M. The quantity of milk given to the little ones varies according to their age; a child 15 days old receives 2.12 ounces; one month old, 2.65 ounces; 2 months old 3.53 ounces; 3 months old 4.27 ounces; 4 and 5 months old, 4.94 ounces; and 6 to 9 months old, 5.82 ounces.

Not everywhere is this department organized as in Lille and Roubaix. However, in Roanne, the care and supervision of the children is assured in all the schools. The pupils of the primary schools may come to school from 5:30 A. M. to 6 P. M. In the kindergartens the children are cared for from 5:30 A. M. to 7 P. M. All these children may, if they like, take their meals at the school commissary. For the supervision—and studies—of children outside of the regular hours, Roanne spends 15,500 francs per year.

Ivry-sur-Seine spent 180,000 francs for the construction of its two nurseries, and it costs 20,000 francs annually to run them. Each nursery daily admits 40 children absolutely free. In Croix a nursery is in course of construction. In Montlucon a supplementary institution for taking care of kindergarten pupils from 4 to 6 P. M. was created two years ago and costs 2,300 francs per year. The Socialist council of Marsillargues assures the care and supervision of the children during the time of the vintage for all parents who are forced to be absent from home.

THE SCHOOL SUPPLIES.

The bourgeois republic decreed that education should be free, but it did not decree that the means of instruction should be given to poor children. In the majority of cases the latter are unable to buy the most indispensable supplies, such as books, pens, paper, etc. In most of the communities the Socialists had to take

by the Parti Ouvrier and explaining the term SANATORIUM, the speaker continued: "But we may conceive of a sanatorium in a wider sense, in the sense of an annex, not to a hospital, but to the school commissary. We may consider it as a country colony, where as large a number of our children as possible will go every year by turns for recuperation, and those will be chosen who are the weakest and are most in need of the strength and de- the matter in hand and grant to the children, to all the children, the necessary school supplies.

Before the Socialists obtained the municipal powers, the children bought their supplies, and if they could not buy them used such as they could borrow from their more fortunate playmates. The Socialists changed this state of things. Everywhere they give free text-books, free copy-books, free materials. Marsillargues, La Crotat, Cette, Avion, Auchel, Vieur, Conde, Marseilles, Fourmies, Wignehier, Lille, Roubaix, Croix, in a word, all the towns held by our party distribute school supplies free.

These supplies cost in Roanne 10,000 francs per year and benefit 2,500 children. In Roubaix 40,113.10 francs were expended in 1896; 35,542.79 francs in 1897; 43,168.09 francs in 1898; and 39,676.12 francs in 1899. In October, 1900, Fourmies spent 5,000 francs for free supplies. In Ivry-sur-Seine 10,000 francs are spent annually for 3,000 children. Nearly 4,000 francs are expended in Cette every year. In Hellemmes 700 pupils receive supplies, the average expense is 3,000 francs. The 4,000 pupils who attend the schools of Montlucon likewise receive free supplies. The yearly budget for this purpose 16,000 francs. Lille had an expense of 37,076 francs for this service during the past year.

THE HEALTH OF POOR CHILDREN.

The municipality of Roubaix first of all put article 10 of the Lyons program in practice. It understood that to furnish bread, instruction and clothing to the children of the working class was not enough. It was also necessary to restore them to health, which had been broken from lack of care and by poverty. The children of the rich receive admirable care when they are sick. Physicians and medicines are never wanting. And if their health requires it they are sent to the seashore or to the sunny country for recovery.

But the children of the laborers lack the means for all this. When there is no bread or hardly enough of it, one cannot call the physician or pay the druggist. One takes what care he can and cures himself. The children of the poor are in need of air and sunshine. The Parti Ouvrier said to itself that the community, being the great family, should assure health to the children of the proletarians within the limits of possibility. After establishing the school mess, the Socialist officials of Roubaix, there-

fore resolved to send the sick children of the poor to the sanatorium in St. Pol-sur-mer.

The resolution was adopted on April 15, 1896. At the session of the council a very interesting lecture was given. "The school messes," said the speaker, "that function in Roubaix better than anywhere else, form but a part of the task incumbent on the Socialist municipalities. After the education, after the bread, after the clothing, the community, this great family, must safeguard the health of the children within the limits of possibility." Then, after announcing that this reform had been adopted velopment which the sea can give them. Your municipality has chosen a sanatorium of this kind after a visit to St. Pol near Dunkerque."

The contract between the management of the sanatorium and the municipality was sanctioned by the council in its session of July 17, 1896. Concluded for a period of three years, it went into force on January 1, 1897. Before this date, a trial term was given to the end of 1896.

The contract of 1896 lapsed on December 31, 1899. The Socialist council renewed it for another term of three years in its session of February 9, 1900. Since the making of the first contract, the town of Roubaix sends its weak, anemic, varicose and lymphatic children, whose delicate constitution demands the healthgiving effects of the salubrious sea air, to the sanatorium. From August to October the number of children sent is no less than 100 and no more than 150 per month. During the other months the number of children depends on the choice of the town.

The price paid by the town is 1.25 francs per day per child. This covers the cost of board, lodging, washing, entertainment, etc. The children daily pass a free medical inspection. The cost for sick children who require medical treatment and drugs amounts to 1.50 franc per day. The transportation is paid by the town and the care of clothing the children is left with the parents. Only those children take part in religious services whose parents demand it. The children are all well cared for and well fed.

Since the Parti Ouvrier introduced this reform 1,866 patients have benefited by the stay on the seashore, basking in the sunshine, inhaling the salt air with full lungs and gaining the strength they needed. The following figures show what has been accomplished since the creation of this service.

In 1896 (trial period) 78 children were sent; 41 boys and 37 girls. Cost 2,089.85 francs.

In 1897, 584 children were sent; 337 boys and 247 girls. Cost 27,786.85 francs.

In 1898, 612 children; 347 boys and 265 girls. Cost 28,496.40 francs.

In 1899, 592 children; 329 boys and 263 girls. Cost 26,143.69 francs.

Such is the result of the institution created by the Socialists of Roubaix in the interest of working class children who are sick, weak and in want of pure air. The example of Roubaix should be imitated by all the municipalities cconquered by the Socialists. The municipality of Croix sends its school-children to the sanatorium of St. Pol since 1898. Twenty-six children profited by this service in 1898, 38 in 1899. Nearly 50 were admitted in 1900.

As to Lille, this city has cared for the health of its poor children since 1897. In that year 41 children went to the sanatorium, 281 in 1898, 434 in 1899 and 372 in 1900. During the first four months of this year, 113 patients were sent. The expense amounts to 1.50 francs per day per child. The service required an outlay of 1,989 francs in 1897; 11,551.50 francs in 1898; 10,942.50 francs in 1899, and 16,062.20 francs in 1900. The first four months of this year have cost 4,786.50 francs. In Avion, the Socialist council likewise voted funds for sending sick children to the sanatorium.

CONCLUSION.

Such is the principal activity unfolded by the Parti Ouvrier Francais by means of the administrative power of the communes, for the benefit of the working class children in general, for the school children in particular. We have chosen at random such important ameliorations as happened to flow from our pen from among those that were put in practice by all communities where the city hall is entirely in the hands of the Socialists. We have not referred to any city halls where our party is in the minority and where some reforms were introduced, thanks to this minority.

This rapid and incomplete sketch has but one purpose: to show that in contradistinction to the bourgeois municipalities, the Socialist municipalities serve the children of the working class. We said it and we lay stress on the repetition: The work of the Parti Ouvrier for the children of the proletarians has been highly successful.

What characterizes its work from this special point of view, in the communities where it is in power, is that it substitutes the great collective family of the community, the great human family, for the ruined and poor individual family destroyed by capitalist rule.

The Socialist communities feed, clothe, educate, entertain and nurse the children, in short, give them everything demanded by education, health and material necessities. Amid great difficulties and within limits it cannot pass, the Parti Ouvrier prepares the family of the future with the education of the future.

We submit this part of the work which the Parti Ouvrier has accomplished to the judgment of all comrades.

CHARLES VERECQUE.

(*Translated by E. Untermann.*)

AUTHOR'S NOTE.—We have passed in silence the raising of the teacher's wages, the creation or enlargement of the labor exchanges, the benefits of all sorts granted as rewards or for necessities; the subsidies to the school funds and the annexes, etc. We wished, let it be repeated, to mention only the principal points of the municipal activity of the P. O. F.

A Picture of American Freedom in West Virginia

SOME months ago a little group of miners from the State of Illinois decided to face the storm and go to the assistance of their fellow-workmen in the old slave state of West Virginia. They hoped that they might somehow lend a hand to break at least one link in the horrible corporation chains with which the miners of that state are bound. Wherever the condition of these poor slaves of the caves is worst there is where I always seek to be, and so I accompanied the boys to West Virginia.

They billed a meeting for me at Mt. Carbon, where the Tianawha Coal and Coke Company have their works. The moment I alighted from the train the corporation dogs set up a howl. They wired for the "squire" to come at once. He soon arrived with a constable and said: "Tell that woman she cannot speak here to-night; if she tries it I will jail her." If you come from Illinois you are a foreigner in West Virginia and are entitled to no protection or rights under the law—that is if you are interested in the welfare of your oppressed fellow beings. If you come in the interest of a band of English parasites you are a genuine American citizen and the whole state is at your disposal. So the squire notified me that if I attempted to speak there would be trouble. I replied that I was not hunting for trouble, but that if it came in that way I would not run away from it. I told him that the soil of Virginia had been stained with the blood of the men who marched with Washington and Lafayette to found a government where the right of free speech should always exist. "I am going to speak here to-night," I continued. "When I violate the law, and not until then will you have any right to interfere." At this point he and the constable started out for the county seat with the remark that he would find out what the law was on that point. For all I have been able to hear they are still hunting for the law, for I have never heard from them since. The company having called off their dogs of war I held my meeting to a large crowd of miners.

But after all the company came out ahead. They notified the hotel not to take any of us in or give us anything to eat. Thereupon a miner and his wife gave me shelter for the night. The next morning they were notified to leave their miserable little shack which belonged to the company. He was at once discharged and with his wife and babe went back to Illinois, where,

as a result of a long and bitter struggle the miners have succeeded in regaining a little liberty.

Up on New river last winter I was going to hold a meeting when the mine owner notified me that as he owned half the river which I had to cross to get to the meeting place, I could not hold the meeting. I concluded that God Almighty owned the other half of the river and probably had a share or two of stock in the operator's half. So I crossed over, held my meeting on a Sunday afternoon with a big crowd. The operator was present at the meeting, bought a copy of "Merrie England," and I hope has been a fairer and wiser man since then.

One of the saddest pictures I have among the many sad ones in my memory is that of a little band of unorganized miners who had struck against unbearable conditions. It was in a little town on the Tianawha where I spent an Easter. When the miners laid down their tools the company closed their "pluck me" store and started to starve them out. While they were working the poor wretches had to trade at the company store and when pay-day came their account at the store was deducted from their check. The result was that many a pay-day there was only a corporation bill-head in their pay-envelope to take home to the wife and babies. Enslaved and helpless if they dared to make a protest or a move to help themselves, they were at once discharged and their names placed on a black list. Ten tons of coal must go to the company each year for house rent; two tons to the company doctor who prescribes a "pill every five hours" for all diseases alike. You must have this corporation doctor when sick whether you want him or not. Two tons must go to the blacksmith for sharpening tools; two tons more for the water which they use and which they must carry from a spring half-way up the mountain side, and ten tons more for powder and oil. All this must be paid before a penny comes with which to get things to eat and wear. When one hears their sad tales, looks upon the faces of their disheartened wives and children, and learns of their blasted hopes, and lives with no ray of sunshine, one is not surprised that they all have a disheartened appearance, as if there was nothing on earth to live for.

Every rain storm pours through the roof of the corporation shacks and wets the miner and his family. They must enter the mine early every morning and work from ten to twelve hours a day amid the poisonous gases. Then a crowd of temperance parasites will come along and warn the miners against wasting their money for drink. I have seen those miners drop down exhausted

and unconscious from the effects of the poisonous gases amid which they were forced to work. The mine inspector gets his appointment through a political pull and never makes anything but a sham inspection. He walks down "broadway" with the mining boss, but never goes into "smoke alley" where men are dropping from gas poisoning. Then he walks out to the railroad track and writes his report to the government telling how fine things are.

I sat down on the side of the railroad track the other day to talk to an old miner. "Mother Jones," said the poor fellow, "I have been working in this mine for thirty-three years. I came here when it first opened and have worked faithfully ever since. They have got every penny I ever made. There has never been a ray of sunshine in my life. It has all been shadow. To-day I have not a penny in the world. I never drank. I have worked hard and steady." Just then he suddenly rose and walked away saying, "Here comes the superintendent. If he saw me speak to you I would lose my job."

As I look around and see the condition of these miners who produce the wealth of the nation, and the injustice practiced on these helpless people, I tremble for the future of a nation whose legislation legalizes such infamy.

"Mother" Jones.

The Labor Problem in South Africa

IN April, 1897, a commission was appointed by the Transvaal Volksraad to inquire into the complaints of the British mine owners and to make recommendations for the removal of the alleged causes of dissatisfaction.

This commission made its report a few months later in a volume of 747 pages published at Johannesburg, which has been practically inaccessible in England until an association known as the "Aborigines Protection Society" undertook in June, 1901, to republish such parts of it as related to the problem of native labor.

It appears from the report just published by this society that the gold and diamond mine owners were dependent on the Kafirs for their labor supply, and were put to great expense and inconvenience in bringing their African laborers from remote regions to the mines. They were obliged in the first place to pay some one several shillings and sometimes as much as a pound per head for the business of collecting the natives and forwarding them to their destination. Then they had to pay the railroads for their transportation, and risk getting back the amount later on by deducting the same from the wages of their laborers. In addition to this, they had to feed their workmen on the route and pay the costs of a complicated series of fees and passes which the South African Republic—at the instigation of its citizen farmers and alien mine owners—had imposed upon the Kafirs before permitting them to travel in any direction in search of work.

It will thus be seen that the British mine owner had to incur considerable expense in getting his laborers to the spot, and as he paid them not more than 50 or 60 shillings per month, they would have to work quite a while before they would be able to pay back with their toil what their employer had advanced in getting them there.

Most of the Kafirs had been living on "kraals" before engaging to work at the mines, and were accustomed to a simple pastoral life. With their cattle and their small farms they could live comfortably with their families at small cost and with little exertion. Only the strongest and toughest natives could stand the hardships of the mines, and heavy manual labor in the bowels of the earth became quickly distasteful to these black sons of the forest and the open plain. The result was that most of them would refuse to abide by

their agreement and they deserted the mines every year in large numbers.

This tendency was accelerated by a determination on the part of the mine owners to reduce wages to the lowest point possible. But the lower the wages were reduced the more the Kafirs would desert, and although stringent laws existed to punish them for breaking their contract, these laws for the benefit of British mine owners were seldom enforced by the South African Republic. It is a thankless task to enforce a fugitive slave law for the return of somebody else's wage slave, and so no doubt the Boers regarded it. Perhaps they did not blame the Kafirs very much for preferring an agricultural life to that of a contract miner. Any way, in their stolid Dutch fashion they continued to ignore the complaints of the British, and contented themselves with polite excuses and a general do-nothing policy, which greatly incensed the mine owners.

Finally, the "Industrial Commission of Inquiry" was appointed by the Boer government and the British mine owners were invited to appear before it and state their grievances and their recommendations.

Extracts from the report of this commission are interesting reading. Not only do they throw a curious side light on the part that the labor question played in bringing about the South African war, but they expose the true relations which exist between capital and labor in all countries. The mark of benevolence being laid aside the capitalist mine owner bluntly states the conditions of the labor problem as he understands them.

A gentleman by the name of George Alba presents the capitalist's views of the situation to the commission as follows:

"The reduction of native labor is necessary for two reasons; the one is, to reduce our whole expenditures; and the second has a very far-reaching effect upon the conditions which may prevail with regard to native labor in the future. The native at the present moment receives a wage far in excess of the exigencies of his existence. The native earns between 50 shillings and 60 shillings per month, and then he pays nothing for food and lodging; in fact, he can save almost the whole amount of what he receives. At the present rate of wages the native will be enabled to save a lot of money in a couple of years. If the native can save 20 pounds a year, it is almost sufficient for him to go home and live on the fat of his land. [Happy native! To have a home and land somewhere that he can go back to and live on! He is not a thorough wage slave as long as he has this option.] In five or six years' time the native population will have saved enough money to make it unnecessary for them to work any more.

[i. e.—in the mines.] The consequences of this will be most disastrous for the industry and the state. *This question applies to any class of labor, and in any country, whether it be in Africa, Europe or America.* [Italics my own.] I think if the native gets sufficient pay to save five pounds a year, that sum is quite enough for his requirements, and will prevent natives from becoming rich in a short space of time."

After some further explanations were offered in reply to the questions of the Boer representatives, the following conversation took place between Mr. Alba and a Boer member by the name of Smit:

Mr. Smit—Do you intend to cheapen Kafir labor? How do you propose to effect that?

Mr. George Alba—By simply telling the boys that their wages are reduced

Mr. Smit—Suppose the Kafirs retire back to their kraals? In case that happened would you be in favor of asking the [Boer] government to enforce labor?

Mr. George Alba—Certainly,—a Kafir cannot live on nothing.

Mr. Smit—You would make it compulsory?

Mr. Alba—Yes. I would make it compulsory, and without using force a tax could be levied. If a white man loiters about he is run in. Why should a nigger be allowed to do nothing? [—on his own land, that is. Take it from him by taxation—a brilliant idea, quite worthy of an Anglo-Saxon philanthropist—reduce him to the status of the proletariat in Christian England and America.] If there is a famine in the district the government has to pay for it, and that falls back again on the industry. Therefore, I think a Kafir should be compelled to work in order to earn his living.

Mr. Smit—Do you think you would get the majority of the people on the Rand with you in trying to make the Kafirs work at a certain pay?

Mr. Alba—I think so.

Mr. Smit—Would it not be called slavery?

Mr. Alba—Not so long as the men earned a certain amount of money. [It would be called "the dignity of labor" and is so called elsewhere in this report by one of the British mine owners.]

Mr. Smit—If a man can live without work, how can you force him to work?

Mr. Alba—Tax him, then! If I have five pounds to spend, I don't want to do any work; but if the government passes a law that all gentlemen at large (who you may know in South Africa often call themselves that) must pay three pounds per month tax, there only remains two pounds, and I am forced to work!

Mr. Smit—Then you would not allow the Kafir to hold land in the country, but he must work for the white man—to enrich him? [Evidently this Boer is taking a sly stolid enjoyment in the rare sight of a benevolent Briton unmasked.]

Mr. Alba—[Cautiously replacing the mask, but conscious of its futility on the present occasion.] He must do his part of the work of helping his neighbors. How would the government like us to sit down and say that we have enough money; where would the state drift to? [Where, indeed? Possibly not into the South African war?] There is always competition in labor, and when once a man tastes the fruits of his labor, he will work. [Without hypocrisy this is meant to read: "Whenever once a man is *deprived* of the fruits of his labor, he will work—at any loathsome and killing task.]

Mr. C. J. Joubert, Minister of the Mines, now takes hold of the witness, and probes for further expressions of the commercial longing for the re-establishment of slavery,—the British being credited with its abolishment in South Africa.

Mr. Joubert—You said yesterday that if a law could be made for enforced labor, it would be a great assistance. Is that your opinion?

Mr. Alba—Yes.

Mr. Joubert—Is there a law in England to get forced labor?

Mr. Alba—No; nowhere in the world as far as I know.

Mr. Joubert—Then why would you like it here?

Mr. Alba—I have not asked for it. But I told you what the consequences would be if we reduced the price of labor and the natives refused to work here. Then I suggested to impose a head tax, and I think Mr. Smit asked me if I thought it would be a good thing to have forced labor. I—as an employer of labor—say it would be a good thing to have forced labor, but another question is whether you could get it. You could exercise a certain amount of force among the natives if you impose a certain tax upon each native who does not work, or if he has not shown he has worked a certain length of time. The law then should be for the native that if he does not work for a certain number of years, or if he is too rich to work, he must pay.

Mr. Joubert—You know of no other country where there is such a law?

Mr. Alba—There are no Kafirs in any country I have been in, but the rich man who does not work has to pay a higher tax than the poor man who has to work The proportion of taxes goes up in proportion to a man's wealth. [Mr. Alba probably knows this to be false but hopes the Boer does not. If it were true, the rich man would be compelled to go to work again.]

Mr. Joubert—But although in London there are no Kafirs, there are poor whites?

Mr. Alba—[With great cheerfulness.] Oh, yes!

Mr. Joubert—Are these compelled to work?

Mr. Alba—[With joyful recollections of the slums of London and the great army of the unemployed.] You do not need to tell a man to work there; he will work if he can only get it! [Having no kraals to retire to—no lands to live on.]

Mr. Joubert—Is it the same here?

Mr. Alba—[With sadness.] No. A Kafir can get work if he will come.

Mr. Joubert—[With boorish simplicity.] But still they live?

Mr. Alba—[Bewildered.] Who?

Mr. Joubert—The poor at home.

Mr. Alba—[Recovering his spirits.] Oh, yes! They live!

The report before me gives extracts from the testimony of fourteen mine owners and managers who practically agree in their plea for a reduction of wages, and an urgent demand that the Boer government shall use its powers first as a detective agency in compelling deserters to return to the mines, and secondly as a slave driver in taxing the natives so heavily that they will be driven by hunger to forsake their kraals and work in the mines for a bare subsistence wage.

It is vastly to the credit of the members of the Boer commission that they replied to the insolent and inhuman demands of the British mine owners by refusing flatly to recommend to their government the imposition of a higher tax on the long-suffering Kafirs (who are already taxed beyond the limits of a white man's endurance) or any measure that would be equivalent to forced labor.

Under British pressure they did recommend, however, "the establishment of a Government Department for the procuring and supplying of native labor for use in the gold mines"—and of a local board by which the British owners could practically control the action of the Boer government in the matter of labor representation.

The recommendations of the commission were naturally distasteful to the Volksraad. That they were not satisfactorily carried out was one of the complaints (on the part of the British) which led to the breaking out of the South African war.

The "Aborigines Protection Society" adds that "they are now being zealously and imperiously urged upon the present administrators of the Transvaal."

Dublin, N. H. *Caroline H. Pemberton.*

Socialism in English Trade Unions

IN RESPONSE to the request which you have made upon me to give you some impression as to the relationship between the Trade Union movement and Socialist sentiment in this country, I will, in a brief way, proceed to sketch out the lines upon which we, in the advanced movement, are at present working.

You will remember that during my sojourn in America I pointed out the necessity of those holding Socialistic convictions of identifying themselves with trade union propaganda. I believe that either here or in America no revolutionary movement taking up an entirely and definitely antagonistic attitude to trade union principles can ever succeed or gain the confidence of the mass of workers. Of course, there is a fundamental difference between the movement in the old country and that of the American continent, and the reasons for this I pointed out in a good many public statements in America. Our franchise is so limited, and the system of dividing up the country into small slices and designating them parliamentary divisions, does not afford us the same facilities as you people have in America. There is, at present, a movement in this country to solidify the different Socialist organizations with the trade unions for political purposes. To some extent this has brought about a better understanding and a more harmonious feeling between the separate organizations. We have here, as you are aware, two active propagandist Socialist societies, namely, the Independent Labour Party and the Social Democratic Federation. I do not want to disparage the useful work of a literary character which has been given to the movement by the Fabian Society, but it is not so definitely socialistic nor so pronounced in its policy as the other two organizations. As a result of the passing of what is now euphemistically called the Collectivist Resolution at the Trade Union Congress some years ago we have now established a joint labor representative committee. It embraces the three Socialist organizations, and also something like 350,000 oragnized trade unionists. There is, to an extent, a policy of give and take recognized by this body, although it cannot in any way be called a compromise of principle. If the Socialist organizations bring forward a candidate on the clear cut Socialistic ticket, either for parliamentary or municipal honors, he receives the endorsement of this joint committee, for the reason that his society is affiliated. On the other hand, should a trade union, which is also affiliated, bring forward one of its members who was not prepared to endorse the entire So-

cialist program, but who was prepared to declare for independent political action and the formation of the labor party in the legislative assembly, this person's candidature would also be endorsed by the labor representative committee, notwithstanding the fact that the different Socialist organizations were affiliated. This line of action may not appear quite clear to the aggressive American Socialists, but in this country those of us who have long taken up what is called the extreme side of the trade union movement are convinced that it is the only method whereby we will at an early date secure something like distinct representation absolutely independent of the orthodox parties in politics. We have long had reason to complain of some workmen who, in years gone by, have been returned partly by the trade union and partly by one or other of the old political parties. When they have been returned, though perhaps with the best intentions, they have never been able to clear themselves from the trammels of that party which countenanced their candidature and assisted in their success. This has rendered direct labor representation more or less of a farce up till recently, but we are hoping that under the agency of this joint committee we will be able in spite of the tremendous obstacles, to form a parliamentary labor group at no distant date. At the general election of October, 1900, in spite of the patriotic fever which then existed and which carried the great mass of the people of this country into a blind worship of the great imperialistic party, we were successful in securing the return of at least two members, both of whom are members of the joint committee already referred to. A number of others, including friend Thorne, of the Social Democratic Federation, stood on this ticket, and although defeated on account of the feeling of the country at the time, many of them polled very heavily. At present there is evidence that the more thoughtful of the British workers are getting more or less tired of this fiasco in South Africa, and if we are capable of strengthening and cementing the labor forces for political purposes we hope to do better when the next opportunity presents itself. The Conservative and Liberal parties in this country practically occupy the same position in the world of politics, commerce and industry as do the Republican and Democratic parties in the United States. I notice from recent American newspapers that the Democratic party is splitting up into factions because they are unable to agree upon a common platform. It is somewhat of a remarkable coincidence that the Liberal party in this country is in the same hopeless condition, some of the members taking up a strong imperialistic attitude while others of the leaders endeavor to advocate a policy of peace and retrenchment. It is also an undoubted fact that at the present moment the Conservative government, notwithstanding its rather large majority, secured on what are called the great imperialist issues, is becoming weaker day by day. Even its own

supporters on the back benches and outside the official cabinet are beginning to lose confidence in it, and each important division that takes place shows a diminution in its majority. With these contingencies and differences spread out before the two old parties it seems to us that we shall have an opportunity of exposing these weaknesses, gaining advantage and influence thereby.

I notice as I write that the steel workers of the states are putting up a fight against the trusts. The news that comes across in connection with matters of that character is somewhat meager, but it seems as if the men are likely to score at least a point or two against these big combines. Of course, I found in America that there was a difference of opinion among the Socialists as to whether the trusts should be allowed to grow and develop, or whether they ought to be attacked. In the case of a strike, as in the present circumstances, it seems to me that Socialists should have no hesitation in taking up the side of the workers. It gives a splendid opportunity to the propagandists of illustrating the absolute absurdity of the whole capitalistic principle which is based upon private enterprise. If this has not been taken sufficient advantage of in days gone by in the States it is not, in my opinion, too late to begin.

There is at present a general outcry in thiscountry from a large section of the property owners that if we do not resort to more rapid methods of producing wealth we will be entirely beaten out of the field even in our own markets. I find that this general craze among sections of the people is welding closer the bonds of sympathy and united effort between the extreme and the more moderate wings of the trade union movement, as this craze threatens the possibility of that systematic method of driving which is so common in America. The British Socialist sections are getting into terms of very close relationship with the advanced movements in different parts of the European continent, with the result that an international committee is now in existence for the purpose of making all preliminary arrangements for the next international congress. There were two sections from America at the last International, and their differences, in addition to those of the French people, were somewhat painful to the neutral and unbiased delegates. We are hoping that by the next international congress the movement in America will show a form of solidification which has not been the case up to now. There is still room for more harmony and less jealousy, even here in our British movement, but I am glad to say that the latter element is disappearing. Just in accordance with the setting aside of our own personal fads and animosities so will our principles, national and international, succeed in obtaining the confidence of the wage earners of every land.

July 19, 1901. *Pete Curran.*

The Labor Movement and Socialism in Japan

THE labor movement, as such, is a very recent thing in Japan. There have been some solitary cases of labor strikes in the past. In fact, we had one big strike at Kagoshima in the government workshop as far back as in 1873, when some six hundred iron workers struck for higher wages and won a complete victory after three days' strike. We can find some instances of strike and labor troubles from time to time, but there has never existed any labor organization that is worthy of notice. There were some forms of guilds or craft organizations of men, among every class of working men in the past, such as carpenters, masons, sawyers, and so on. But they were working men of old Japan and had well established wages and customs; in fact, they were well satisfied with existing conditions of society. Thus there was no labor movement in the modern sense.

After the late Chino-Japan war, industry was in full swing everywhere, and labor was in great demand. The so-called factory system was springing up rapidly, so that there appeared a class of employers and working people in Japan. Classes thus appeared for the first time. Thus in the year 1896 we witnessed many strikes and labor disputes between employers and employes.

The present writer was then just back from the United States, and seeing the necessity of taking up the cause of labor and directing the attention of working classes to it, started a social settlement in the city of Tokyo in the early part of 1897. Since then he has been engaged in the labor movement, and has been working for the cause of labor.

In the summer of the same year a few persons, most of whom had been in the United States, organized an association for the purpose of waking up the working people to see the pressing necessity for organizing themselves into trades unions. This movement was taken up by the working classes and in two or three months there were some two thousand working men in the association, eager to organize themselves into a union. In December of the same year there was organized a union by the iron molders, numbering some fifteen hundred members. This union since then has been growing into a strong one, and has promoted many new movements, such as the co-operative stores and factories, and working men's clubs.

The iron workers' union now has a building for its headquarters in the very center of the City of Tokyo and forty-one branches throughout the country.

With the birth of the iron workers' union a labor organ called "Labor World" was born. This little bi-monthly, edited by the present writer has done much work in promoting the interests of labor and has served well as the sole organ of Japanese laborers. The "Labor World" has been preaching socialism to the working people, and has taught them how to organize labor unions and co-operative distributive stores according to the Rochdale plan. The work of the "Labor World" in the last five years has been fully appreciated by the working classes, and just now the paper has started a move to become a daily by getting one year's subscription from 3,000 working men.

This scheme has been recognized as good, and many answers have been received.

In the year 1898 when the iron workers' union was fairly well founded there was a big strike by the railway engineers of the Japan Railway Company—the biggest private company in Japan. Some 800 engineers and firemen of the Japan Railway struck for better treatment and after three days they won a glorious victory. After this extraordinary success they organized themselves into a permanent union which has been growing ever since its organization and has obtained from the company many advantages. They can command the company in respect to the employing of a new engineer or fireman, and, moreover, if the union should vote to exclude a member for some ill conduct or violation of the union regulation, the company must dismiss the excluded employe. So in the case of employing a new man, the company cannot employe him if the union has an objection to him. The union has a large strike fund, so that it can declare a strike at any time and keep on strike for two or three months. The union, moreover, takes an advanced position on the labor question. The union has, among other progressive propaganda, a resolution to the effect that "this union should study and act on all the problems of labor, having socialism as their ultimate goal." Thus this union has taken a firm and progressive position, and will push its well begun work in the near future.

Another labor union that has been struggling with difficulties for its existence for the last two or three years, is that of the printers. The printers' union was organized three years ago and for some time made a steady growth, but by tactical opposition from the employers' union it was crumbled down almost to its death point, in spite of its able President Hon. Sabaro Shimada. To-day, however, this union has become a small, but strong one, and edits its organ, called "True Friend." It has now a bright future.

There are other unions that are more or less influential and doing profitable work for their members.

At least two co-operative unions now exist in our country. The one is organized by the iron molders and the other by ship car-

penters. The former has some 700 members and a co-operative productive iron works in the City of Tokyo and the latter has its ship building yard at Kanagawa, near Yokohama. Both are yet very small, but are started solely by working people and carried on sucessfully by themselves.

The co-operative distributive stores have been established by working men in different parts of the country, and as was mentioned already, the "Labor World has exerted much of its intelligent influence upon the movement, as it was the first preacher of the plan.

We have a ship carpenters' union in Tokyo and Yokohama and also a dockers' union. All of them are doing good work for the cause of labor.

As to the cause of socialism, it is impossible to give a full account here. The present writer has been preaching socialism, through the "Labor World," ever since his return from America, so that the labor movement has been carried on in the true spirit of socialism. There are many avowed socialists among working men now. That resolution voted unanimous by the railway engineers' union for socialism shows our working men are quick to take up new ideas and act according to them.

Just now socialism is much talked of in Japan. This was caused by the formation of the Social Democratic Party, which took place on the 20th of June, though it was instantly suppressed by the government, and the newspapers that published the manifesto of the Social Democratic Party were confiscated as breaking peace and order. But the idea of socialism quickly came into the front and it is now much discussed by the papers and in public meetings. The trials for printing the manifesto and platform of the Social Democratic Party was much talked of and the judicial decision was waited for. This came on the 26th ult., and the decision on the case was given on the fifth inst., as not guilty. The present writer was tried for being the responsible editor of the "Labor World."

There is an association called the Association of Social Politics. This is largely supported by men of the Imperial University and advocates Bismarckian state socialism and opposes socialism in the most ridiculous manner. They are really capitalist slaves, or rather prostitutes, who do not respect truth, but twist it so as to suit their selfish end and they have no influence among the working people at all.

There are two or three daily papers in the City of Tokyo that have been advocating socialism. They are Yorogu, Viroku and Mainichi. All are influential papers and consequently they contribute a great deal toward the cause of socialism.

Thus the labor movement in Japan has been making a steady progress. The suppression of the Social Democratic Party turned out the best means of waking up the people and the Socialist Association which has been existant for three years has lately taken up the work and there is every hope of increase. Working people at large are much in sympathy with socialism and so our labor movement will go hand in hand with socialism. Japan will soon become a center of socialistic movement in the far east and the people, especially the working classes are ready for it.

Sen Joseph Katayama.

Trade Unionism in America To-day

IN spite of the defeats and setbacks the Trades Unions of the world seem to have had during late years, they have made great progress. The success or victories of a union should always be measured by the amount and kind of resistance the opposing forces hurl against the organization. A victory won a few years ago, by union labor, before the modern capitalist courts, hurled their injunctions at the strikers, or the advent of the trust and syndicate, might in itself be a clear victory, a win-out on all points, where to-day in closing up, declaring off, or arbitrating, a dispute, only one or two points may be gained. Considering the odds against a union, as compared with a few years ago, the victory is greater to-day. We must not lose sight of the vast changes in our industrial system, which is largely in favor of the employing class. This fact should influence the workers to organize, as there is no possible chance now of gaining the slightest concessions without a powerful, well disciplined, and financed union. It is not enough that it should be national, but must be international, of the broadest kind, to be effective and keep pace with the changes that are taking place in our workshops and factories.

The engineers and machinists lockout in Great Britain in 1897, was a defeat for the eight-hour day at that time, but a victory for trades unionism, as it taught one of the most powerful unions in the world, that even with a large amount of financial backing from outside sources, they were not all-powerful. Still the employers did not destroy the union in defeat, but recognized, and entered into an agreement with them on a national scale, something they had never done before, and the lot of the machinist is better to-day, both as to conditions and wages, than it has ever been in fifty years. Even a defeated union that stands together, is a power for good to its membership.

The Danish engineers and smiths, a similar organization to the above, after a fourteen weeks' struggle against the employers' combination, carried every point. This was due to the large number of daily papers they controlled, their power over the banking institutions, and their intelligent use of the ballot, standing together, and voting for men and measures in the interest of the workers as a class.

The machinists of this country have just passed through a struggle, for the establishment of a nine-hour day, which has not been an entire success. But taking the odds that were against them, and viewed from the stand taken at the commencement of

this article, they have gained a victory. At the commencement of the struggle, all kinds of reports were circulated as coming from the officials. If true, it showed that they were trying to deceive their own membership, the public, and the employers, as to the strength of the organization, its financial standing, and real support guaranteed. I hope for the good name of organized labor, that no one in authority made any of the following statements:

"The American Federation of Labor will assess 2,000,000 members."

"We have money to burn."

"We will stop every wheel in the country."

"The Employers Federation is a bluff."

"Ninety per cent of the machinists in the country are in the union."

"There are 150,000 machinists out."

"We are paying every man on strike."

"We are winning all along the line."

"Seventy-five per cent of the shops in the country have signed agreements with us."

If these things were said by officials, it proves one of two things; they either knew no better, or wished to deceive.

In either case it would disqualify them from acting for any honest business house, and should for a trade union, that wanted to hold its reputation above reproach. Still when we think of the meagre support the men received, that hundreds had just joined the union, and hundreds were not in the union, it proves that the workers are becoming more conscious of the necessity of acting as a unit, and whatever may be the immediate result, good will result from this struggle, which means progress, and will eventually mean international amalgamation along craft lines. So that, when the employers in America, or any other country, will not treat with their employes in a civilized manner, the machinery of a great world's amalgamation could be set in motion, and the product of the trust reached wherever disposed of. Unions to be effective to-day must be on the same basis as the trusts, able to stop the wheels of industry all over the world. This the thinking portion of the membership are beginning to realize.

But it is when we examine the political side of this question, that we find that progress is marked and distinct. Unions that six or eight years ago, would not allow political discussions, to-day provide for them. The writer remembers a few years ago, when acting as secretary of the Board of Control for the Cleveland Citizen, labor paper, being ordered by that body, to inform the editor to stop writing Socialist articles in that paper, as they were obnoxious to the unions, and detrimental to the interests of the paper. I have no doubt but that they were at that time, but, thanks to the good sense of all concerned, a vast change has taken place now. The Central Labor Union of Cleveland, O., the own-

ers of the Citizen, was the first city central body to incorporate in their demands the collective ownership plank. Since that time, fifteen city central bodies have adopted their constitution almost as a whole, the Central Federated Union of New York being one of them. Five years ago this body would not allow a Socialist to address them; to-day a Socialist speaker is listened to, and treated with all the respect they could expect from any audience, or delegated body of union men. Job Harriman, candidate for vice-president on the Social-Democratic ticket in 1900, has been indorsed as labor secretary by this body, and will have charge of all legal matters connected with the body. On the 21st of July, in passing resolutions condemning the action of the courts and the steel trust, the resolutions closed with, "We earnestly request all workers to stand together at the ballot box for the overthrow of a system that makes such outrages a possibility." Four years ago this would not have been tolerated. On the above date it was carried without a dissenting vote.

The Amalgamated Society of Engineers and Machinists have just closed a thirty-six days' convention in Manchester, England, where the delegates changed the constitution, so that local branches can assess themselves for political purposes. The executive officers can run for political offices, the funds can only be used for *bona fide* labor men, on a labor ticket and platform. The officials, to hold their positions, must stand with, for and by labor. Ten years ago this could not have taken place, but the eight-hour struggle has been fought, the machine introduced, and many more things that compel men to think and act.

There is a very large number of cigar makers, local unions, in America, where a Socialist speaker is always welcome, notably Philadelphia, Pa. Others could be named, if necessary. The printers locals are very progressive, notably Cleveland, O., and Philadelphia, Pa., with many other unions. During the last two years the writer has addressed a large number of union meetings in their halls, and a large number of labor meetings on the street. That portion of an address that seems to be paid most attention to is that pertaining to collective ownership, or the coming co-operative commonwealth. The trusts being owned by and for all the people. A large number of the workers are reading and thinking along these lines, and will act as soon as they have some assurance that they can, without being deprived of the means to support their families. It is a duty that every Socialist owes to himself or herself, and the movement, if eligible to join the union of their craft not to proselyte nor tear down, but to assist in building up the economic organization, and through reason, and facts there presented, guide the workers into the right political alliance, for the overthrow of the capitalist system. If half the time, that has been spent in denouncing, had been used for instruction, the

movement would have been in much better condition to-day. This time needs to be used inside the unions, teaching right principles, instead of making accusations without any proofs for them. If we neglect the thinking portion of the workers, we need not expect to gain very much by arraigning the non-thinking portion against them, as the thinking portion, as a rule, are those who are members of organized labor. Let us have this organized power use itself for the overthrow of a system that holds them in slavery. This can best be accomplished by the Socialist, assisting the unions in every fight against the capitalist masters.

I. Cowen.

The Social Spirit of the N. E. A.

THE National Educational Association held its last annual session at Detroit, during the early part of the present month. There was an attendance of eight thousand. It included representatives of all departments of education, public and private, from the Kindergarten to the University. In signs of social progress it was more fertile than any other convention, religious, political or reform, that the writer has ever attended. A few of these signs are worthy of careful consideration by all who seek for a solution of the social problem.

The most serious obstruction which any new movement based upon fundamentals has to encounter is the conspiracy of silence. All great conventions representing the present social order, whether political, religious, educational or commercial, have heretofore sternly refused to acknowledge the existence of the one great social problem in the solution of which the socialist contends, all questions pertaining to the social order will find their answer. Like the terrible crowd in Beckford's Hall of Eblis, they have stood, each with his hand pressed on the incurable sore in his bosom, and pledged not to speak of it. Not so with this N. E. A. convention. The silence was broken, forcefully and often. Not without much fear and trembling, however, and with something of the intensity of Hamlet when he exclaimed:

"Be thou spirit of health or goblin damned?
Let me not burst in ignorance; but tell,
Why is this? wherefore? what should we do?"

No figure will as well express the influence thus manifested as "spirit," for it pervaded the whole convention, the program for which evidently provided carefully for shutting the door on it, or if perchance it should enter not by, but through the door, for a prudent exorcism.

The first movement of the spirit was felt at the meeting of the Educational Council, composed entirely of scholastic Nestors, and dubbed the "Sanhedrin" of the N. E. A., when Prof. Brown, of the University of California, in an address on educational progress of the year admitted that at Stanford University and at some other institutions academic freedom had been sacrificed on the altar of private endowment, and that the Aladdin treasures that had fallen into the laps of various favored institutions during the year were not unanimously considered an unmixed good.

Its second gratuitous engagement was given on the same

stage on the following day, when the committee of twelve headed by President Harper of Chicago University reported unanimously against the establishment of a National University at Washington. After President Baker of the University of Colorado had illustrated the maxim that "mountaineers are always freemen," by showing that opposition to the National University was chiefly due to the fact that it would not be as easily subjected to capitalistic control as the privately endowed university, it asserted itself sufficiently to cause the council to reject the report by a vote of about two to one.

Its third appearance occurred on the third day, in the Department of Higher Education, when President Jesse, of the University of Missouri, in discussing the functions of the university declared it to be one of its chief functions to help the people to solve their social problems.

Dr. Canfield, of New York, opened the discussion on this paper by expressing the hope that the university, which was still wearing the cap and gown inherited from the middle ages, was preparing to lay them aside for an attack of its real tasks in shirt sleeves.

At this point a member of the department, by way of comparison as to the definiteness and thoroughness of the work of the universities in the line of sociological instruction, referred to George Eliot's Mr. Ripley's accomplishments in Latin, the peculiarity of which was that he had a good knowledge of Latin in general, but no knowledge of any particular Latin. He also asked Dr. Jesse to what extent the universities were fulfilling this function, and if they were delinquent, what action could be taken by the body then in session toward remedying this delinquency. Dr. Jesse replied that nothing practical was being done and that he did not think that anything could be done at present to remedy the delinquency. He said further that he had presented this function of the university simply as an ideal, and that it was usually a long time after an ideal is presented before anything can be done toward the realization of it.

This episode received a double column report in one of the leading Detroit papers and about the same time interviews with several of the leading college and university presidents were published bearing on the subject of academic freedom. In every case it was claimed that there was no interference by endowment donors, but the reason for this order that "reigns in Warsaw" was clearly stated in the above reply of Dr. Jesse.

The time had now arrived for the book and bell to come to the help of the cap and gown.

The first medieval functionary to thus officiate was George Gunton, president of the Institute of Social Economics, New York, and the editor of Gunton's Mazazine. He urged the

teaching of economics even in the primary schools for the purpose or preventing the people from being led away after economic vagaries by ignorant demagogues who, though often honest and well-meaning, had never been taught the true theories of economics as given in Gunton's Magazine.

A member of the convention asked Mr. Gunton privately, without disclosing his own point of view, whether the purpose of the teaching of economics should not be to facilitate economic changes incident to social evolution with as little loss of social energy as possible, rather than to resist such changes. "That is my theory exactly," said Mr. Gunton. "A great economic change has come (referring to the trusts), and there is a spirit of rebellion and revolution against it. Economics should be taught in such manner as to allay this rebellious spirit." It is stated on good authority that Gunton's Magazine is endowed by the Standard Oil Company. Nothing in Mr. Gunton's attitude toward the social problem is inconsistent with such a situation.

The next attempt at exorcism was made by President Thwing, of Western Reserve University. He declared that the trusts had come to stay a long time; that their sudden dissolution would be a great national disaster. That such a catastrophe could be prevented by men with the best possible mental training being found to manage them (in the interest of capital, of course), and the most urgent function of the university, in the "democracy prosperous" was to turn out men of this kind for this purpose.

The most important sociological fact, however, in connection with this convention was the utter chaos in which the entire school system of the nation finds itself. This became painfully apparent when President G. Stanley Hall, of Clark University, made his already famous address on the "Ideal School." He boldly declared that the entire school system as now conducted is at war with the nature of the child, the youth, and the adult, physical, mental and moral. He based his indictment upon scientific demonstrations, biological and psychological, declaring that the now well established doctrine of evolution and the universally accepted new psychology demanded a new educational system. He contended that the ideal school, which, as yet, like More's vision of a new social order, existed nowhere, conducted according to the known and established science of life, would produce ideal men and women.

When the time came for general discussion, not one of the pedagogical Goliaths present dared to offer a criticism. Dr. Hall expressed great disappointment and bewilderment. In former conventions he had presented similar views, though less positively, and had aroused storms of opposition. Whence the

change? Such giants of the school as Dr. W. F. Harris, U. S. Commissioner of Education; Col. F. W. Parker and Prof. J. W. Cook were by urgent solicitation called out to discuss the subject. They refused to criticise the address and the last two declared that they were all at sea. They admitted that present methods that have been heretofore considered very progressive and up-to-date do not conform to the latest bulletins from the biological and psychological laboratories. But what would the practical work-a-day world, that doesn't know what a laboratory is, say about a change in the school system intended to produce ideal men and women?

The same spirit of doubt and uncertainty as to methods of teaching and general school management pervaded the entire convention and all of its sixteen departments.

For one who looks at the educational problem from the standpoint of the socialist, the cause of this pedagogical perturbation and educational quandary is not far to seek.

Reaumer sums up the effect of the philosophy of Pestalozzi by saying: "He compelled the scholastic world to revise their entire task; to meditate upon the nature and destiny of man, and the proper means of leading him from his youth toward that destiny." Only to a limited extent, however, was the Pestalozzian philosophy adopted in Europe. Germany adopted it in part, and to this fact more than to any other is due the strong socialistic sentiment in that country, which puts more socialists in the reichstag than any other of the political factions contending for control of the government. This philosophy, although advocated by Horace Mann, has never until recent years received even a partial recognition. The first element of this philosophy is now passively accepted, but little practical application of it is being made to the school methods. Dr. Hall's paper strongly insisted upon the recognition of the nature of man as the basis of all educational effort, but had little to say about his destiny or the proper means of leading him toward it. This is where the difficulty arises. The ideal school is intended to develop the ideal man. The ideal man can not possibly fit comfortably into an unideal world. The ideal school on any large scale is impossible until society approaches more nearly to the ideal. The men who pay the money to support the school do not want students turned out of the schools with large sympathies, quick consciences and high ideals. They demand men who can run machinery, keep books and make dividends. The only way the ideal school can ever come on any large scale is for those who comprehend the meaning of the ideal school to send their pupils out into the unideal world not to fit but to fight; to contend for the same ideals in political, social, industrial and commercial life as are held up in the ideal school. To enable them to do this

effectively they must be made to understand while in the school that the social order into which they must enter from the school is unideal, and must be instructed as to the means and methods for changing it in the direction of the ideal. Such a course at once brings the teacher into serious conflict with the established order. Few are yet willing to pay the price. The new biology and psychology call for the new sociology. To accept the former in any practical manner and reject the latter leads to failure. The new biology and psychology have come to stay. They have been accepted by the leading educators without due consideration as to where they would lead. They have led to an educational crisis. They must either be abandoned or the new sociology must be accepted by the scholastic world. This makes the educational field the most hopeful arena into which the socialist can enter for conquest.

Emerson says, "The world is full of judgment days." An important one for the educational world is at hand.

> "Some great truth God's new Messiah
> Offering each the bloom or blight,
> Parts the goats upon the left hand
> And the sheep upon the right."

The new Messiah is the new sociology and it has come to bring redemption to our educational system, and a redeemed education will greatly hasten the redemption of the whole social order.

Ruskin College, Trenton, Mo. *George McA. Miller.*

Idealism and Industry

IN response to your request that I should contribute something to your pages, I prefer not to touch directly upon the work of the guild or handicraft for the organization of which I am primarily responsible, but some reflections upon the movement of English decorative art and the deeper questions involved in its consideration may not be unacceptable. The question how far the results some of us in our work in England have attained or the conclusions we have arrived at may have a larger bearing upon communal life: the question of the influence of the work a man does upon his life and his value as a citizen, the question of influence of his surroundings and his education upon his productive power; questions, in short, of idealism considered as an asset in industry, and the question as to whether the socialistic aspirations—I use the word in the widest sense—that make the backbone of working class movements, do or do not supply those higher wants which the artist and the educator deem essential to the fuller living of life.

The average English workman is a materialist; his first and constant concern is to overcome the practical difficulties of existence, to increase his wages. He has a few conventional, somewhat middle-class standards, of right and wrong, and he is untroubled by religious questions; he has in him an innate love of discipline and combination, he is level headed, practical, selfish and conservative. But he has another side to him also—he is also an idealist—the blend may seem a strange one, but it exists, and this side of him finds expression in a theoretical socialism. The abstract formulae, however, of the socialism he professes have but a slender direct bearing upon the life he leads, and they touch even the problems of his labor organization but incidentally; he cons these formulae over daily in his halfpenny paper, much as the mediaeval workman said his Aves and Paternosters, but they remain to him unreal, phantasmal, insubstantial. The soul that is form, in the words of Spenser, does not in this instance make the body, it breeds only more of itself, and to that extent the body remains starved, unmade, nay, even marred.

This putting of the form and the substance of life into two separate compartments is wasteful. Wasteful to the individual in the first place, for it lessens his interest in realities—in the art of life; wasteful to the community, for it deprives life of that stimulus and enjoyment that go to its higher national fulfilling. Nay, more than this, it is dangerous. But we shut our eyes to this danger and think for the most part as others have

done before that the rightness of a system is justified by its existence.

There is no reason to believe, there certainly appears no analogy from the physical world to prove, that there is wisdom in thus keeping the creative and the material portions of human nature, the form and the matter, in two air-tight compartments. It is like continuously drawing off the gases from a substance in itself life-giving which thus disintegrated grows to be on the one hand an inert mass, on the other a high explosive. Would any one who has practically and thoughtfully studied the conditions of life, physical and intellectual, of an English industrial center, for a moment deny that the danger exists or that the analogy is far fetched? It requires but the igniting spark—the pinch of hunger, for instance, resulting from an unsuccessful war—and all this idealism, so beneficent in itself, so productive if rightly applied towards a national purpose, may blow the whole social fabric to pieces.

And the right application? Even as we have drawn our analogy of the division of the idealistic and materialistic forces in the community from the typical workman as he daily comes before us, so the individual here again stands us in stead. Train up your young artisan to enjoy his work, to appreciate his life through his work, to realize his work as his own and not another man's, and he will be less interested in the socialistic formulae of his evening newspaper; he will become not only a happier person but a less selfish and visionary person, and his use to the community will be doubled. I have proved this in individual cases to my own satisfaction, not once but a dozen times, and yet the truth that a man's efficiency is increased if his idealism can be brought to direct it, is a truth hardly proclaimed nowadays and certainly not acted upon.

The application is indeed often evident enough. With the average commercial man it is an axiom that one of the great benefits of national excitement or enterprise—war for instance—is that it "pulls the nation together"; it may do the reverse, but the underlying truth in the dictum is that the contemplation of war, through the halfpenny paper or otherwise, supplies the element of idealism with which I am concerned. The commercial man forgets, however, that there are other things that do this equally well, and that it is owing to the meanness and dullness of the existing social system that this same idealism as an effective force is proscribed to us. Our object, then, should be to remove this proscription, to find other channels in which to direct what we would fain not lose, and one of the best may perhaps be found in the decorative arts. In the application to life which they bring of the searching force that sees in the joy of the producer its standard of excellence and beauty; that asks of everything it comes across, is it worth the labor that has been put into it? Has it been created in joy?

What useful purpose does it serve? To what end is it there? The force that weighs productive and unproductive work in a new balance—and not the balance of the political economist—the force that calls for the color and the joy of life, and that discerns in the greater productiveness of the individual the greater productiveness also of the whole community.

It was often urged against John Ruskin that he said foolish things about the power that rules modern industry—the machine. Those of us who have sought to apply the inspiration of his teaching to practical ends are deterred neither by the things he said, nor the criticisms men have passed upon them. We find a truth in the husk of rhetoric, and how great this truth any direct labor in the industrial arts reveals. To us it is evident that the mountain of mechanical production has to be scaled, or perhaps tunneled scientifically. To ignore it is impossible. To this end we do not reject the machine, we welcome it. But we desire to see it mastered in industry, and not as it is at present, to remain the master. We find when we look back to the ages from which we draw our models of excellence in production—excellent because they were created in the joy of the producer—that there was another force behind that made it possible for the producer to live the life he did. In ancient Greece it was the slave, in the middle ages it was the serf. What we plead for is that the machine shall be so directed, so guided, that it shall do for the community what the serf in one age, the slave in another, did before. Little by little this is getting to be understood, only it may be for those that make a practical study of the details of industrial art to say how far the machine should be called in to help or forbidden to hinder. When we look at the question from this point of view we see how great it becomes, how it spreads into the whole framework of society; we see what is really involved in the phrase about which there is nowadays so much cant—ethics in art.

It is here, at the point where the replanning and the building up of the new order out of the old begins, that many of us join issue with the socialism of William Morris on the one hand and the driving energy of modern commercialism on the other. The social revolution or the war may be needful enough in their place; for our part we may be right or wrong in turning from either as a solution of economic problems, but we ask to be allowed, like Thoreau's artist in the City of Kouroo, to carve our stick in peace, to reject what will not suit us from out of the large heap of undesirable stock that is offered for our choosing. We find ourselves at the parting of the roads, we see that revolutionary or destructive socialism does not help us, and that the distinction between what is constructive and what is destructive is once and for all emphasized for us by the application of English industrial art.

C. R. Ashbee.

The Socialist Convert

STRUCK down by brute Wealth's greed, relentless, fell;
Numbed factory Slave to wheel insatiate,
With future, dark and dread, implacable.
His pain slow permeates his soul, transforms,
Wakes it to life, so tender, pitiful,—
That grief of Proletaire in sweat-shop, mine,
Lives with him near unsleeping; silent woe
Of locked-out men, lone starving, beds with him;
And misery of close-packed, sunless holes
Of bloodless poor, black shame! casts pall on earth,
On sky, so beautiful. Most sore bestead,—
Like stag at bay, he stands, resilient, fierce,—
Then quests fierce, wide, the darkness stygian.

And soon on street, in hall, he hears a voice,
Despised, and exiled, prisoned, martyred lone,—
Yet thrilled with radiant hope, and wondrous light.
Again the voice beseeching, burning fire,
Descries him 'mid the crowd with yearning face,—
Enthralled, and almost convert. Then three priests,
Puissant, kingly, find him reading tense
Their scrolls, new Bibles, blazing light for souls.

Lassalle, the brilliant, fiery priest!
Who smote the scholar, statesman, hip and thigh,—
Who greatly roused the Proletaire to life,
Insurgent, earnest, thrilled with mission high,—
Of batt'ring down the venal World Bourgeois,
And building up the Comrade World to be.

And sad Savonarola of to-day,
Sorrowing sore o'er Trade's apostasy!
Rich heart exhaling love of brotherhood!
Great light to them, who yet in blindness sit!
Strong prophet shod with fire, in darkness dense
Announcing bold: Production, commune with God,
And Distribution, human fellowship.

Unweary Titan, scholar, exile lone!
Vast searcher deep of proletarian woe!
X-raying keen in book profound, revered,
The Bourgeoisie exploiting deep his toil;
Loud crying in World Manifesto dread:
Ye starved Proletaire! unite! unite!
Break down! break down! strong binder of your chains!

And now with brain alight, redeemed, inspired,
Regenerate,—hierophant full sworn,—
He goes, not counting cost, despising shame,
Converting souls to World-wide Cause sublime.

O World Bourgeois! titanic! savage! doomed!
O Comrade World! titanic! Godlike! crowned!

Oakland, Cal., June, 1901. *Frederick Irons Bamford.*

The Charity Girl

By Caroline H. Pemberton, Author of "Stephen the Black," "Your Little Brother James," Etc.

CHAPTER XII.

AS THE street cars were running only at long intervals when Julian and his companion started up the street that led to Elisabeth's home, they followed the dark, silent avenue on foot, Julian tramping along in such haste that he hardly felt the earth beneath his nervous feet, and Elisabeth walking breathlessly to keep up with him. Julian's mental image of himself was that of a heavily shrouded figure fleeing from an accusing finger, with head bowed, and face concealed by a monk's cowl. But Elisabeth saw him only as a kind of sun-god, radiating light and happiness in all directions.

When they reached the ugly brick dwelling which could be distinguished from its comrades in the long row only by its number —even the blinds were exactly alike—Julian was surprised as he looked at his watch to discover the lateness of the hour. They rang the bell and waited; they rang repeatedly and waited with the same result. Nobody came.

Elisabeth had no key; the shutters were closed tightly, the house was silent as though deserted. Each time that Julian pulled the bell, they could hear its noisy reverberations inside. "It ought to awaken somebody," he observed absently.

"I guess she's awake," said Elisabeth, in her curiously suppressed young voice, "but she doesn't like to have to wait on *me;* she doesn't like my going out so many nights; it leaves her all the children to put to bed. She said charity girls didn't go to theatres and operas." Elisabeth's voice was becoming a little more expressive in the darkness. Julian could barely see the resolute young profile and the shining of the great dark eyes under the brim of her hat.

"Don't wait," she cried impatiently waving her hand, "she'll open the door when she gets ready. I hear her coming—Good night, Mr. Endicott, I thank you very much—Good night!"

Julian was looking down the street. His eyes were fixed in astonishment on a female figure standing at the street corner in the glare of an electric light. With his eyes on this figure, he retreated from the steps, his careless ears hearing only Elisabeth's "Good night" and her light, upward step into the recess of the door. He supposed that she had entered the house.

Calling out a hasty "Good night" he tore rapidly away in the direction of the female figure which stood forth radiantly, as if lighted by a hundred footlights. A dainty blue gown that was only partly concealed by a long black cloak lined with fur, recalled the general appearance of Marian Starling at the opera; this effect was heightened by yellow curls, exceedingly pink cheeks and a pair of distinctly penciled eyebrows—all (from a distance) being suggestive of Marian standing with a lace scarf drawn over her curls and under her chin in an attitude of timid expectation.

Julian did not discover that the face was not Marian's until he reached the young woman's side. He had again hastily assumed that Marian needed his help, and with beating heart he had rushed to her aid only to find himself peering into the face of a stranger.

"Pardon me," he murmured, turning away in sickening disappointment and marveling that a combination of strangely colored hair, red cheeks and black eyebrows could have suggested the ethereal beauty of Marian Starling—even at the distance of half a block. His next feeling was one of partial relief, and then of shame that an uncontrollable impulse should have brought him so abruptly to the side of this stranger.

"A thousand pardons for my mistake," he repeated turning again and bowing low as he moved away. "I mistook you for some one else."

"I *am* some one else—so I am perhaps just the one you are looking for!" the stranger replied with a smile and an arch expression which faintly recalling Marian, caused Julian to look at her more intently. He now saw that her yellow hair was artificially colored and her cheeks heavily rouged. It needed no great discernment to classify this young person. He regarded her gravely.

"You were waiting here to speak to me? Are you not afraid—of the police?"

"Not when they're well paid, my good sir—but it's a shame that I have to pay so much, isn't it?"

"Ah—this is our boasted civilization! To what depths are we descending!" cried Julian with deep feeling.

"Come and see!" replied the young woman laughing and extending her hand. "Come and see the depths! You can't moralize without experience in this world, my young gentleman. Come with me to a hall over yonder where we can order iced champagne, and enjoy the most beautiful experiences in dancing, and after that—you can present me with a Bible if you want to."

"I have already had all the experiences I want, thanks—and I have no Bibles in my pocket."

"You might find a chance to pray for me—"

"Are there not some who are doing that for you already, my poor girl? And with what results!"

The young woman drew herself up and looked at him curiously. "Now, if you are not a parson, what are you?"

"It doesn't matter what, I hope I'm enough of a friend to see you home, and safe away from music halls for one night in your life."

"Home—home!" repeated the young woman with a burst of shrill laughter, "if you're a-goin' to take me *home* we'll have to board a train and travel together two days and a night—and I won't be admitted when I get there!"

"Ah! That is the sad part of it—that is what makes it so difficult—so impossible!" murmured Julian in deep dejection. They were now walking side by side, but slowly. The young woman stole a side glance at him.

"Do you mean you would like to reform a girl like me—in real earnest—you really would?" she asked in a penetrating, breathless whisper.

" I should like to believe it a part of my vocation—if I could only see the way—a little way ahead."

"I guess it does look awful dark and muddy," she said with a forced laugh. "An' you're not like the 'Social Liberty Leaguers' for they see the whole d——d road ahead, and they ain't afraid even of undertaking *me*—and all like me! I hope some day they'll have a chance to try something, don't you?"

"I haven't given their schemes much thought," Julian answered, surprised and disconcerted by such a question. "I did not know they had invented any special panacea for a case like yours."

"You're really settin' out to be a reformer?" she questioned him with a curious eagerness.

He continued to explain. "I have not had time to study any Utopian schemes; my work has been of the most practical kind; organized relief and rescue work does not leave one much time for idle dreaming."

"So, you're a worker in charity—by the side of them high-steppin' charity ladies pickin' their way thro' the mud! Course, you think charity's good enough for the poor 'stead o' justice—course you do!"

"I do not," replied Julian sternly. "Every day I grow more dissatisfied—but what else can one do?"

"What does charity offer to girls like me? The rich *play* with the business of elevatin' the poor; they build reformatories for us poor girls, and when we come out we're worse than when we went in. I know all about your charities. You need not offer to put me in any of their holes—where you're herded together and branded as outcasts—a lot of rats in a trap! I've been in them—I know, I know!"

"What would your Liberty League advise?" asked Julian forlornly; he seemed to feel the hypocritical guilt of all these reformatory palliatives weighing heavily upon him.

"Oh, I can't tell you—I can't remember their talk—I just happened in onc't—twic't to their meetin's," the girl answered, twisting her fingers together absently, "but it was beautiful! Oh, my, but you ought to hear them! They made me *feel good*—an' innocent—all the time I sat there—more'n I ever did in church, I can tell you! They kinder explained that it warn't all my fault, but it was the fault of everybody—everybody else—an' 'specially the rich folks. It's the fault of society—that's what they said."

"That's what they all say, my good girl—there's nothing new in *that!* It's a figure of speech, nothing more." His tone was dull with disappointment. Had he really expected this poor creature to unfold a splendid vision of a new social order?

"But them folks meant what they said," she persisted, "an' the way they had it fixed was that there wasn't to be any rich people or any poor people any more, but everybody would go to work and get good pay and be sure of it—an, there wouldn't be any idle rich fellows lyin' 'round lookin' for us poor girls to be ruined with their money—for all the rich and poor is to be a-workin' together—side by side—an' not too hard work either, but divided up even betwixt 'em—like as if they were all in the pay of the government."

Julian laughed dismally. "It would have to be a very good government, I guess, and a pretty brave one to undertake such a contract as that. I guess this administration hasn't got it on its program. In the meantime, what are you going to do? Why are you still here—on the streets—living this life? How can you stay here, if you have any desire to lead the purer, happier life your friends promise?"

"What would you have me do, sir? Who's to give me work now?" She flashed back at him in sudden passion. "If I could get married, an' be taken care of, I'd be all right. Sir, if you want to reform me, an' you a young bachelor, why don't you marry me yourself? Am I any worse at heart than some o' them fine ladies ridin' about in carriages? Some gets taken care of and pertected when they're as wild as—as wild geese—an' nobody's the wiser. Sir, if you don't believe in the League's way, why don't you try the other way—I mean the way they pertect the girls in the upper ten? Ain't all them young men banded together to pertect them foolish young girls, an' keep 'em fenced in even when they lose their silly little heads, till somebody gets ready to marry 'em and take 'em off the hands of their fathers and brothers? But who's banded together to take care of me and to pertect *me?* Them young men ain't—not much! I'm

fair game for *them*—that's all I am—just *game* to be run down and catched!"

"I wish I could believe you were lying," said Julian, catching his breath, "but I cannot; God knows, it's the truth."

"If you know it's the truth, why ain't you willing to save me? Ain't you a reformer? Ain't you willin' to give the poor a chance? Ah! good, *good* young man—you have it writ all over your face that you're kind and good—begin with *me*—give me a chance—a chance! What I never had in my life! I'm the worst and the lowest, I know, but what's that to you if you're tryin' to save sinners? Marry me an' take me out o' this—hell of a life—I can't get tooken out any other way—an' I will leave all my wickedness behind—you can trust me, I will!

Large tears were rolling down her rouged cheeks, as she made this desperate appeal with both hands clasped hysterically under her chin.

Julian, feeling keenly the absurdity of the situation, turned away, and promptly turned back, remembering his vocation.

"You know it's not possible—what you propose." He strove to speak gravely and with kindness, concealing his disgust. "It's beyond the bounds of reason. Marriage is for those who love each other. Unless I could marry *all* I wanted to save, why should I marry *you?*" He thought this argument unanswerable.

"To set an example to the rest of the world!" she retorted quickly, seeing her advantage in thus having the question laid open for discussion. "You'd be a-showin' the world you believed there was *good* in me, sir—you do believe that, don't you?—a little?"

"I do—yes—I do," he observed, with a hesitation that served only to give his words the effect of deliberate conviction.

"Well then! Do you set the example, kind sir, and save *me,* and let others foller along an' save the rest—there's the way to save all us poor sinners!"

Her tone was almost triumphant, as if she believed the young man's willingness to sacrifice his career really depended on presenting to his mind these logical deductions from an altruist's public professions. And, in fact, Julian felt the weight of her logic. Her monstrous proposition assumed for the moment the form of a challenge to his sincerity. From the background of his consciousness there came again that sharp sting of shame and remorse for his neglected work, which he had been pushing along for many months without zeal or real love for humanity. Had he not become a mere machine to execute the orders of a philanthropic corporation? Was this a chance then to prove his own repentance—as well as this poor creature's?

What if he *should* consider it a "chance"? How the world would howl and shriek over the evil appearance of such a sacrifice! Never, of course, could it understand the motive that might prompt the deed. To live for others! This would be living for others with a vengeance. And his managers—what would they say? At the thought of them, Julian's scorn leaped to defiance. In a spirit of recklessness he might take this step, but he would never be deterred from it by the fear of what those preposterous managers might say—and did they not represent the whole conventional world to him?

He wondered what would be the amount of the sacrifice required? Where might a limit be fixed to one's self-abnegation in such a case? Suppose he should choose to do this thing, could he do it by merely arranging means for her support? Would that satisfy—redeem her?

He was standing quite close to the woman and looking down into her face. She had taken hold of his sleeve during her final appeal, but she relinquished that and was nervously patting the heavy cape of his overcoat, holding it between her palms and softly rubbing it.

"I would like to be good—that is all there is in it—I would like to be good!" she whispered in a last, desperate effort. It was like the cry of a grown-up child—an unreasoning, wild demand for everything that another human being could give. But it affected the young man powerfully—it swayed him into a grave consideration of her proposal and all its consequences. At any rate he could not leave her now.

"Let us walk a little further," he suggested. "How old are you?"

"Twenty-five," she answered, with a smile. "My name is May."

Julian decided that he had asked a foolish question, and he felt that he did not care to know her name. How could he believe anything she said? He became silent and they walked on for another block.

A revulsion of feeling began to sweep over him—a violent protest against the awful sacrifice proposed. It now filled him with horror. The insolent demand of the Anglo-Saxon—regardless of his own moral status—for absolute purity in the woman he chooses to honor or even to treat with decent respect—asserted its hold over him. He wanted to rid himself of her presence; he wanted to thrust this courtesan from his sight—anywhere—so that he might not look at her or think of her again. Instinctively and brutally, he loathed her for what she was; with all that was masculine and assertive in his nature, he loathed and despised this "woman of the town"—significantly so called, as if the town could not get along without her.

And because he did loathe her, he hung his head and concerned himself with a wonderful pretense of being deeply interested in her moral welfare. He asked her a string of questions without

looking at her, and accepted all her replies as undoubtedly false. Then he wheeled around upon her as they reached a street corner.

"It's impossible for me to do what you ask—I cannot take your view of it—but I am going to help you another way. Yes, you must let me, I want you to." He was going to do a foolish thing perhaps, to offer her money to pay for a night's lodging in some respectable shelter—he hardly knew what his plans were—but before he had time to explain them, the woman turned from him with a cry of astonishment—

"God in Heaven! What's this a-comin' after us?"

Julian turned also and saw Elisabeth's slight figure flying towards him—she was running as fast as possible to overtake him, with one hand stretched out to attract his attention. In a moment she had reached his side—panting, breathless—all but speechless.

"The door was locked—I could not get in after you left." She was desperately confused and ashamed as if the fault had been wholly hers.

Julian, horror-stricken, stood looking at her.

"I thought you were safely in-doors!" he stammered.

"I guess you'd both better make up your minds to come with me now to the music hall," said the street woman, looking from one to the other.

"I bid you good evening." Julian bowed to her with formal politeness, while he took Elisabeth's cold hand within his own. "I will find you shelter somewhere—don't worry, Elisabeth."

"So he's got the two of us on his hands!" cried the painted creature, looking hard at Elisabeth. "May be he knows more'n he looks to. Say, what's he reformed you *out of?*"

Elizabeth disengaged her hand from Julian's arm and withdrew a few paces from him. She looked steadfastly at the street woman. Her cheeks were slightly flushed, Julian noted, as he turned a surprised glance upon her, and her expression was one of rapt attention, deepening slowly into a whole-souled comprehension of what that bedizened female figure stood for in the common parlance of the world. Yes—he told himself—she understands—Elisabeth understands.

With a deepening intensity in her eyes, Elisabeth looked and looked—as tho' a veil were obscuring her sight—while the street woman pursued her ranting, loose-jointed talk. With the white electric light falling on her face, Elisabeth stood there—a contrasting image of purity beside that other female figure.

Elisabeth's eyes were full of mystery—darkness—and again full of light; now they were black with a penetrating earnestness—a *wanting to know* of the spirit; then, her brow clearing, her eyes were star-lit by some deep emotion that slowly intensified itself into a radiance of thought and feeling. She

looked at Julian, and he felt a flash of purity—reverence—a holy enthusiasm seemed to emanate from her. What was in the mind of this strange child? The voice of the street woman was still in his ears. Her naked talk seemed to fly harmlessly past Elisabeth; it did not disturb her absorbed contemplation. Still looking thus intently, she stepped closer to the woman and laid her hand on her sleeve.

"So he prefers your innocence to my experience—what's he knows about *me,* I'd like to know?" the painted creature was snarling.

"Go and sin no more—no more!" whispered Elisabeth, with tender solemnity, unconsciously using the words of the Nazarine.

"Bible talk's nothing new to me, young woman."

"I am telling you what *he* says—" looking at Julian. "He would save you if he could—if you would only let him!"

"A Salvation Army lass? I've nothing to say to you."

"Oh, I'm not that—we're neither of us anything like that!" Elisabeth had blundered into using the phraseology of a revival meeting, with which she was so drearily familiar that it had sprung to her lips unbidden. Expression was to her always a difficult task—all language being to her more or less like a foreign tongue. But she cast about with determination for more suitable phrases.

"It's your humanity that he sees—and the divine, too—the divine in the human. Oh, let me tell you! His mission is to go about among the downcast and trodden and the oppressed—and to lift them up—up into something higher! Don't you want to lead a better life? Don't you want to? He will help you—he will—he has helped me."

"Who—what are *you?* " cried the street woman derisively.

"A charity girl—that's all I am." Elisabeth spoke shyly, turning her head away and looking down. She raised her eyes to look at Julian.

"*Don't!*" he cried as if she had hurt him. "You must come with me—come, Elisabeth!"

But she went on with the same gentle enthusiasm—holding the woman's hand in both of hers.

"Do you not want a friend? He will be a friend such as you can always trust. Do you think he is like other men? He is not. He is far, far above them. He lives only for others—to do good and to save the world. Oh, how can you be so wicked, when he asks you to turn from your wickedness and live?" Again the revival of reminiscences were overpowering her limited gifts of speech but she rallied and shook herself free. "How can you lead this life, I mean, when he is ready to show you the way to a better one? Won't you come with us?"

"Where?"

Elisabeth looked at Julian. "Where?" she repeated softly, and waited his reply with calm faith.

Julian, looking at her, measured her moral height with that of the street woman, and rejoiced that the poor, bedizened wretch sank into immeasurable depths of infamy beside this sweet vision of purity. Putting his hand in his pocket, he drew out two silver dollars which he held out to the street woman.

"Where?" he repeated in an aside to Elisabeth! "How do I know where to take *her*—and you, too—Elisabeth? Good Heavens!" Then aloud to the street woman: "Please oblige me by taking this money and going to some decent place—I beg you to take it."

The street woman started back, stung to the quick. She flung the money aside with a scornful gesture.

"I can git all the money I want—thanks—guess I know where to go for it. I didn't ask you for any before *she* come, did I? You know well enough it warn't money I was after—from *you!* I took you for what you was pretendin' to me you really was—a friend o' the poor outcast, or I wouldn't a-said what I did. Now, I know you're no better than the parsons—you're just a fool reformer, stirrin' up the mud with a stick and takin' good care to git none of it on your own self." Her eyes gleamed angrily. She stepped back a pace or two and drew herself up with a semblance of dignity—nay, it was a real dignity, tho' her lip trembled like a child's and the tears falling from her lashes were streaking her painted cheeks.

"If there aint really no good in me, what's the use of your wasting your time pretendin' it is worth while to save such as me? But you don't want to save me, or any like—you think there's *got* to be girls like me—and there's *got* to be girls like her—an' there's *got* to be fine ladies to take off your hat to, 'cause, 'cause they can't do nothin' wrong if they tried. That's what you think—but it aint true! No, sir! I don't need you to tell me what I am—or her neither."

She stepped nearer, with her hand on her breast; she was speaking low and vehemently, with all the passion of real tragedy. "I know what I am, sir—just how vile I seem when I'm a-standin' aside o' *her*, but if it's the last breath I have to speak with, I'll tell you to your face, there's good in me, real good that's worth savin', though it aint you as 'll ever do it, for you'd rather be a-stirrin' up the mud with a stick than savin' sinners like me! I ain't in your line, I guess. May be the Lord's got somebody picked out to save me yet—but it won't be no fool reformer. You kin go your ways, sir; an' I'll go mine, alone—as I'se always gone since I was fourteen, when I was took and made what I am now. Yes, sir—fourteen. Good night, to the two o' ye's."

She turned quickly away, drawing her long cloak about her

with the cheap, forlorn kind of grace that seemed to belong to her vocation. In a moment she had vanished around the corner. Julian started after her, and then checking the impulse, he returned slowly to Elisabeth's side.

"She has gone!" he murmured, in a tone of intense relief; "there's nothing for us to do but to go on our way; let us hurry, Elisabeth."

"She did not want your money," whispered the young girl, as she took his arm.

"No; I was wrong to have offered it—I am a fool—*'a poor, common fool reformer, stirring up the mud with a stick—ha!* She sized me up neatly, Elisabeth."

"It was because I came and interfered; 'you had the two of us on your hand,' as she said. I ought to have stayed away when I saw you with her."

"*Everbody* would have interfered—with *her* plan of rescue, Elisabeth—the whole world would have interfered with it! Ah! that's the trouble—the world always interferes when we try to undo a wrong—to make atonement of any kind—and then *we* interfere ourselves—our hateful inner selves spring up like snarling wolves. It seems impossible to do any real good except by the sacrifice of everything we are or have—or wish to be."

"It was not so with me," breathed Elisabeth softly, hiding her face in his overcoat sleeve. "The world did not interfere with you saving *me.*"

Julian looked down upon her with great tenderness. He was intensely proud of his good work in Elisabeth's behalf, but he forced himself to say humbly:

"You never needed any saving. You would have done just as well without me as with me—without the Association, I mean. Do not class yourself with *her.*" He tightened his hold on her arm. She looked up gratefully—but shook her head. Her devoted appreciation of his efforts was balm to his broken spirit. He was eager to believe that she spoke truly and he did not contradict her again.

A street car came up and they boarded it hastily. After they had seated themselves, Julian scanned the young girl's face to see if she had lost any of that exalted estimate of himself which he accepted—man like—as an exquisite trait in her character. She returned his scrutiny with an upward, eloquent glance that for the moment satisfied his self-love.

"She was dressed so as to look as if she had been to the opera; I could almost think I'd seen her there." Elizabeth's thoughts were still on the woman whom she belived Julian had been endeavoring to save.

"A very superficial imitation—it's wretched how all classes imitate our social butterflies—the harm they do is immense," Julian spoke in sore irritation, he hardly knew why. The words

of the courtesan were ringing in his ears unpleasantly. *"Turning over the mud with a stick,"* was a phrase she had doubtless caught from her socialist friend, and it rankled in his mind even while her championship of their theories spread an unsavory atmosphere around all such visionary schemes.

"We get out here," he said wearily.

Soon afterward they reached the steps of his boarding house. It was the only alternative he could think of that would be safe for Elizabeth and he had enough confidence in the kindheartedness of his landlady to feel sure that he could trust the girl to her tender mercies.

He opened the door with his latch-key and admitted Elizabeth to a dark parlor where he left her while he sought the landlady. He returned shortly to tell Elizabeth there was a room she could have for the night on the third floor—so the landlady had said. He bade her good night and retired to his own chamber.

Julian poked up the fire in his little stove and sank heavily into an arm chair. Now that he was bereft of Elizabeth's sustaining presence, and the idolatry of her eyes—the experience of the evening spread themselves out before him as detestable; not less so was that hated image of himself as he reviewed his actions and counted up the pitiable weaknesses which they revealed. The embarassment which had resulted from taking Elizabeth to the opera was of small moment beside the episode of the bedizened young woman. The hateful poison which this adventure poured into his soul at first seemed to centre in the haunting, satirical suggestion of Marian's lovely presence behind the painted features of the street woman. To the strained vision of the young moralist, their spiritual identity was unquestionably complete. And not less terrible than Marian's was his own duplicity in appearing before the world as a protector of the weak and a regenerator of the slums. This vision of the double role he had been playing piled up the agony of self-accusation mountain high.

He sprang to his feet suddenly and began to pace the floor. His mental suffering had brought him to the point where a way out must be found. What could he do to strengthen his moral purpose. to free himself from this scourging of conscience? After a long pause, he lighted the gas and took down his flute and violin which he laid on the table. He regarded them steadily.

"These are the things which have misled me! I have been false—an eye servant—a hypocrite!" He covered his face with his hands.

When he looked up there was a strange light in his eyes. He took his bow quietly in his hands and broke it in two; he pushed the violin with the strings loosened and awry into the darkest corner of the cupboard. In the same deliberate manner he unscrewed his flute and put the mouth-piece in the stove, covering it up carefully with ashes; he locked the piano and put the key into his pocket; he would return the instrument to the dealer without delay. For a moment he stood pale and motionless, his lips set, his eyes dilating.

He recalled the street woman and her biting comments on his sincerity and the worth of his work. She had seemed to him to point satirically to a gaping tomb, inviting him to lay his young life down there among those awful shapes of rottenness, as proof of that his altruism was anything more than condescension. Can the living consort with the dead for the good of either? With contempt he classed her among the dead and rejected her plea that there was "good in her"—enough good to warrant the sacrifice she asked.

But it remained still firmly fixed in his mind that self-sacrifice was the price he would have to pay for the regeneration of the spirit that he hungered for—that quit-claim of conscience that would make good his title to the peace that passeth all understanding. He must have that peace.

What other sacrifices, then, could he make? These things that he had given up were trifles; on what altar should he fling the wretched remnant of his life? He reflected deeply. Certain mental reservations on points of religious dogma—as yet hardly thought out but still distinct bridges to be crossed—shut out all question of the monastic orders. Besides, the god of his soul was humanity, not Christian organization. He could serve humanity only through the needs of the individual; therefore, it was on behalf of some individual that he must sacrifice himself—but what living fellow-creature stood most in need of the devotion he craved to give?

He shook himself and smiled as the picture of a great and costly—yet entirely practicable—sacrifice loomed suddenly before him. The image of the young girl, Martha McPherson, standing in eternal loneliness, with the finger of scorn pointed at her babe, rose before him. He saw himself standing beside her as the self-appointed protector of Martha and the fatherless child. He would take upon himself this burden of another's sin; he would make what vicarious atonement he could for the wrongs heaped on those defenseless young heads. The cruel fact of their double illegitimacy—as if God and man had joined hands to disinherit them—had always cut him to the heart.

This should be his atonement! It would lead him in ways of humility more isolated than any that are to be found in the cloister; it would require moral courage of a high order, for he would still be out in the world battling with the foes of the reformer, enduring the cold stare of the scornful, the ridicule of the thoughtless. He would encircle these two helpless beings with his tender protection, his life long constancy; from that

centre, his life would radiate into noble service for all humanity. Self-abnegation must always be the watchword of the reformer, but it should begin at the hearth-stone. His life should be consistent, if nothing else.

Throwing himself again in his arm chair, Julian leaned his elbow on the table; a book fell to the floor; he picked it up to replace it. It was a copy of Hall Caine's *Christian*, which Denning had persuaded him to buy and which he had finished reading a few days before. Julian pitched it violently back on the table; then he caught it up again with a groan and turned over its pages. Denning had discussed with him the merits of this novel and they had found themselves unable to agree over it. Julian had declared it to be devoid of moral power and illustrative only of the groveling, degenerate tendencies of modern English fiction. The writer, he had insisted, was without spiritual insight and yet he had dared to portray the highest struggles of the spirit. But Denning had contended that the story represented life as it was, and he considered it a masterpiece of realistic art.

To Julian's overwrought imagination, the career of John Storm was now suddenly revealed to him as a caricature of his own life. The thought filled him with a despairing rage. He tossed the volume into the stove that already held the remnants of his musical instruments, and closed his eyes to the sight of the flames consuming it.

Staggering to his bedside, he fell on his knees and cast his soul into prayer. When he arose, his face wore the wasted look of the ascetic; but it was beautiful with the unearthly passion that has so often consumed its earthly prototype—that strange passion which since the beginning of the world has inspired the most heroic deeds and the darkest crimes of history; which has wasted countles noble lives and ennobled many feeble ones.

Julian now felt free—purified—uplifted.

(*To be continued*)

A Communication

In the August number of the "International Socialist Review," Carl Pankopf undertakes to reply to an article written by Herman Whitaker, and published in the previous June number, trying to prove that labor received upwards of 50 per cent. of the product of its labor. Mr. Whitaker argued from figures given by Labor Statistician Carroll D. Wright; and Mr. P. in reply admits the figures, but denies the outcome thereof. He says: "Census of 1880, the average product of each laborer was $1,888; the 1890 census gives the average price as $2,204; or an increase of $316.

The average wage of the laborer who produced the product is given for 1880, $347; for 1890, $445. * * * The percentage of 1890 census is divided as follows: 20.18 per cent. to labor; 24.74 per cent. to profit; and 55.08 per cent. to material.

Carl Pankopf then goes on to show from Marx that the 55.08 per cent. for material must come out of labor, hence labor gets 20.18, and capital must get the balance, or 79.82 per cent.

Admitting the figures of Carroll D. Wright to be correct, which both the disputants appear to do, then in my opinion Mr. Whitaker has by far the best of the argument.

In the figures given, capital means the man who owns the establishment and furnishes the money to set the machinery going; and labor means, say, one of the men employed. At the end of the year it is found that $20.18 out of every $100 earned goes to the laborer; $24.74 to the owner of the establishment; and $55.08 is required to pay for the raw material.

The question to be considered now is: Where does the raw material come from? Mr. P. argues from Marx that it is the product of labor; but herein is the lameness of his argument. There can be no doubt in the mind of any thinker, socialist or otherwise, that it is the product of labor, but not of this particular laborer who has received the 20.18 per cent. of the transaction. This material which represents the 55.08 per cent. may be raw cotton, or wool, or iron, or coal, or a thousand and one other things; or parts of many of them combined. If iron, then labor has received some pay for digging it from the bowels of the earth and preparing it for use and shipment; the same of coal. If cotton or wool, it has gone through various processes wherein labor has been paid more or less, and so on *ad infinitum;* and consequently the 55.08 of this particular case does not figure herein as labor, but in various other labor cases. Hence we must look elsewhere for a correct solution of this item of the labor problem.

John M. Day.

SOCIALISM ABROAD

Professor E. Untermann

A RETROSPECT.

The time of general summer relaxation invites us to pause for a moment in our strenuous advance on capitalism, to take a retrospect in the shadow of cool reflection, and to "become conscious in our inmost hearts of what we have accomplished," as Schiller has it.

THE GENERAL SITUATION.

Looking backward we perceive that the attitude of the socialists in all countries varies with the economic situation of their respective countries.

In the United States, the evolution of capitalism proceeds truest to the classical type outlined by Marx, and has almost reached its climax. Unencumbered by any fossil remains of feudal superstitions, American proletarians readily assimilate the economic creed of socialism. The socialists find all elements favorable to an unprecedented growth of their numbers, and recent developments in the labor world indicate that the capitalist system is beginning to crumble. Anticipating its speedy collapse, we are frankly revolutionary, and the immediate demands, though embodied in the national platform, have more educational value than political significance. For the system of capitalist production has reached a stage where it is pregnant with forces that may lead to a social or industrial catastrophe at any moment. The continual rumblings under the surface and little preliminary outbreaks here and there seem to indicate that a grand eruption of the volcano is imminent. It is safe to predict under such circumstances that socialism in the United States, though at present considerably behind the march of industrial evolution, will shortly out-distance the proletarian movement of all other countries.

England, defeated in its role of the workshop of the world and no longer master of the money market, does not yet realize that it is on the verge of economic decay. By the help of its enormous sea trade, of its East Indian empire, and by forcing open the gold mines and diamond fields of South Africa, it still hopes to recoup its losses. But American goods are swamping the English middle class, which has already lost its economic, and with it its political, power. American money is carrying on the war in the Transvaal and will, therefore, draw the dividends out of the gold mines and diamond fields. The decks are cleared for the decisive struggles between the great capitalists and the rest of the people. The socialists understand the situation and are preparing for the grand advance of the proletariat. However, this advance meets obstacles unknown in the United States. The time-hallowed traditions of the nobility and the Grace-of-God kingdom, the emigration of the independent and aggressive workers, the absence of universal suffrage and the existence of three unreconciled brands of socialism—Fabian Socialists, Independent Labor Party and Social Democratic (Marxian) Party—stand in the way of rapid progress. And though the Fabian mixture of bourgeois socialism is losing its hold, though the trade unions are beginning to take up politics, and though a unification of the I. L. P. and the S. D. P. cannot be delayed very long, English socialists will occupy the position of reserves in the international battle of the proletariat.

France and Germany form the economically most developed head of a group of which Austria-Hungary, Switzerland, Belgium, Holland and Denmark are branch offices. The railroad monopoly being in the hands of the respective governments, there is no opportunity for rapidly amassing such enormous private fortunes as American millionaires reaped, and are still reaping, from this source. The industries which at the present time lend themselves best to monopolization, the steel and mining business, are forced to meet the competition of the superior American monopolies, and this forever weakens their position. The next greatest sources of private enrichment are the extensive colonial possessions of these countries. But, the field of most profitable exploitation, the exchange of inferior home products—dry goods, cheap alcoholic drinks, glass pearls, knives, etc.—for ivory, cocoanut oil, copra, orseille, caoutchouc, copal, gazelle and monkey skins, is being rapidly exhausted. Colonial agriculture—sugar, coffee, tea, tobacco, manila hemp, ramie, cocoanuts, spices, cocoa, vanilla—and stock raising—ostriches, camels, zebras—require considerable outlay and are subject to all their peculiar vicissitudes intensified by a tropical climate. By the time they yield returns, many of these enterprises will also have to meet American competition. For have not our capitalists likewise their colonies, and do they not control more capital, better machinery and more pliant working "mules" than any other capitalists in the world?

For these reasons the countries of Europe are occupying the same position in regard to the United States which the small capitalist occupies in regard to the billionaire. They are being pressed harder and harder. Evolution stagnates and concentration does not progress to the point of monopoly. The outlines of capitalist development become blurred. This is clearly reflected by the platforms and tactics of our European comrades as well as by theoretical discussions.

"The economic developments of the last years," writes Emil Geyer in the June number of the *Zukunft*, "has proceeded contrary to the hopes and predictions of scientific socialism. An enormous increase of capitalist power has come through the pooling of the most important branches of industry, creating an organization which exhibits all the marks of duration and forming a new era in the history of the bourgeoisie. The resulting change in the political views is remarkable enough. In the ranks of the proletariat we find in place of the former optimistic anticipation a dropping of illusions, a resigned renunciation of the hope for a near realization of the socialist idea of society. A probing and gnawing of the Marxian structure of doctrines which had hitherto been considered impregnable. A strong inclination to favor opportunism, the policy of little measures. Just a little disappointment and much patience, instead of exaggerated scepticism. This approximately describes the prevailing sentiments of the Social Democracy."

A glance beyond the narrow limits of his fatherland, the recollection that capitalism is international and that its phenomena should be discussed from the cosmopolitan point of view, would at once show to our critical friend that the Marxian doctrine finds a complete vindication in this country where capitalism is nearing the time when it cannot expand much further without bursting.

But he correctly describes the sentiments in the ranks of the German social democrats. There is indeed a strong current in favor of immediate measures. Bernstein continually emphasizes such tactics, and at the next national convention there will be a determined fight to adapt the platform of the party to the exigencies of the economic situation. Kautsky is the only writer who seems to feel that there is no necessity for a theoretical change of position, although he gives the impression that the question of tactics will require settlement.

In France the Millerand case, a natural product of the political and economic constellation, adds another difficulty for the theorizer who is in

the habit of confounding tactical and theoretical principles. And the irony of fate brings it about that the anti-ministerial and fanatically Marxian Parti Ouvrier does more for the introduction of immediate improvements in the municipalities than the ministerialist and opportunist majority of French socialists. There is no doubt, therefore, that but for Millerand there would now be a united socialist party in France.

However, in spite of their difference of opinion in matters of tactics, we shall find the strong army of French and German comrades close by our side, when the hour for the decisive battle shall come in the United States. For, unlike their English friends, they are practically in control of the economic organizations of the workers, they are carrying on a vigorous fight for universal and equal suffrage, and they have successfully exchanged their patriotism for cosmopolitanism.

Not quite so the Austrian comrades. Austria-Hungary is suffering economically and politically from the national dissensions of the different "patriotic" races that make up its population. While much more heterogeneous elements are peaceably co-operating in the United States, under the leadership of the Anglo-Saxon race, they are fighting each other tooth and nail in the Austrian Reichstag, and all of them together fight the luckless Jews. The socialists are the only ones who successfully unite all the different races in one political party. Still, such an environment as the Austro-Hungarian is not favorable to trade unionism, and adds peculiar difficulties to the stagnating tendencies of the industrial situation. No great action can therefore be expected from the Austrian comrades in the near future. The same must be said of the socialists in Bulgaria, Servia and Roumania, not to mention Turkey, where the population is still too much under the influence of the Koran and where the "Young Turks" are preparing the way by which socialism will later on enter the Osmanian empire. Greece is closely connected with Turkish conditions.

Belgium stands before a social crisis. The peculiar feature of the situation is that the class-conscious proletariat there is on the point of becoming politically dominant, although the country is by no means industrially developed to the bursting point. It is simply the cosmopolitan evolution of capitalism that produces in this little country and in all other small European countries conditions favorable to the growth of a proletariat. They have the least power of resistance, because they have the least resources. Their colonies are exploited by foreign capital. The colonial administration for the benefit of foreign investors is unable to withstand corruption and gradually becomes such an encumbrance on the public treasury, that the colonies are lost or sold one by one. Spain is a case in point, and Italy's lack of colonial possessions is now an advantage, delaying her ruin. Her adventure in Adowa has been a hard, but timely, lesson.

In all these smaller countries we perceive a deep-rooted agitation of the masses. And, curiously enough, their immediate attack is not directed against the capitalists themselves, but against the clergy, who are recognized as the more or less conscious tool of capitalism. In Italy, in Spain, in Belgium, as some time ago in France, the guardians of the human soul are learning by practical demonstration, how vain is the possession of goods that the moths and the rust will eat. Forced to give up their earthly holdings and driven out of the public schools, they are truly in a sad plight. It is as if the masses realized all of a sudden that the enormous property amassed by the various religious orders comes out of the hide and tallow of the people, that the orders have not been practicing the renunciation of worldly things which they preach, and that the spiritual teachers of the people are far from being trusty, intellectual guides. The loss of the clerical grip on the mind of the masses is a defeat for capitalism.

In Belgium the fight rages around the demand for universal suffrage. It is a winning battle for the socialists. After some desultory skirmishing

along personal lines, the struggle in the Chamber has been deferred by the summer vacation. In the meantime the socialists are carrying on a strenuous agitation, and very likely the Belgian government will not celebrate a conspicuously merry Christmas this year. The knowledge that half the army, militia and police are socialists is not calculated to soothe the troubled dreams of King Leopold and his capitalists. It looks as if it would be a pretty close race between Belgian and American socialists for the first place.

Holland's economic fate is intimately connected with that of the Maatschappij "Nederland." As long as the latter company's monopoly of the East Indian trade pays dividends, the Dutch colonies will keep the kingdom on a safe financial basis. So much smaller will be the public debt which the socialists will have to repudiate when they come into power. At present they are in no immediate danger of being confronted with such a responsibility, and Wilhelmina may drink her Java coffee in peace.

Denmark's socialists are following in the footsteps of the Belgian comrades. Ninety-five per cent of the workingmen organized in trade unions; trade unionism synonymous with socialism; nearly a thousand socialist consumers' clubs; and the Folkething in the hands of the Left—liberals and socialists—that makes propaganda and the fight for universal suffrage easy and is pleasant reading for us.

On the Skandinavian peninsula the chapter on socialism, I regret to say, reads almost like the famous chapter on snakes in Ireland. The peninsula does not offer very great inducements for exploitation, the waves of industrial prosperity never go very high in this out of the way part of the world, and unless the supply of stock fish and lumber gives out, there is very little prospect of a lesson in economics for proletarians. What socialist sentiment there is cannot find political expression, because the masses are as yet disfranchised. The Swedes, however, are stirring and campaigning for universal suffrage.

Switzerland is dependent for raw products and industrial machinery on foreign countries. There are no large industrial centers, hence there is no great city proletariat. Industrial laborers are largely recruited from among the rural population or from foreigners who are not naturalized Under such circumstances the economic organization and political education of the workers meets great difficulties. Nevertheless socialism is growing under the pressure of the world market.

Italy, in its transition from feudal to capitalist production, has a good start over Spain, whose economic decay is just awakening the proletarians. The wonderful leagues of the rural population in Italy and their co-operatives have turned the proletariat of a whole province into socialists. They are the center from which effective socialist propaganda radiates in all directions. They hold the economic fate of their masters in their hands. But such splendid use are they making of their opportunity that even the capitalist press praises their progress and excellent administration. Spain's proletarians are becoming very active of late, and the rural population of certain districts is beginning to organize after the Italian model. In both countries the weight of American supremacy in the world market is rapidly increasing the necessity of immediate social reform and forcing the rulers and their adherents into the defensive. Improvements will come in Italy in the form of state socialism under the auspices of the king, and in Spain under a similar guise. In both countries the royal houses are fiddling on the last string. The Italian socialists will, by all appearances, far outstrip the English comrades, and the Spaniards, who have very fair election laws, will give the Hollanders a close race.

Russia is still too little developed industrially for a rapid growth of socialism. Among the intellectuals the revolutionary seed has come to full bloom, but the intellectuals are powerless without the help of the industrial proletarians. The abolition of the autocratic power of the Tsar and of his

machinery of spies, the further development of the Russian continental and trans-Siberian railroads, and the conquest of the Chinese markets by Russian capital, or the complete defeat of the Russian capitalists, are necessary steps toward a realization of conditions that will permit the successful spreading of socialism among that immense population.

Canada, the Argentine Republic, Australia and Japan are the great countries where socialism is going through the first stages of its growth. A child of the last half of the nineteenth century, it is a veritable prodigy, and by its wonderful growing power astonishes its best friends. Fifty years is only a short day in the life of a world power. But already this ENFANT TERRIBLE is the talk of the whole globe. In the palaces of Europe, at the table of the American millionaire, in the plateaus of the Himalaya, on the icy steppes of Siberia, in the oases of the Sahara, on board of the whalers and sealers that ply in the Arctics—everywhere socialism is a standing topic. If the child causes such a stir, what will the man do?

THE HOST AND ITS WAKE.

It is a strong and relentless force that is camping on the trail of capitalism. In the van we see the long and thin line of American and Belgian skirmishers. The Americans 150,000 strong, the Belgians with thirty-two deputies, four senators and 500,000 men. Then follows the main body of the army: The Germans with ninety-six deputies and 2,700,000 men, the Frenchmen with one minister, forty-two deputies and 1,500,000 men, the Italians with thirty-two deputies and 170,000 men, and the Danes with fourteen deputies and 43,000 men. Behind them stands the strong reserve corps: Austrians with eleven deputies and 100,000 men, Holland with seven deputies and 17,000 men, England with one deputy and 63,000 men, Spain with 50,000 men, and Switzerland with 100,000 men. The whole force represents an actually registered vote of 5,393,000; but considering the capitalist election methods, which are alike all over the world, 7,000,000 seems a very conservative estimate of our voting strength. Taking into account that the majority of the proletarians in Europe are still disfranchised and cannot express their political opinion by the ballot, allowing, furthermore, for the existence of socialism in Canada, South America, Australia, Africa and Japan, we may well count on a second reserve of 30,000,000 who will give us their moral support and take active part in our propaganda, although they cannot help us at present at the polls.

Never has the world seen such an army, and never did an army leave behind such a wake. The road we have traveled is strewn with records which we can safely expose to the criticisms of posterity. Falsehood, hypocrisy, political corruption and the whole ambiguous code of capitalist ethics has fared badly wherever it met the searching rays of the socialist torch. Science, blighted by the mildew of capitalist privileges, lifted its head with fresh vigor when the magic wand of proletarian class consciousness touched it. Thrones totter and the narrow bigotries of class egoism, patriotic nationalism and religious superstitions fit for children's minds must give way to human freedom, cosmopolitan understanding and a new faith worthy of free men. The parliamentary history of socialism and the pages of the socialist press are one continual record of championship in the service of the downtrodden majority of human society. No other party might so justly boast that its platform was always in harmony with the scientific knowledge of the times. A tiny, smouldering spark when it first started, socialism has now become a mighty column of fire, lighting the world, tempering the steel of human nature in its heat, and burning away the dross of thousand-year-old egoism.

The old decays, time is with changes rife,
And on the ruins blooms a fairer life.*

*Das Alte sturzt, es andert sich die Zeit,
Und neues Leben bluht aus den Ruinen.—*Wilhelm Tell.*

THE WORLD OF LABOR

By Max S. Hayes

The great iron and steel workers' strike for the right to organize is now on and being waged fiercely and desperately by the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Plate Workers and the billion-dollar United States Steel corporation. The union claims the right to organize all the mills, and to be denied that right means that the trust would keep the non-union plants in operation during slack periods and close down the union-controlled concerns, which is practically placing a premium on scab labor. The trust admits that the union is "growing too strong," and that it proposes to hold the balance of power between the A. A. and the non-union employes. At this writing it is difficult to predict the outcome of the struggle, and it is probable that other trades may be drawn into the fight. The A. A. has sent out an appeal for moral and financial aid, which is meeting with liberal response.

The results of the recent unity convention of socialists in Indianapolis seem to have pleased the progressive labor people throughout the country, and enthusiastic reports of the growth of the movement are finding their way into the socialist and trade union press. Of course, the capitalists and their newspapers don't like the outcome of the convention.

Textile workers are combining into one large union. They expect a big strike at Fall River, Mass., where the employers' combination has given notice of a reduction of wages. The charge is made that the bosses are deliberately conspiring to enforce a shutdown and wage-cut in order to work off the surplus product now on the market.

The A. F. of L. has sent out a circular to compel affiliated locals to join city central bodies. The Federation has experienced a wonderful growth during the past few months.

Building bosses of Ohio are reported as combining to destroy unions. The scheme is for each boss to send a pliant employe or two to some point where a strike is in progress until the unionists have been defeated.

Western papers report that a California judge has found a way of declaring the eight-hour law of that state unconstitutional. The Minnesota attorney-general has decided that the eight-hour law of that state applies merely to laborers and mechanics engaged in constructing public buildings and working under contract, which leaves a way open to annul the law completely. Ohio Supreme Court made a decision that destroys the effectiveness of the law to compel the marking of convict-made goods. One by one they are put to sleep.

Pennsylvania miners are busily denouncing the legislature for having defeated their "labor bills," and it turns out that the only measure passed that they advocated, the mine inspection bill, contains a "fatal flaw," and probably cannot be enforced. In direct contrast the Michigan miners' officials have issued a statement to their constituents declaring that $420 was spent in the attempt to secure favorable legislation without anything having been accomplished, and that it is a waste of time and money to lobby for laws in the interest of labor before capitalistic legislatures. The rank and file are urged to work and vote to place in the legislative halls, class-conscious men from labor's ranks to fight for their interests.

Longshoremen are spreading out on industrial lines, having given "trade autonomy" a knockout blow, by voting to take under their wing the seamen, engineers, firemen, tugmen, cooks, etc. Some of the crafts to be gobbled up are kicking strenuously, however.

P. J. McGuire, general secretary of the Brotherhood of Carpenters, and formerly first vice-president of the A. F. of L. has been ousted from office and suspended from the union for refusing to carry out the mandate of the executive board.

The National Bread Company is a $3,000,000 combine that has just been incorporated in New Jersey for the purpose of acquiring all the bread bakeries in Newark, Jersey City, and later New York, and its promoters are enthusiastic in claiming that they will soon control the output of all the cities of the country. The company controls valuable patents and claims to have a bread making machine that kneads bread without the use of hand labor and at the same time increases the size and weight of the baked loaf 30 per cent with the same quantity of flour. "The labor-saving problem," a dispatch from Trenton says, "will enter largely into the calculations of the new concern, its promoters figuring that, with the machine in general use, 50,000 men can be dispensed with."

The Textile Record says the reported recent discovery of a new fuel in New England is a fact. The new fuel "is superior to coal in heat efficiency, and contains not a particle of coal in the shape of waste or in any other shape."

The discovery of a method by an Englishman of printing without ink is no joke. Scientific men have investigated the matter and find that the inventor uses electricity on a specially prepared paper, which costs no more than ordinary paper, and which decomposes by the action of the current, thus blackening wherever the type touch it. The prediction is made that "this system of printing will be one of the cheapest known." After a while the inventor, a Mr. Green, says he will do away with cylinders and forms as now in use on presses completely.

Assistant City Chemist Jones of Chicago believes he has discovered a method of solving the problem that has baffled Edison, Tesla, and a hundred other inventors, and that is to produce electric power without the intermediate production of steam. By mixing powdered coal with sulphate of lead in a heat reduction retort, Jones claims that he can produce a current, the mechanical energy of which is equal to 35 per cent of the stored energy of the coal consumed. As the best combination of furnace, boiler and dynamo produces only about one-fourth as much power, Mr. Jones' invention, if it can be adapted to or by ordinary needs promises to add a few more revolutions to production.

A new book binding machine has been put on the market. With two operators and one-half horse power, it is stated that the new device can turn out 17,000 books per day and do the work of a hundred men.

A new automatic weaver is announced. It is in operation in Burnley, England. One person now operating four looms can easily attend to eight, "and at the same time produce 12½ per cent more per loom by the obviating of stoppages than under the present system."

In the tannery industry they are discussing a new method of tanning by electricity. It is claimed that by the new process tanning can be done from four to sixteen times quicker than under the old system.

A Cleveland man will soon put a machine on the market that will knit high-priced rugs which are now made by hand.

The multiplex type-printing telegraph is now in successful operation between Berlin and Paris, says a United States consul, and one operator can do the work of five.

New machinery is making rapid inroads into the stone and granite cutting trades, and the workers are discussing various methods of controlling it. And so the revolution in production and the destruction of the skill of mechanics, making them dependent on capitalists for the use of the new tools, goes steadily onward. There can be no other solution to this question than collective ownership of the tools of production instead of individual ownership.

The United States Steel Corporation has gobbled up four-fifths of the coke ovens of this country, which have passed under the control of H. C. Frick.

The soft coal trust is steadily growing in Pennsylvania, Ohio and West Virginia, and a late report says the railway combine of Indiana is to be used to force the organized operators of that state into line.

A hundred smelting concerns of Nevada are forming a trust; capital, $12,500,000.

A $10,000,000 dredging trust is announced in Chicago.

Another attempt is being made to combine the larger shoe manufacturers of the country.

About 3,000 grocery stores of Philadelphia are to be brought into a $6,000,000 trust, and in Cleveland the larger retail coal dealers are forming one big company.

Down South a $50,000,000 cotton trust is organizing.

The cigar trust is building what will be the largest factory in the world in New Orleans, and is acquiring control of the best tobacco plantations in Cuba, Porto Rico and other islands.

The rubber trust is strengthening its monopoly by taking over independents and securing control of the raw material in South America.

Cast iron manufacturers are organizing a $15,000,000 combine.

Laundry machinery is being trustified at $30,000,000.

Tea importers and handlers are getting together to maintain "stability of prices."

Largest wholesale houses of the country are to be in a $100,000,000 trust.

A huge international window glass trust is forming.

Rockefeller is said to be absorbing the paint trust and its independent competitors.

Morgan has settled the western railway war and is reaching for South American roads.

The Central Federated Union of New York, the largest central body of labor in the country, in endorsing the iron and steel workers' strike and pledging moral and financial support, calls upon the workingmen of the United States to combine and "by the use of the ballot overthrow the system that makes combinations of capital like the steel corporation possible."

The Wisconsin Federation of labor adopted a resolution declaring in favor of socialism, but did not let it go at that. The officers of the Federation were also instructed to purchase literature dealing with socialism and circulate the same among the workers.

The union miners of Colorado are reported as having earnestly taken up the cudgels in the interest of the new socialist party, and Debs and other speakers have been invited to come to the state and make addresses.

By an almost unanimous vote the Toronto Trades and Labor Council decided to support morally and financially the present movement in Canada to build up a socialist party. These kinds of resolutions count for something.

Colored preachers of St. Louis are said to have started a movement to organize the workers of their race into trade unions.

The limit in judicial oppression has not yet been reached apparently. Judge Gager of Derby, Conn., and Judge Kumler of Dayton, O., have developed a new phase in the injunction business. The former restrained about 150 machinists from doing anything but breathing, in the usual manner, and then attached a penalty of $5,000 for violation of the courtly decree and ordered an attachment for $25,000 on the property of the machinists, individually and collectively, to assure the payment of the fine. The Dayton judge has gone even further in the injunction game. After restraining the metal polishers from "intimidating," etc., etc., Judge Kumler compelled the union and the members thereof to pay $586 court costs which resulted in their own undoing, and attached their homes and

building loans to guarantee payment. Altogether the case has cost the Dayton metal polishers $2,000, and they are now appealing for funds to enable them to save their individual property. Further than that the capitalists have brought a suit for $25,000 damages because they were subjected to losses through a boycott, they claim.

In Patterson, N. J., several silk weavers have been thrown into prison for the alleged violation of an injunction. In York, Pa., two molders received the same treatment, and in Kansas City a machinist was also jailed because he couldn't hide his contempt for the court. What, with imprisonment and damage suits staring them in the face for daring to strike, it seems that the trade unionists of America are confronted by Russian conditions. They receive scant satisfaction or commiseration at the hands of the politicians to whom they unfold their tales of woe, and there is a growing movement among the more thoughtful union men to take matters in their own hands by resorting to the ballot to capture the governing powers and put an end to the capitalistic travesty on justice. This is one reason that explains the present rapid growth of the new socialist party.

The great strike of the machinists for the nine-hour day is nearly over as a national movement, and the workers can claim a victory. Reports received at headquarters in Washington indicate that the men won in 75 per cent of the shops where demands were made, lost 15 per cent, and in 10 per cent of the shops the struggle still continues. It is but fair to say that a majority of the establishments that conceded the nine-hour day were small concerns, and that many of the shops in which the strike has lost were large ones. But the fact remains that the nine-hour day has come to stay, though it may require a year or two of fighting to bring the obstinate concerns in line. All through the strike the machinists union has experienced a wonderful increase in membership, and undoubtedly that craft will be on a substantial basis after the campaign is closed, despite the machinations of employers' organizations and their injunction-hurling courts.

The United States department of agriculture has issued a report dealing with the wonderful effects of machinery in increasing and cheapening the output of various products, which is causing widespread discussion among those interested in scientific subjects. In 1851, according to the report it required four hours and thirty-four minutes of labor time on the average to produce a bushel of corn, and the cost of the work was 35¼ cents. But to-day with machinery as much work can be done in one minute as hand labor formerly did in 100 minutes, and now the working time on a bushel of corn is thirty-four minutes and the cost is 10½ cents. In 1850 the labor time necessary to raise a bushel of wheat was three hours and three minutes. To-day, with machinery, a bushel of wheat is raised in only 10 minutes, while the cost of production has fallen from 17¾ cents to 3 1-3 cents. And yet in the face of these cold facts, there are still a few confused financial theorists who claim that the price fall was due to the demonetization of silver.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Social Problem. John A. Hobson. James Pott & Co. Cloth, 292 pp., $2.00.

"Given a number of human beings, with a certain development of physical and mental faculties and of social institutions, in command of given natural resources, how can they best utilize these powers for the attainment of the most complete satisfaction?" This is "The Social Problem" with whose discussion the author is occupied. The "old political economy" is first subjected to a most searching analysis. Of its doctrine of "individual freedom" he says: "Applied logically, this doctrine of 'freedom' is revolutionary, demanding access for all to land and capital. But 'the tools to him who can use them' is an inconvenient doctrine for owners of tools who wish to get other folk to use them. So this positive 'freedom' was emptied of its economic contents and came to mean freedom qualified by vested interests—a very different sort of 'freedom' for the laboring classes." Its false standard of wealth, by which only those things capable of monopoly and private appropriation are reckoned as of value is exposed. Of the so-called "new political economy" he concludes that "Taking economic science as it stands in current English thought, the changes of the last generation have not made it capable of human service in the solution of the social question."

His criticism of the "moral socialists" is no less conclusive. "Just as the 'future life' has been commonly exploited by religions in order to belittle this life, and so to divert the potential energy of political and economic reform into innocuous extra-terrestrial channels, so our 'moral socialists' play the soul against the body, even in this world, and the ground motives for this false philosophy are the same as those which played the next world against this world. * * * While no high purpose is barren of results, it should be clearly recognized that the endeavor to solve economic problems by direct appeal to the moral conduct of individual members is foredoomed to failure."

The main thought of the book centers around a distinction between individualism and socialism. The individual has a "natural right" to what is necessary to satisfy his needs and render him an efficient worker. But society also is a creator of values and is entitled to what it creates. An excellent distinction is drawn between "industry and art." But the conclusion which is drawn from this distinction that the artistic portion of life must naturally be left to be controlled by competition and private property is by no means justified. The exact contrary seems much more true—that these will be among the first to pass out of private control, at least so far as production for sale is concerned. The author's whole work is marred by a false idea of socialism. He seems to have been impressed by the Fabian error that socialism is somehow but a scheme of administration of industry, and he utterly ignores the fundamental principle of

class rule and the class struggle. Hence he is led into the ridiculous conclusion that because the capitalist state institutions are cursed with mechanical officialism and seek to corrupt all artistic effort into routine training for profit making industry, therefore a state of the workers would do the same. Perhaps a cause for this error is found in the fact that no reference is made to the works of other socialist writers, although the larger portion of the book is based upon their work. Nevertheless the book is one which fills a place in the literature of socialism and is well worth the careful study of every socialist or student of socialism.

AMONG THE PERIODICALS

One of the many signs that socialism has now become a force that must be reckoned with is an editorial in "The Independent," entitled "Socialism and the Municipal Problem." The first half of the editorial is based on the orthodox socialist philosophy. Speaking of the early opponents of socialism and the defenders of "individual enterprise," it says: "It did not happen to occur to the conservative minds of 1850 that by 1901 individual enterprise, without any help from socialism, would have built a gigantic wall around the vast world of industrial opportunity and locked itself not *in*, but *out*. * * * One of these tendencies is converting the great middle class, which so long has been regarded as more stable than the everlasting hills, from a class of employers into a class of employes." This class have heretofore "complacently thought of themselves as belonging to the happy pack of upper dogs, at whom the unhappy under dogs might snarl and snap, but would hardly dare to spring. * * * The middle class has never yet voted with Labor, with a big L. But when the 'trusts' and the 'magnates' have crushed every business and social ambition of the middle class, will the middle class still continue to vote with Capital, with a big C?"

After this very clear analysis of the situation the editor seems to have become frightened at his own logic and drops into something that can be called nothing less than idiotic. "What, then, if somebody should propose a compromise between socialism and individualism, permitting the individual to accomplish whatever he can with a capital of, say, not more than five millions of dollars, and converting into social enterprises all undertakings employing capital in greater amounts?" Here is a suggestion that ought to be of value to the "New Democracy" who are seeking to find some way to save the little exploiters, and this rule of thumb is much easier of application than any complex "natural monopoly" scheme.

The World's Work is almost exclusively an "Exposition number," and contains an excellent description of the mechanical marvels exhibited at Buffalo. "The time seems near when men will no longer need to do anything with their hands as instruments of strength. The task of toil may nearly all be done by machines. In the ideal completeness of this adaptation of machinery, man will be emancipated from mere muscular labor, and have his hands and time free to do only the tasks of skill. Work that is mechanical will become machine-work. This is a revolutionary step in human history." We hear of "pictures by wire," "typewriting by electricity," and the wonderful machine by which an author using a keyboard like an ordinary typewriter turns out "copy" in the form of a ribbon which is fed into a linotype that sets five thousand ems an hour at a cost of twelve cents a thousand ems.

From an article by Carroll D. Wright on "Great Industrial Changes since 1870," we learn that the census of 1900 will show the per capita wealth to be about $1,200, or a little over $6,000 per family. Doubtless some wage-earners will wonder what has become of their $6,000. In the "March of Events" department the stale old lie is repeated that "the strike of the Amalgamated iron and steel workers is to compel the steel corporation to put all mills of the constituent companies under the rules of the union—to make all of them union mills."

H. T. Newcomb has the best summary of "The Recent Great Railway Combinations" in the last Review of Reviews that has yet been published. It is accompanied by maps of the various systems and elaborate statistics of the roads concerned. "The Artist Colony in Darmstadt" gives some very interesting suggestions on the new movement in art, which is seeking to harmonize art with modern industrial development.

EDITORIAL

A NEW MILESTONE FOR AMERICAN SOCIALISM

We believe that the future historian of the socialist movement of this country will agree that the most important thing he has to chronicle up to the present date is the work of the convention that met at Indianapolis during the closing days of July. For months before its assembly socialists all over the country had begun to realize that the supreme issue confronting the political movement of the laborers of this country was to make the socialist organization conform to the most developed capitalism in the world. European comrades had already conceded that if the philosophy of economic determinism is true (and if it is not the whole philosophy of socialism must be recast) then it is in the United States that socialism should reap its first great victories.

The one thing most essential to the gaining of such victories was that all the socialist organizations which agree upon fundamentals should be united into one solid body. At one time there was some doubt as to whether any such agreement existed among the various parties. The convention settled that question forever. However animated the discussions were that took place they were always but the clashing of minds standing upon a common base. There was never any difference of opinion as to the fact that the new party must stand upon a platform embracing the principles of class-conscious revolutionary socialism. There was no taint of Fabianism in the discussions. There was no proposal of deviation from the princples of international socialism ever offered to the convention. On the contrary, there was a strong feeling among many of the delegates that the new party should stand upon a platform more distinctly revolutionary than had ever been adopted by any previous socialist party. There was much support for the proposition that the time had come to drop all "immediate demands" from our platform. It was proposed that instead of giving them the prominence which a position at the close of the official platform accorded them, it would be better to issue an address giving in detail the position of the socialists relative to all attempts at amelioration within capitalism. This did not mean any endorsement of the so-called "catastrophe theory," but was simply a recognition of the fact that in

America at least, competition having disappeared, the "next step" was logically the installation of a co-operative society with as great rapidity as administrative difficulties would permit.

Strong opposition, however, was developed to this action, and as it was felt that the division to some degree was following the lines of former party organizations and hence might endanger unity, many of the supporters of the new policy felt that the time had not yet come to press their position. Hence, the matter was never brought to a real test of strength, and it is impossible to state exactly what the position of the convention was in the matter.

The other point around which the longest and hardest discussion raged was the question of "state autonomy." This discussion was but one of a great many things that showed that the socialist movement of this country was entering upon another and the third stage of its existence. In its earliest days socialism in America was little more than a small group of German comrades who met to renew their fellowship by discussions of the one subject of greatest common interest. This movement had almost no effect on America save to keep alive and ready for the time when conditions should be ripe for them the principles of scientific socialism.

Following this stage came one in which socialist doctrines were looked upon almost as some sacred treasure to be kept from the touch of all save the "elect." They formed the "mysteries" of a little sect whose main reason for existence was to keep its principles from defilement. Such an organization was necessarily bureaucratic in its organization, autocratic in its methods and intolerant in its teachings. There are some who would seek to continue this stage. Others see in it nothing of good. But the fact is that while it was once necessary its usefulness is now gone. At the time that this form of organization prevailed the socialists of America were confronted with a very peculiar condition. American economic development had been so rapid that the wildest utopianism and the most clear cut scientific socialism were existing side by side, with the utopians in an immense majority. Had all of those who were willing to accept the name of socialism and who were anxious to share in the control of the movement, but who were hopelessly ignorant of its doctrines and philosophy, been permitted to work their will the result would have been a confusion in thought and action such as even the world of American politics has never known. By in a measure isolating the doctrines of socialism until the economic development was ripe for their general acceptance in their true form, they were kept from becoming confused and ridiculous.

But the time is now here when the socialist movement must take another step and become a political party, a part of the actual political life of America. Its principles have become but a reflection of the capitalism of which they are an interpretation and their distortion is only possible by an amelioration of that capitalism. The person who would introduce confusion into American socialism must first undo the work of Morgan, Rockefeller & Co. He must abolish the trust and bring back the confusing influences of competition. This does not mean that all efforts to distort

the principles of socialism are at an end. It does not mean that in many local elections, and with many individual comrades and even minor organizations there will not be times when efforts will be made to bend those principles in the interests of decaying economic classes, but such efforts will be futile and will contain within themselves the elements of their own destruction. The moment the influences of confusion reach out into a wider sphere they will find themselves at war with the more powerful forces of the general economic development and will disappear.

It was in obedience to these facts that the convention sloughed off the old skin of ecclesiasticism and formed an organization for the purpose of work instead of discipline. From now on the attention of socialists will be given to those outside their organizations instead of to those within. It would be as impossible to-day to bring back the old centralized autocratic form of party organization as it would be to resurrect German as the "official language."

Another sign of this same evolution was seen in the very makeup of the convention. To the disgrace of the American workers it must be confessed that up until the present time they have not had sense enough to even desire their own emancipation. So it has happened that there have been few men of American birth at previous socialist conventions. At the Indianapolis convention, however, the number of young American born delegates was a source of frequent comment. It is safe to say that there was a much larger percentage of such men than would be found at any old party convention. A large majority of those who came from the West and Southwest were descendants of that race of hardy fighting pioneers who have been battling with the wilderness for a century and now finds itself confronted with social conditions more pitiless than the wild beasts or the native Indians of the primeval forest.

This new phase was shown again in the attention which was given to the farmer question. As most of our readers know this is the question which is attracting more attention than any other among European socialists. Yet it has received scant attention in previous American conventions. After a long discussion the Indianapolis convention appointed a committee to investigate all phases of the question and report at the next national convention.

Another committee was appointed to act in an advisory capacity on municipal affairs. There is every reason to believe that if this committee confines itself to the duties which were assigned it and does not attempt to revive the old "disciplinary tactics," it may do much to make the socialist municipal victories, of which there should be many at the next spring elections, extremely fruitful to the cause of socialism.

Taking the work of the convention as a whole we believe that we voice the sentiments of every delegate when we say that it was better than even the most sanguine anticipated. It was called to order as a gathering of more or less hostile factions. It adjourned as a single, solidified organization. There remained no body of men who felt that they had been coerced, slighted or outwitted. The foundation has been laid, broad, deep

and firm, on which to erect the mightiest political structure the world has ever known. Whether that structure will rise strong and symmetrical or not is for future workers to decide. We who were at the convention have done our part. Let us so act in the future as to have no part in the undoing of the work there accomplished.

We have just received a note from Comrade Emile Vinck saying that events have suddenly arisen that render it impossible for him to make his expected trip to America at this time. We regret very much that we shall be deprived of the pleasure of the company and assistance of Comrade Vinck and hope that it may only be a short time until circumstances will so shape themselves that the trip may be made. To the many American comrades who have written asking for dates for lectures we hope that this note will be received in place of a letter of explanation.

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Anarchy vs. Socialism

ONCE again the anarchists have proven themselves the dearest foes of capitalism. The story, long grown old in Europe, has been repeated here. The act of one fanatical criminal at Buffalo has rallied every force of reaction and exploitation as no avowed defender of capitalism could hope to do. It has long been recognized in Europe that in every great emergency, when the forces of oppression are hardest pressed, they can always hope that some such deed will come to their rescue.

As a result they are always kind to the philosophy of anarchy and patronize its "intellectual" leaders, while occasionally punishing their dupes with brutal ferocity when some "propaganda of the deed" leads to a police attempt to "stamp out anarchy." Each one of these periods of public upheaval is also used to secure the enactment of "anarchist" laws which are then applied to socialists.

American defenders of the established order are now following the example of their European fellow exploiters. It is now quite a fashionable thing in certain bourgeois sets to have "anarchistic leanings." They say anarchy has such a "beautiful philosophy" and that its idea of perfect freedom is so grand.

When Kropotkin was in Chicago he was under the patronage of Mrs. Potter Palmer, the recognized leader of plutocratic society, not only in Chicago, but throughout America. She wined and dined him at her house, where he was petted and praised by the exclusive Lake Shore Drive set. His headquarters were at Hull House, where he was lionized by the philanthropists and professional "good people." During all this time the manager of Kropotkin was Abraham Isaac, whom most of those who so liberally praised Kropotkin are now so fiercely denouncing. A few who have not joined in the cry of "crucify him" are cautiously ex-

plaining that they have no sympathy with his doctrines. Is this because Isaac is only a workingman instead of a prince?

These people told us that Kropotkin was only a philosophic anarchist, and not in favor of violence, and that he denounced assassination equally with his respectable patrons. Let us see if this is true. I shall here simply discuss the facts as to this particular incident and endeavor to determine the specific fact as to whether assassination was directly encouraged at the Central Music Hall meeting when Kropotkin was to no small extent under the patronage of Mayor Harrison, and when the boxes were filled with ladies in rich evening dress, although the public had been carefully informed that it was contrary to anarchist doctrines to make any reservation or distincton in seats.

In a book, Jean Graves' "Moribund Society and Anarchy," which was sold at that meeting by the very men and women who are now in jail charged with conspiracy against the life of William McKinley, we find the following quotation:

"Let us suppose a struggle between employers and workmen—any sort of strike. In a strike there are surely some employers more cruel than others, who by their exactions have necessitated this strike, or by their intrigues have kept it up longer than necessary; without doubt these employers draw upon themselves the hatred of the workers. Let us suppose one of the like executed in some corner, with a placard posted explaining that he has been killed as an exploiter, or that his factory has been burned from the same motive. In such a case there is no being mistaken as to the reasons prompting the authors of the deeds, and we may be assured that they will be applauded by the whole laboring world. Such are intelligent deeds: which shows that actions should always follow a guiding principle."

Such statements as these can be found by the thousands in the literature of anarchy. Later we shall see that they are a logical and essential portion of the anarchist philosophy, although this point is strenuously denied by many who claim to be anarchsts. Let us, however, first look into that portion of anarchist philosophy which receives such high praise from its bourgeois admirers and particularly that phase which is offered as a contrast to socialism.

All anarchists agree that government, so far as it is founded upon force, should disappear. They then sing the praises of the state of perfect freedom that would remain. In contrast with this dream they place an equally fantastic and imaginary dream which they ascribe to the socialists and which they call "state socialism."

They all echo, with tiresome mendacity, a series of lying platitudes against this strawman labeled "State Socialism." From Spencer's "Coming Slavery" down to the latest issue of "Free Society,"

the changes are continuously rung on the old falsehood that socialism proposes to place all industry in the hands of an autocratic state and subject everyone to a terrible tyranny labeled "the will of the majority." Recently the single taxers have joined in this cry and we have the amazing and somewhat laughable (although not wholly logical) situation of orthodox capitalists, single taxers, several kinds of anarchists, including Tolstoi "non-residents," all assisting to raise on high, athwart the path of progress this enormous stuffed figure labelled "State Socialism." When the socialists insist with some warmth for the thousandth time that this bogie man is born of the imaginations of its opponents, the anarchists have lately begun to declare that this is a new position for socialists.

Some socialists even have been deceived by this talk and have begun to speak of "communist anarchy" as the stage next to follow socialism, as if socialism were a dream of a future society, instead of a philosophy of the present one, and that when the co-operative commonwealth had arrived socialist philosophy would cease to be true. These have also taken it for granted that socialists really proposed to do what the anarchists allege—place all industry in the control of a "police state."

But as a matter of fact, nearly every socialist writer of any prominence has, ever since the first formulation of scientific socialism, insisted that the next stage of social evolution would be marked by such an administration of things that a "government of persons" would be superfluous.

The socialists have always maintained that the state, in common with all other social institutions of the present time, is but an instrument with which to express the will of the ruling class. Its main reason for existence is the protection of the rights of private property in the instruments of exploitation. Its functions are almost wholly restrictive and negative. It is concerned with the control of persons rather than the administration of things. When this state does undertake to operate an industry it does it from the same point of view that it performs all the rest of its functions. It is tyrannical and paternal and makes it its principal object to further the interest of the present ruling class.

The materialistic interpretation of history, or as Enrico Ferri has better expressed it, "Economic Determinism," is the basis of modern socialism. This philosophy is simply a recognition and statement of the fact that economic relations determine all other social relations. The economic system of capitalism with private ownership by a few in the means of life for all has given rise to a certain set of institutions. It has given form to a certain character of religious institutions, a certain set of "moral principles," and a certain set of governmental institutions which constitute the pres-

ent state. All this philosophy is antagonized by the anarchists, who maintain that institutions and social forms are the products of the acts and ideas of individuals who are responsible for all that is good or bad in such institutions.

Socialism points out that the next stage of economic evolution will be the co-operative ownership and operation of industry. There will be no personal advantage in the possession of private property, as such ownership will have lost the power to take the fruit of others labor. Hence there will naturally be no need of laws to "protect the rights of private property." Under such conditions all the disagreeable features of government would disappear. Government would simply become an administrator of industry. This does not mean that it would be a gigantic boss, saying to this one, "Do this," and to that one, "Go there." On the contrary, as is happening even at the present time under the manifestly imperfect forms of co-operation existing in the midst of competiton, the directing function, the superintendence side of industry, would constantly grow less and less. The capitalists have been quicker to see this fact than most anarchists and their sympathizers. They are continuously seeking to avoid the expense of slave drivers by various forms of sham co-operation, such as profit-sharing, pensions, stock sales to employes, etc. In a co-operative commonwealth the government would be little more than a gigantic information bureau, furnishing to its citizens exact knowledge regarding the amounts of all kinds of commodities required by the community, and notifying them where there is need of labor to be performed. If comparison is to be made at all with present institutions, the government of the future will be much more like an enormously developed "statistical bureau" of today, rather than an overgrown police department.

Thus we see that the bug-a-boo of "state tyranny" and "governmentalism" fades away. All that is good in the "beautiful" philosophy of anarchy, of which we are told so much by its capitalist patrons, is really a part of socialism. The dream of the future in both cases is practically the same. But neither can claim any originality on that score, for it is the same old dream that mankind has been dreaming ever since suffering came upon the earth. It is the picture of perfect freedom, for which the race has ever longed, of which poets have sung and romanticists drawn visions. To praise a philosophy because it has at last comprehended that such a society would be desirable is, to say the least, rather foolish.

When it comes to an analysis of the causes of present conditions and methods of reaching this ideal, the antithesis between socialism and anarchy is sharp. And this method and analysis is really the only thing that is peculiarly characteristic of anarchy. It is all that is really entitled to the name. Let us then turn our attention

to this, the real heart of anarchy. In the first place, it is the gospel of individualism gone mad. It is the aim and object of socialism to give the individual every opportunity to develop his individuality, and it is one of the strongest indictments brought by socialists against capitalism that it stifles all individuality. But just because our present society does stifle individuality the anarchist analysis of that society is ridiculous. He would have it that individuals are responsible for present social conditions. It is because some people are officials that tyranny exists. Capitalists are responsible for capitalism, says the anarchist. History is but the biographies of "great men." It will be seen that there is much in common between this and the copy book philosophy of capitalism. From this premise the anarchist deduces the natural conclusion that if there were no officials there would be no tyranny, no capitalists, no exploitation. But from his previous position he is bound to believe that the persons who take those offices and become the instruments to the accomplishment of evil are responsible for so doing. Now we are at the turning point. So far all schools of anarchy, including most capitalist moralists, agree. But now how shall we get rid of these responsible individuals? Tolstoi and those who follow him declare that all that is necessary to abolish all these evils is for every one to refuse to serve in any official capacity or to function as a capitalist. In other words, to retire into a sort of Hindoo Nirvana of self-renunciation and wait and hope until all the world shall be of the same mode of thinking, and tyranny and exploitation disappear for lack of people to serve as officials or capitalists.

This is the phase of anarchy that particularly appeals to the "parlor anarchist," if I may be allowed to add one more to an already over-long list of varieties of anarchists. This enables them to make a great exhibit of self-righteousness with little personal discomfort, allows them the use of the name anarchist for drawing-room sensations; furnishes a new fad to show to one's friends; permits the patronage of distinguished anarchists and the study of violent ones, while it leaves one free to disclaim all connection with any act of violence that may be committed. This is the kind of anarchy that we hear so much about as having such a beautiful philosophy. Whether it is beautiful or not I will not attempt to say, but if I know anything of logic and reason it is only a little short of idiotic.

But when this doctrine comes to a workman who has nothing but his chains to renounce, whose only "office" is a job, and whose only "capital" is his brain and muscle, he does not see how he can share in the conclusion or the honors of his bourgeois friend. With him the social question is one of life and death. When he is told that present economic conditions are traceable to a few individuals

he is apt to be rather impatient of the process of waiting until everyone will refuse to longer serve in official or capitalistic capacity, and decides that it would be well to make it a dangerous thing for anyone to hold such offices. This is the logic of "terrorism," as set forth in many anarchist pamphlets. Knowing the sort of human nature that capitalism produces, it is a much more logical and sensible conclusion than is Tolstoism. This is the sort of logic that produces a Bergman, a Bresci and a Czolgosz. It is only logical deduction from the premises of anarchy, and has been so recognized by far more than a majority of the writers on anarchy. It is the doctrine which is openly preached by John Most and the anarchist organs of Patterson, N. J., and Spring Valley, Ill. But because these papers are not printed in English they are less known than the works of some of the "philosophic anarchists." But these men recognize Kropotkin, Reclus, Bakunine and Proudhon as their classic writers or present leaders, and these are also the writers of the text-books of this "beautiful philosophy" of communist anarchy.

The socialist antagonizes these positions of anarchy at every point. Socialism insists, and demonstrates its position by a host of facts drawn from history and contemporary society, that economic relations and not individual caprices are at the bottom of social institutions. The social institutions thus determined constitute the environment which forms the character and determines the nature of individuals. The socialists maintain that at the present time that basic economic development has reached a point where a great change is imminent. It is the great triumph of socialism to be able to predict what that change will be, and the method of its accomplishment, and to substitute for the utopian dreams and anarchistic speculation of former ages scientific deduction from established facts. The socialist points out that this impending change must necessarily consist in the transfer of the great complex instruments with which wealth is produced and distributed from private to co-operative ownership. More important still, the socialist is able to demonstrate the manner in which this change is destined to come about.

When the ballot was put into the hands of the worker, when universal suffrage was attained, the need of forcible revolution passed away. This is especially true of any movement in behalf of the workers, since they constitute an overwhelming majority in present society. Moreover, until the laboring class are intelligent enough to vote for their own emancipation, they do not deserve to be free and would not know what to do with liberty if they had it.

Now, it so happens that the present ruling class profits by the continuation of the present economic system. Hence they are willing to tolerate, and, indeed, even encourage anything that will perpetuate that system. But the socialists have come to realize that the days of the economic system of capitalism and anarchy are numbered and that the world is now ready for the next step in social evolution, the dawn of the era of co-operation and human brotherhood. They are seeking to educate the people to use their ballots to the end that the workers may actually become the rulers in the present state and may then use the governmental machinery to abolish all exploitation and oppression. This is the only movement that really antagonizes anarchy at every point. For this reason anarchists and socialists have ever been sworn enemies.

This again makes of anarchy the ally of capitalism. It is one of the strongest bulwarks of the present society against the coming of socialism. Its philosophy is in no way at variance with capitalism. Its logical violence serves as an excuse to inflame the minds of the ignorant against all those who would seek to change the established order. Thus it comes about that over and over again the violent deeds of anarchists have been used as an excuse for attacking the only real enemy of anarchy—socialism.

Is the line of evidence plain? I have shown that all that is good in the philosophy of anarchy is but the commonplaces of every religion, reform or social dream that the world has ever known, and that it is found in socialism in a more intelligent and logical form. I have shown that it has been able to attract the attention of intelligent people only because of a false conception of socialism, for which to some degree alleged socialists are responsible. I have shown that the logic of capitalism and the logic of anarchy are identical; that they are sister products of the same economic organization. I have demonstrated that all that is peculiar to the doctrines of anarchy are its individualistic interpretation of society, which is false, and its method of attaining its end, which is either through an imbecile quietism and affected humility and self-sacrifice, or else muderous private warfare and assassination. I have shown that this conclusion of violence is accepted by all the leading anarchist writers, including those who have been so much patronized by bourgeois society. I have shown that capitalism looks with favor upon anarchy because it sees in it a valuable ally against its only dangerous foe—the socialist movement. I have shown that the defenders of the established order have no particular desire to abolish anarchy, and could not do so if they wished. I have shown finally that the only sincere opponents of anarchy, the only ones who dare attack it root and branch and to demand that it, together with the murderous society that gave it birth, shall give way to a better order through the peaceful, intelligent action of the producers of wealth, are the socialists.

Press and police unite in telling us that the murder of President McKinley was the result of a conspiracy. Whether this be true

or not, in the sense of which they speak, whether the victims that have been dragged into the police drag-net of this and other cities were really associated with the man who did the deed is, of course, beyond my ken; but when the historian of the future shall look back upon the present age to chronicle the event we are now describing, he will see it as the result of the most gigantic conspiracy the world has ever known; a conspiracy so tremendous as to take a generation for its preparation and include a nation among its conspirators; a conspiracy, the chief actors of which moved with that marvelous accuracy which the mind only attains when working unconscious of the dictates of reason. When in the perspective of time the events of today shall be seen in their proper relations, some future writer will draw up an indictment, "In re the Murder of Wlliam McKinley. The People of the United States vs. Czolgosz et al."

But there will be many parties upon that indictment that not even the most sensational press or the most zealous police officer of today has dared to suggest. First and foremost, as the actual responsible agent, as the true accessory before the act, will come the present ruling class. They are the ones whom economic development made the arbiters of our social life. They have formulated in their interests the social institutions, governmental organization, and to a large extent the thought of the great mass of the population. They have controlled press and pulpit and lecture platform and have used these agencies to formulate a public opinion out of which anarchy could not but develop. They alone reap an advantage from this terrible catastrophe. It is the members of this class who, with ghoulish greed for gain, have been gambling upon the stock market with the bulletins from the bedside of the dying president. It is they who will reap the benefit from the blow which this act will enable their reptile press to deal to union labor. The discouraging effect of this dastardly deed upon the thousands of striking steel workers is causing a smile of satisfaction to leer across the front of the profitable "extras" that trade upon a nation's sorrow. Most prominent among those who make up this body of responsible conspirators must be put the great financial interests that control the destinies of the republican party. They it is who have resisted every attempt at change in social conditions and who see in this assassination but one more weapon ready to their hand with which to drive back all enemies of exploitation and oppression. They it is who for their own profit insist upon holding down the safety valve upon a social boiler long past the bursting point. They are the ones who have interpreted the philosophy of society along the same lines as they were interpreted by the man who fired the fatal shot at Buffalo. They have for a generation preached, with all the power which a complete

control of school and church and press and government could give them, the doctrine of individualism in all its nakedness, the doctrine of the competitive struggle as the religion of modern society, the doctrine of a "nature red in tooth and claw" as the only means of progress, the doctrine of the "survival of the fittest" in a murderous private warfare upon the field of trade—all this is the doctrine at once of the orthodox teachers of capitalism and the apostles of anarchy.

Were we not told from ten thousand platforms in every city and hamlet in this land by the orators speaking for the election of William McKinley that every man had an equal chance for success in this brutal economic fight, that the position which every man held in society was determined by his own exertions, that each individual was the arbiter of his own destiny? Have they not told us over and over again that individual responsibility was the keynote of modern social organization? More than that, have they not insisted that their class and their party, which they themselves personified in William McKinley, was capable of controlling social relations and determining economic conditions so as to give or take prosperity from the workshops and the multitude of workers of this country? All these are fundamental principles in the philosophy of anarchy.

As the next party to the indictment the second accessory before the fact and accomplice in the deed must be placed that other great political party who, with identical logic, opposed the election of McKinley, and who, after the election, have declared he was responsible for the formation of trusts and all the abuses that have grown out of them. The spokesmen of this party preached the doctrine that McKinley had it in his power to stop or continue the process of trade expansion, to set the limits to economic development. They declared over and over again through their press that economic conditions were controllable by those in possession of the powers of government, and could find no words strong enough in which to denounce the man whose death they are now foremost in deploring, whose character they are now loudest in praising. This party especially adopted the anarchist cry for the reversal of economic development and the destruction of organized production. In agreement with their accomplices in the republican party, the democratic party refused in any way to permit a transformation of society that would make such horrible outbreaks impossible. They insisted that the poison should be mixed, they demanded that the weapons should be prepared, they helped in the maddening of the brain, but when the natural result followed they hastened to disclaim responsibility.

As a natural result from the conditions fostered and the philosophy preached by these arch-conspirators, as a certain conclusion

from the premises to which they gave assent, there arose the third party to the indictment—the doctrinal or philosophical anarchist. He it was who was indorsed by the leaders of bourgeois respectability, who thereby gave every reason to believe that they were willing to accept the full logic of the premises laid down by their previous actions.

Finally we have the men whose names appear upon the indictment as it is drawn by the present ruling class. At the most these individuals are but the last and logical expression of the mighty chain of events and social relations that have been pointed out as inhering in capitalism. But just because they are in the grasp of this wider and mightier force their power for evil reaches far beyond that of any isolated individual.

The only body of men, the only portion of present society against whom this indictment positively cannot read, the only individuals whose hands are wholly clean of the blood of the chief magistrate, the only body that has consistently and continuously fought each and every one of these conspirators, that has denounced them publicly and privately, on its platform and through its press with all the power that it can wield, is the body of men that march beneath the banner and hold the name of socialism. They alone have always dared to denounce murder, whether it be of a ruler or of ruled, whether it be on the throne or in the workshop, whether by slow starvation or the bullet of the assassin, and they alone can go into the court of equity of the future with clean hands and rest assured of what the verdict will be.

Co-operative Movement in Belgium

IN these last years the co-operative movement has notably increased in Belgium. It has produced remarkable results in the organization of the working class, and especially in the diffusion of socialist propaganda among the masses of the people. We may say without boasting that foreign socialists and radicals who visit Belgium are struck with admiration at the work accomplished. Their astonishment goes on increasing as they visit our co-operative institutions of Brussels, Ghent, Jolimont, Anvers and other cities.

Then they ask questions.

"How did you do it?"

"What were your first steps?"

"How do you explain the success of Belgian co-operation?"

"By what system did you succeed in propagating co-operation in this way?"

"How do these strong societies work and how are they managed?"

"Then, again, do you succeed so completely in the little country places?"

Such are the principal questions that our foreign comrades often ask us.

We have thought it worth while to describe rapidly the mechanism and the working of the different kinds of co-operative societies existing in Belgium, and by some typical examples to show the results obtained.

That is what we shall do in the following pages:

I.

It is important that the reader dismiss the notion of Belgium being a country better adapted than any other to the establishment of co-operative societies. The success of these depends neither upon the physical surroundings, nor the geographical situation, nor the special temperament of the Belgian people.

Many people have said to us: "What is done so admirably with you could not succeed with us, because our temperament is not adapted to it."

That is a fundamental error.

The success of co-operation is not a matter of temperament, of sentiment or of environment. It is due above all to the system adopted, by its character, to its really popular organization, accessible to all, especially to the poorest.

And, moreover, it is well to remember that before succeeding

so completely the co-operative movement underwent numerous and repeated checks in Belgium.

Let us then trace rapidly the history of the co-operative movement of our country.

At the time of the great famine of 1845-1847, due to the poor wheat crops and the potato blight, the government, led by M. Charles Rogier, minister of the interior, recommended everywhere the formation of savings societies for the purchase of winter provisions, on the model of what was being done in Berlin and other cities of Germany.

Moreover, certain municipal or charitable administrations established depots for the sale of provisions, which they let go at cost or even at a loss.

The societies for the purchase of winter provisions, which may be regarded as intermittent co-operatives, survived some years, but without any great development.

Then came the events of 1848 in France.

After February 24, hundreds of societies for production were founded at Paris, Lyons, Marseilles, etc.

The French workingmen thought that by this means they would overcome the employing class and would end by suppressing it.

In the course of the year 1848 and the beginning of 1849 workingmen of Brussels, Ghent and Liege began to start their own societies for production as tailors, shoemakers, carpenters, printers, cigarmakers, etc.

These societies, founded on the same plans as the French associations, met with little success. They died one after the other in the course of a year or two. The difficulty was not in producing good clothing, footwear, furniture, cigars, etc., but in selling them. A single one of the societies founded in 1849 still survives at Brussels, namely, the "Alliance Typographique." But this workingmen's association has not, properly speaking, a co-operative character. It is a society which has taken the legal form of a corporation.

So the attempt of 1848 failed.

Not till 1865 did they begin again to speak of co-operative societies. The French movement rose from its ashes at this time. Moreover, the story of the famous pioneers of Rochdale was popularized by the voice of the press.

It was the Free-Masons of the "Loge des Amis Philanthropes" of Brussels who took the initiative of founding a popular co-operative restaurant.

At Liege, a manufacturer did likewise.

Co-operation at this epoch took on a purely philanthropic, bourgeois character.

But with the establishment of the International Workingmen's

Association and the propaganda carried on by its members the true principles of co-operation began to be diffused among the working masses.

Little by little, thanks to this propaganda, we see co-operations of consumption gradually springing up everywhere.

The type adopted was the depot for groceries, colonial goods and flour. These were established in the large towns, Brussels, Liege, Ghent, Anvers, Charleroi, Verviers, etc., but especially in our large industrial villages around Charleroi, Liege and Centre-Hainaut.

The number of these societies in 1871 was considerable enough to suggest the idea of forming a federation for the wholesale purchase of merchandise.

But with the dissolution of the International the working class movement gradually disintegrated, and with it, the co-operative movement also.

The revival of the Belgian co-operative movement dates from the year 1880. It is due to three converging streams.

First, to the socialist propaganda and to the example given by the famous co-operative "Vooruit" of Ghent.

Next, to the establishment of co-operative societies of consumption among the employes and laborers of the state.

Finally, to the foundation of co-operative pharmacies, the initiative of which may be traced to the Free Federation of Mutual Benefit Societies of Brussels.

Now see the results.

From 1873—date of the law on co-operative societies—up to 1885, that is twelve years, there were established but 92 co-operative societies in Belgium.

From 1885 to the end of 1894—nine years—there were established 417, or more than 45 a year.

Since this period began we see a new current produced by the birth of the agricultural co-operative movement, under the form of societies for the purchase and sale of fertilizers, seeds, goods of all kinds, co-operative dairies, savings and loan societies, etc.

Strange to say, it is the Catholic party, the former opponent of the co-operative societies and defender of the interests of small traders, which now puts itself at the head of the co-operative movement among the farmers.

What is the cause of this sudden change?

The first cause is the adoption, April 18, 1893, of the new article of the constitution which makes voters of all the Belgian male citizens. The result of this is that the country people, hitherto kept in fanaticism and subjection by the clergy, will now have to take part in the electoral contests, and by that very fact will be interested in the movement of the new ideas.

In the second place, the first elections under the new system of

voting were a revelation to the conservative parties. They were astounded to see the socialists obtain at once 350,000 votes and send to the parliament 29 deputies out of 152.

The clericals considered that our success among the masses was due above all to our co-operative organization, or at least that it is by the aid of this organization that we have found resources and independent men for propagating our ideas. Thereupon they began to organize co-operative societies in the country, to marshal the peasants and to prevent them from coming to swell the socialist army.

Let us observe the results obtained. We have just seen that from 1886 to 1894 there were founded, on an average, 45 co-operative societies a year.

Let us see how it has been since the co-operative movement has been propagated among the farming population.

In 1895 were founded 94 co-operative societies.
In 1896 were founded 179 co-operative societies.
In 1897 were founded 312 co-operative societies.
In 1898 were founded 268 co-operative societies.
In 1899 were founded 190 co-operative societies.
In 1900 were founded 251 co-operative societies.

For the last three years, 1898-1900, the new co-operative societies founded may be classified as follows:

Savings and loan societies	116
Creameries	210
Consumption	124
Purchase and sale	67
Breweries and distilleries	65
Production	48
Insurance	31
Miscellaneous	45

On the first of January, 1901, there were in Belgium more than 1800 co-operative societies of all classes. Unfortunately, there are no complete statistics for these societies, but we may estimate the number of their members at 200,000, which, on a basis of five persons to the family, would represent a total of a million consumers, or more than a seventh of the population of our country.

As is seen, the success of Belgian co-operation dates back only a few years. Before success was reached two great attempts were unfruitful and resulted in nothing.

Today this movement is indestructible. It has roots too deep for any crisis to overturn them. It makes an integral part of our national life; it has entered into our customs, it has conquered the freedom of the city, and nothing henceforth can arrest its forward

march. The co-operative idea is popular. Its progress has been continuous and our profound conviction is that the future reserved for it is brilliant, and that co-operation has a great part to play in the social transformations which are impending.

II.

Having thus traced in outline the history of the co-operative movement of Belgium, let us now see to what causes its success should be attributed.

The essential characteristic of Belgian co-operation is that it is popular; in other words, it appeals to all, even the poorest laborers.

There are, as is well known, two systems of co-operation. The "Rochdale" system, so-called, is the most general and seems to us the best from all points of view.

It consists in selling with a profit—that is to say, at the price of ordinary trade; then in distributing the profit thus realized at the end of the half-year or year.

The other system consists in selling at what may be called cost price, increased by 2 or 3 per cent in a way to cover the general expenses and the interest on the capital. This system is employed in England in the co-operation of the army and navy. It is not at all practicable in Belgium, as we know.

Our preference is for the Rochdale system, for it permits the co-operators to make savings every day without being aware of it, and to draw a rebate at the end of the half-year or year, which is much more perceptible to them than it would be to spend a few centimes less each day.

The co-operative store, moreover, ought to be open to all. It ought to sell to the public, even outside its membership, if only for the sake of advertising itself in this way.

The method generally taken to found co-operatives is this:

In the cities a start is made with the establishment of a bakery. In the country districts and villages a grocery has been preferred. That is because in the country, even up to the present time, each family has made its own bread. In the country co-operatives, therefore, the sale of flour has been very important. In the cities, or the contrary, the resident buys his bread of the baker. Now, as bread in our own country forms, along with potatoes, the basis of the popular diet, the industry of baking is well chosen to begin with.

Certain workingmen join then to start a co-operative bakery. But for that money is needed. To this end they begin by depositing each 5 or 10 cents a week. At the end of a few months, when they have in this way accumulated a hundred dollars or so, they decide to rent a place, preferably a cellar containing a bake oven or a house on the rear of a lot, at a moderate rental.

It is in this way that the "Vooruit" of Ghent and the "Maison du Peuple" of Brussels had their beginning, with a few hundred francs and in a cellar. Today, less than twenty years after, these two co-operatives each possess real estate to the amount of more than $300,000.

Each member subscribed for a share of 10 francs ($1.93). But at present one may be admitted as a co-operator by paying only 8 or 10 cents, the price of the member's pass-book, containing the regulations and blank pages to receive the record of the goods bought.

The amount of the share is paid later by deductions of 2 or 3 francs from the rebate which returns to the member at each distribution.

Formerly, in the co-operatives not having a socialistic character, one was obliged to subscribe a share of 50 or 100 francs and pay an entrance fee, which went on increasing in proportion as the society became richer. That is the bourgeois system on a capitalistic basis. This system was bad, because it put an obstacle in the way of recruiting new members. These societies were guided by an egotistic sentiment which was also delusive.

The essential thing for these societies was the accumulation of a certain amount of capital. The socialist co-operatives, for their part, considered rightly that the essential thing was not to increase the society's *capital,* but the *amount of sales,* which is, be it remembered, that which determines the profits.

Today, in our socialist co-operatives—and this example is now followed by all—one becomes, at Brussels, for instance, a member of the Maison du Peuple co-operative for the average payment of 8 cents. One may buy in its salesrooms, have its bread delivered at home, and have a right to the consequent profits, being co-proprietor in the ratio of 1 to 18,000 of a social property of more than $200,000, and all that by expending only 8 cents!

This system is excellent in that the dominant factor, as we have just said, even to the mere question of profits, is not the capital contributed by the members, but their purchases.

Socialist co-operation in Belgium is thus open freely to all. One is not obliged to contribute capital before enjoying the advantages of the society. Moreover, the workingmen are not asked to pledge themselves to the payment of too large a sum; the shares are $1.93 each, payable in two or three years, by the retention of 2 or 3 francs at each distribution of rebates.

In the propaganda we have carried on in favor of co-operation for the last twenty years we have always said that co-operation ought to be considered, not as an *end,* but as a *means.*

We said also that the co-operative society might serve as the foundation of the labor movement and the socialist movement.

In 1888, in a propaganda pamphlet, we wrote as follows on the subject of the character of co-operation and its place in the labor movement:

"Co-operative societies for us socialists are a *means,* not an *end.*

"What we aim at is the complete emancipation of the workers, the suppression of the wage system, of individual proprietorship.

"To suppress poverty, to act so that all may have a peaceful and happy life, it is indispensable to do away with the causes of the present suffering.

"Now, the principal cause of the poverty of some and the enrichment of others is that the latter possess, individually or collectively, the land, the instruments of labor, the workshops, the tools, etc.

"They take advantage of their privileged situation to exploit the others who possess nothing. They make them labor for their profit; they give them *two* when they have produced *four.*

"The laborer who produces, for example, the equivalent of ten loaves of bread a day, and who receives for his work only five loaves, is robbed. The existing capital and property are the fruits of thefts made from the wage-workers—from those who produced *four* and received but *two.*

"The end to reach, that everyone may be made happy, is to act so that the wealth and the instruments of labor, now possessed by a few, shall be possessed by all.

"The question now is to ascertain whether, by the development of the co-operative societies, we may succeed in giving to the laborer *the entire product of his labor,* social burdens being discharged.

"Here we do not hesitate a moment, and we say, *No!*

"Why should the capitalists dispossess themselves, even with moderate compensation, of an industry which enables them to enrich themselves without labor?

"It would be pure folly to believe it.

"We may then conclude that co-operation is not an end, the end of arriving at the suppression of wage labor, and consequently of poverty.

"Co-operation, then, is only a means, but a powerful means.

"In the first place, co-operation is an excellent means for uniting and organizing the workers. Co-operative societies are, then, a good means for the economic education of the working class. They permit the laborers to put themselves in the current of commercial and industrial affairs, to follow the fluctuations of the market, to know the difficulties to be solved, etc.

"We are speaking here, be it understood, only of moral results. The working class is destined one day to take the place of the bourgeoisie in government and industry. Now, a class does not replace another class until it is capable of so doing. Consequently, to or-

ganize the workingmen, to educate them in economics, commerce and industry—is not that a powerful means; is it not a useful and necessary work?"

"Moreover, the co-operative societies, by the profits which they realize, procure resources which are often of considerable amount and which may serve for propagating socialist ideas, for creating libraries, for organizing meetings, for sustaining and extending the newspapers which defend the cause of the toilers."

"Is all that nothing?"

That is what we wrote more than twelve years ago regarding the character of the socialist co-operative movement.

As to the part that the co-operative society is destined to play in the labor movement in general we wrote at the same period:

"Up to now the co-operative societies have played a secondary part in the labor movement.

"That is an unfortunate mistake.

"For us, the co-operative societies ought to be the foundation of the labor movement, of the organization of the working class.

"Whenever in any place a group of workers has put itself in the current which moves toward the organization of the working class, what has been done is to start a workingmen's league, a study circle or a trade union.

"These groups in most cases are short-lived. No serious tie holds together the various elements which compose them. Under these conditions discouragement comes quickly.

"In the case of labor unions, there is another obstacle. The employers, the manufacturers, are displeased at seeing their laborers organize. They think that the laborers can not unite without moving for a strike. So they begin making war on the leaders, on the most intelligent, on those who by their capacity and energy are suited to render services to the union and to make it prosper.

"Thus these laborers are often victims; they lose their places in the workshop and are forced to leave the city or town where they live. The consequence is the ruin of the labor league or of the union.

"If, on the contrary, the workingmen begin by establishing a co-operative society, a bakery or grocery preferably, they could give employment to those of their members who were most capable of rendering them service and propagating their ideas.

"From this co-operative may grow, without trouble and without undue sacrifice on the part of its members, a union, a relief fund in case of sickness or lack of employment, and a society for propaganda and study.

"If the co-operative is well organized and managed, it may soon furnish its members and the public with bread, butter, meat, vegetables, groceries, coal, clothing, etc.

"Let us suppose that each member's average purchases are 15 francs a week; that makes a yearly expenditure of 780 francs ($150.54). At the very lowest, the profit realized will be at least 10 per cent—that is, $15.00 per year per member. With this profit, which we fix at the minimum, the workingmen, without spending a cent more than usual, but rather less, may insure himself against sickness and loss of work; he can pay his assessment to his defense fund and to the workingmen's league and still have a sum of eight or ten dollars left.

"As will be seen, nothing is easier. Let us suppose, for example, that the locality is where the dominant trade is the tobacco industry. The workingmen unite and start a co-operative bakery.

"This, properly managed, must necessarily prosper and give profits. As these accumulate, one branch after another of co-operation is added to the bakery, so that the workingmen may procure at the co-operative everything they have need of.

"With a part of their profits the workers assess themselves for to establish a trade union. The latter, in its turn, establishes a fund for the relief of those out of work, and does more—it saves part of its funds to organize a factory in which the laborers out of work will find occupation.

"This is but a rapid sketch of what can be done in the way of insurance against sickness to establish a trade union. The latter, in its turn, establishes a fund for the relief of those out of work, and does more—it saves part of its funds to organize a factory in which the laborers out of work will find occupation.

"Through co-operation it is possible to keep together, by the practical interests of everyday life, men who otherwise have not the necessary perseverance to make a success either of a trade union, a society for mutual insurance against sickness or loss of work, or a workingmen's league or study circle.

"More than this, we thus keep with us the wives of the workingmen, an element that should not be neglected and which today finds its place in the co-operative alone."

The co-operative society is, then, an excellent means of organization of the working class. It renders constant and immediate service to all its members. It provides employment for the most capable men of the working class, especially those who are victims of their activity in propaganda, and whom the manufacturers turn out on the street.

Co-operation at once procures resources by the profits which it realizes, and it weakens in proportion the class of middle-men, which is far from being socialist, but is rather in the camp of our opponents.

Finally, thanks to co-operation, we have a means for effective

penetration into the districts most refractory to our ideas. Our comrades of the "Vooruit" of Ghent have experienced this in the last few years. Until lately it was practically impossible for them to establish a single group of socialist workingmen in the little towns of Flanders, subjected as they had been to the Catholic party for centuries.

In these districts there was no way of finding a hall for meetings. The tavern-keepers who dared give the use of their taverns for holding meetings were soon boycotted and ruined, and nothing remained for them but to leave the town or the village where they were born.

Thus our friends had no other course than to visit these fanatical towns at the time the people were dismissed from mass and to speak in the open air. But after these adventures took a tragic turn, and the peasants, stirred up by the clergy and the big-bugs of the neighborhood, prevented our orators from speaking by throwing stones or even assaulting them with clubs.

Today there is scarcely a trace of this state of things. Our friends begin by leasing or buying a house. They open a tavern and make of it a socialist meeting-place. In the same building they get together a stock of goods, and soon open a co-operative store.

The working people of the neighborhood come to buy at the store because they find it to their advantage. They are also present at the meetings, they read our newspapers and pamphlets, and soon they find themselves converted to our ideas.

Moreover, the co-operative store and the tavern bring in enough money to pay a man who is thus free to use his leisure to defend the party, without fear of anyone, since he finds himself in an independent situation.

It is through co-operation that our friends of Ghent go on, little by little, conquering Flanders to socialism. They have already established groups at Wetteren, Tremonde, Zeele, Thielt, Courtrai, Ypres, Roulers, etc., etc. If they had more resources and more devoted and intelligent men at their disposal, every principal place in the Flemish cantons would in a few years have its socialist co-operative and, along with it, its mutual insurance society, its union, its political league, its library, etc.

Soon, too, thanks to the development of co-operatives of consumption in the cities and industrial towns, business relations can be established between these co-operatives and the agricultural unions, or the societies of consumption can themselves organize societies of farmers, whom they will thus make independent by assuring them an easy outlet for their products.

It will be seen that this form of association, being very elastic, can be utilized for many purposes. It is a powerful weapon in the

hands of the impoverished working class, because it procures resources constantly renewed without demanding any sacrifice from its members; on the contrary, it affords them the means of living more economically than if they continued to buy their goods from merchants.

Louis Bertrand,
Socialist Deputy from Brussels.

(*Translated by Charles H. Kerr.*)

(To be continued.)

A Catholic View of Socialism

THE chief business of life, in the eyes of a Catholic, is the saving of his immortal soul. Man's life on earth lasts but a few short years; his life beyond the grave is endless. The quality of this after-life will depend, in the case of each individual, on the manner in which he has spent his earthly life, and on the relation in which he stands to his God at the moment of death. If he dies at peace with his Maker he will be admitted sooner or later to a condition of unending happiness; if he dies at enmity with God he will be doomed to eternal misery. Hence, the primary consideration for every reasonable man is the kind of existence that he shall enjoy beyond the grave. His existence on earth is of real importance only because it is the period within which he determines whether he shall be happy or miserable in the life to come. Whenever a man's earthly happiness or welfare comes in conflict with his eternal interests he will decide in favor of the latter. The true significance of life on earth lies in its relation to the life to come.

Such is the Catholic view of the relative importance of present and future existence. This is not the place to set forth the proofs of this position. Suffice it to say, that this is the view of life taught by the Founder of Christianity on every page of His Gospel. "My Kingdom is not of this world"; "be not solicitous as to what ye shall eat or what ye shall drink"; "seek ye first the Kingdom of God and His Justice": these are but a few of His declarations taken at random. The Gospels are crowded with others of similar import. The Sermon on the Mount, which has so often been extolled as a program of brotherhood and social justice, abounds with statements which show that Christ regarded earthly happiness or misery as of comparatively little moment in themselves. The one important thing in His mind, the "one thing necessary," was that each man should fit himself for entrance into the Kingdom of Heaven.

Looked at in this way, life on earth becomes of tremendous importance. It determines for each human being the condition of his existence in eternity. The man who wishes to be happy in the life to come must obey God's laws here below. Foremost among these are the laws of charity and of justice. The law of charity commands men to treat one another as they would like to be treated themselves. If this law were universally observed the socialist movement would not be in existence. The occasion for it would be wanting. The law of justice requires that every man should be allowed to enjoy that which is his. It forbids,

therefore, all robbery, cheating, and exploitation. It requires that the products of the earth be so distributed that every human being will have at least sufficient to live decently, as a human being should live, "in reasonable and frugal comfort," to use the words of Pope Leo. Whenever any human being has less than this reasonable minimum, he is the victim either of his own criminal negligence, or of injustice, individual or social. Of this law, as of the law of charity, I feel safe in asserting that if it were universally carried out in practice the world would never have heard of socialism. For socialism is primarily a protest against social injustice, and derives its chief strength from the magnitude of this injustice in modern economic life.

The true Catholic, therefore, is impelled by the very strongest motives to observe the law of justice in dealing with his fellows. He must do so under pain of forfeiting happiness in the life eternal. For the average man this personal motive is far more effective than any considerations founded on the brotherhood of man. What, then, is the Catholic's attitude toward socialism, which is professedly a system by which social justice is to be realized?

The Catholic opposes, and must oppose, socialism in so far as it attacks religion. It cannot be denied that a great part of the literature of socialism, and a majority, perhaps, of the socialist leaders are unfriendly to the Christian view of life. Socialist leaders of prominence in every country regard life on earth as the be-all and the end-all of existence, and look forward to a heaven on earth under the socialist regime. They scoff at the view of life which makes this earth a place of probation and exile. They have no patience with men who turn their eyes longingly to the world beyond for a redress of the countless wrongs suffered on earth. They believe, and rightly, that if men can be brought to regard this life as the sum of human existence their impatience with social wrong will be quickened, and their faith in the socialist program increased. For millions upon millions of men the socialistic heaven would then be the only thing worth living for and hoping for. Perhaps many of the socialist leaders are not hostile, but merely indifferent to religion, but the fact remains that a vast number of them conduct their propaganda in such a way as to identify socialism with irreligion. What wonder is it that Catholics should look with distrust upon a movement whose most prominent leaders are materialists in philosophy and atheists in religion? What wonder is it that they should refuse to hasten the day when these men would be supreme both in economic and political affairs? The Catholic church could expect but scant courtesy at the hands of such men.

With socialism as an economic program, the Catholic, as such, has no quarrel. He judges it solely by the tests of feasibility, desirability, and justice. The two central principles of economic

socialism are the collective ownership and management of the instruments of production, and the distribution of products by the collectivity. The first of these principles is not in itself wrong. It may be impracticable, but that is a question that can be definitely solved only by experience. Catholics believe in the institution of private property, but private property is a means not an end in itself. Its purpose is to secure to men the enjoyment of a certain amount, not of production goods, but of consumption goods. Private property of some kind is necessary in order that men may be guaranteed the necessaries and comforts of life. Now, if the second principle of socialism, the collective distribution of products is applied in such a way as to provide men with the necessaries and comforts of life according to some principle of justice, then the real end of private property is obtained, and no property rights are violated. Most of the opposition of fair minded men to economic socialism arises from a lack of faith in the various socialistic plans of distribution that have thus far been proposed.

To sum up: Catholics hold that the chief aim of life is, not to bring about a regime of economic justice, but to gain eternal happiness in the life that comes after death. They believe that in order to obtain that happiness men must, among other things, deal justly with their fellows here on earth. They oppose the present socialist movement in so far as its writers insist upon making it irreligious, and ask for proofs of its claims in so far as it is economic.

"*Catholicus.*"

Trade Unionism and Socialism in Italy

THE movement for the organization of the working classes in Italy began fifteen or twenty years ago under a purely economic (trade-unionist) form. For this reason it remained powerless, and very little of it was left at the time of the formation of the Italian Socialist party. This party, called, by a kind of reactionary relapse into trade-unionism, "Labor party," devoted itself from the beginning to political and electoral work. It must be admitted, however, that this political task was forced on the party by the necessity of eliminating from the policy of the Italian government the superannuated and almost feudal spirit of reaction that dominated it and nipped in the bud every organization, even of the economic order. In fact, during the reactionary storms that struck the political organizations of the socialists and republicans, neither the leagues of resistance pure and simple nor the labor exchanges escaped. They shared the common fate of all proletarian organizations.

The following reasons, then, prevented the socialist party from choosing the economic organizations as a basis. The necessity of assuring to the party a clear and unmistakable political character for the purpose of playing an efficient role in Italian politics; and the expediency of removing all pretexts for reactionary administrations to molest and dissolve the economic organizations. But the more the political organization of the socialists differentiated itself from that of other parties, and the more the formation of a representative body of the parties championing the rights of the people (socialists, republicans and radicals), counterbalanced the efforts of the reaction and succeeded in establishing a regime of comparative liberty of association, of discussion, of writing and of striking, the more the socialist party returned to its real task of pushing the economic organization of the workingmen.

At the national convention of Rome in September, 1900, the socialist party formulated the resolutions of a former convention more precisely and adopted the following order of the day:

"Whereas, The convention reaffirms the resolution of the convention of Bologna which makes it *obligatory for all comrades, on penalty of expulsion from the party, to become members of their respective economic organizations of defense;*

"Whereas, The convention holds that the greatest obstacle to the application of this resolution is found in the practical difficulties that obstruct the organization of trade unions, especially in small

towns where these unions cannot in the beginning develop sufficient power of resistance and solidarity to keep alive;

"Whereas, A better harmony of action between the party, the parliamentary group and the economic organization is indispensable;

"Resolved:

"1. That one of the secretaries of the party be instructed to hold himself at the disposal of and to get into direct touch with the federal committees of the labor exchanges (*Camere del lavoro*), the co-operatives and the mutual benefit societies, for the purpose of harmonizing the activity of the economic organizations of southern Italy with that of the socialist party and of the parliamentary group;

"2. That in places where no trade unions are in existence or where the organization of such unions is impossible, the socialist locals (political organizations) shall organize mixed labor unions and keep the members of these unions in touch with the trade unions of the neighboring places;

"3. That every political group shall provide for the instruction of the workingmen in the means of organizing and managing leagues, co-operatives, etc., and in the means of applying the existing labor laws, assisted by the advice and the publications issued by the secretary in charge of this department;

"4. That the socialists in the trade organizations shall urge the necessity of forming national federations that must extend their activity also to the aforesaid localities and inspire them with the conviction *that the political organization and fight must supplement the economic;*

"5. That the immediate economic activity of the socialist party shall be directed to the end of organizing the agricultural population and the female proletariat, and of demanding laws protecting the latter;

"6. That the parliamentary group shall collect the demands of the labor organizations, voice them in parliament and file bills providing for labor legislation, and in this way prove by practical demonstration to the working class that the conquest of the political power is indispensable for the complete attainment of their rights."

I have made a point of reproducing these resolutions in full, because they were put into practice within a very short space of time, and with results that far surpassed any expectation entertained at the time of their adoption.

I shall illustrate this immediately.

It is no exaggeration to state that today there is no economic organization in Italy independent of socialist activity, and that whatever economic organization exists is due to the propaganda

and efforts of the socialists. They have not alone organized the rural population, but also drawn into their propaganda for organization the republicans, who had been preoccupied with the political form, the monarchy, instead of the economic substance, and who, in their capacity of representatives of the city artisans and small proprietors, had kept aloof from all economic activity among the farming population. But in view of the socialist propaganda they were forced on penalty of political death to accept, willingly or unwillingly, their new task and to push the work of organization together with the socialists.

Pending the creation of a socialist labor secretariat in Milan, in conformity with the resolution of the convention of Rome, the executive board of the socialist party continues the work of economic organization through one of its members and sends socialist deputies to such places where the need is most pressing. But in those districts that have been prepared for progress by long years of socialist propaganda, organizations and strikes in their wake make their appearance spontaneously and independently of the executive whose activity is insufficient on account of the magnitude of the movement. And the men at the head of such organizations are always socialists, just because they fully understand the interests of the workingmen and the means of their defense, thanks to their socialist training. It must also be acknowledged that these men are selected by their comrades for the posts of secretary or delegate and followed enthusiastically, because they are the most alert and intelligent of their number.

Thus the executive committees of the strongest and oldest unions are composed of a majority of socialist workingmen who, of course, also belong to the political organization. Such are the Typographical union with 5,500 members; the union of Railway Firemen and of Railway Employees, which owns a strong co-operative of consumption in Turin under the management of the socialist deputy Nofri; the union of Metal Workers, the union of Glassworkers, and many others.

The labor exchanges (CAMERE DEL LAVORO) are likewise almost exclusively in the hands of socialists. These labor exchanges, existing in many central places, have the task of centralizing the trade unions of the vicinity, of serving as mediators in conflicts between capital and labor, of arranging for arbitration, of procuring work for the unemployed, etc. They are simply neutral representatives of labor on a purely economic field. But, as I have said before, they are of necessity animated by the socialist spirit which makes common cause with the class interest. The reactionary governments, therefore, always dissolved them until about two years ago. Today, forty-three of them are again exercising their functions.

The constantly increasing labor press is also edited by socialists.

Marvelous has been the flourishing state of the trade unions and the well nigh universally victorious strike movement it called forth during the last six months.

Our working population has felt for many years the pressure of low wages that were maintained always at the same point by the despotism of the employers, while the price of the necessities of life had been advanced by revenue taxes for the purpose of protecting the profits and sales of the proprietors. Thus the average wage of a farm laborer remained 1 *franc* (20 cents) per day, while grain cost as much as 27 francs ($5.40) per hundred weight on account of the import duty of 7.50 francs ($1.50) per hundred weight.

But how organize leagues of resistance, when the government dissolved them and persecuted their members? And how manage strikes when the soldiers took the places of the strikers at harvest time?

Hardly had the pressure of the extreme left brought a liberal ministry into power that guaranteed the liberty of association, discussion, strikes and its neutrality during strikes*, than the laborers naturally tried to increase their meager wages by a few cents and to reduce their hours of labor a little. Especially among the farm laborers who had hitherto been held in almost feudal servitude by the proprietor and the priest, the organization movement has borne splendid fruit.

The most powerful leagues of amelioration (Leghe di miglioramento) are the following: Federation of the province of Mantua, 271 leagues and 40,231 members; federation of Reggio Emilia, 45 leagues and 7,500 members; federation of Ferrara, 60 male and 33 female leagues with 15,500 members; league of Lomellina, 3,000 members; league of Polesine, 8,000 members; leagues of the Basso Veronese, 1,377 members; league of Finale Emilia, 7,000 members; league of share farmers of Forle and Ravenna, 6,000 members.

At the same time, the bricklayers, the bakers, the female coral workers, the traveling agents, the corset workers, the shoemakers,

* In reality this neutrality was broken by a grievous accident. In Berra, near Ferrara, a nervous lieutenant and sworn enemy of the laborers, gave the order to fire on a crowd of farm laborers who advanced toward him, waving their white handkerchiefs in sign of peace and holding their hats in their hands, intending to cross a bridge and join their comrades in order to request them to stop work pending arbitration of their demands by the prefect.

The shooting was done without necessity, without the preliminary announcement prescribed by law, and in violation of the military rules providing a use of the bayonet before resorting to shooting. Of course, the military authorities acquitted the lieutenant and the courts declare that they are incompetent. Worst of all, the government justified the action of the lieutenant who thus protected "the right of private property and the liberty of labor."

The extreme left, who by their votes supported the ministry against the reaction, are determined in case of a repetition of the Berra incident or the like to refuse their support to a government that cannot be liberal in deeds because it is too liberal with words.

the longshoremen of Genoa, the employes of the arsenal in Venice, and others, organized.

It is impossible to give accurate statistics on this subject at this hour, as the movement is in full growth. Neither can complete statistics of strikes and their results be given. However, a few figures may follow here:

In several places, and especially in Milan, the bricklayers have struck and obtained an increase from 3 to 7 centimes (0.6 to 1.4 cents) per hour and the ten hour day, which brings their average wage from 1.44 francs to 2 francs (29 cents to 40 cents). The bakers in several localities have obtained the abolition of night work and an increase of 60 centimes (12 cents) per day. The farm hands have gained an increase of 15 per cent on their wages, making a gain of 3,500,000 of francs ($700,000), which the farm hands in the province of Mantua have won in a single year.

And Minister Giolitti announced in the chamber that from January to the middle of June there had been in Italy 511 strikes in which 600,000 workingmen had taken part, winning an increase of 48,000,000 francs ($9,600,000) for one million workers. Now all this is due to socialist propaganda and we have only just begun.

We see that economic and political activity are closely allied, supplementing each other by mutual reciprocity. Socialist propaganda re-animates the sleeping energies of the laborers and combines them for amelioration of the material condition of the working class. Once this spirit of association is awake, the conquest of material advantages enables the workingmen to educate themselves for the political struggle and to obtain step by step the control of the municipalities and of the election districts. As the results of these combined activities are obvious, the reactionary conservatives in the chamber have taken notice of them. Out of date as they are with their medieval conception of social life, and seeing the red spectre of socialism behind the economic movement of the leagues and the strikes, they raised the danger cry.

But it was an easy matter for the socialist deputies to show them that questions of economics are incomprehensible when detached from political questions. Economic organization and political activity go hand in hand. Effective political activity is impossible without the assistance of a solidly organized proletariat which has become class conscious through this very organization. Again, a powerful proletarian organization is equally inconceivable, unless it has political rights and unless the spirit of political conquest gives it a soul and impulse.

Well I understand that an American reader—in his country where capitalist development is at its height—could seriously question the importance of the results which in Italy have so clearly demonstrated the correctness of the tactics adopted by us. But

Italy is not a land of such highly developed capitalism as America. Therefore these results can neither be appreciated nor applied beyond the Alps.

Well, then, if the scope and the subject of this article did not limit my task, I could easily show by figures that Italy is for some years under way on the road of capitalism. Suffice it to indicate the most characteristic symptoms:

a. Increased consumption of coal.
b. Increase of machinery in industry and agriculture.
c. Sudden increase of hydro-electric plants.
d. Rapid development of export trade in manufactured goods.
e. Continual increase of products for railroad service.
f. Continual increase of industrial corporations.
g. Rapid transformation of the methods of agriculture by the introduction of industrial methods.

This development of a capitalist bourgeoisie well explains the fight against the feudal and reactionary attitude of that same bourgeoisie, and the steadily increasing power of the proletariat under the leadership of the socialist party. The latter has not only won an increase of 48,000,000 francs ($9,600,000) for one million of the poorest laborers, but also bestowed on them the much greater boons of civic dignity and personal liberty. This assures a rapid and uninterrupted growth to the proletarian movement of Italy.

Alessandro Schiavi.

(*Translated by E. Untermann*).

The Yellow Peril

[Two years ago a French traveler passed through Chicago and was interviewed by the press of that city. His statements created the greatest interest and were the subjects of editorals for several days. He pointed out the coming supremacy of America in the international market, owing to the trust organization, and greater exploitation of laborers than elsewhere, and called attention to the growing importance of the Orient as the next field of American trade expansion. But none of the papers which printed and commented on this far-seeing ability (which subsequent events has justified) mentioned the fact that he was a socialist and had simply applied the philosophy of socialism to conditions as they then existed. The French traveler was the author of the following article, and he was at that time traveling on a fellowship offered by a wealthy Frenchman to the five men who made the best showing in Economics and Sociology. Of the five scholarships three were captured by socialists, and Comrade Weulersse decided to make a trip around the world and study social conditions. He has returned to Paris but a short time ago, and in response to our request for an article on the situation in the Far East sends us the following, which has also appeared in the "Depeche," a Toulouse daily.—ED.]

THE yellow danger is only a feeble counterpart of the capitalist anarchy that thrives in the west. It is capitalism that has forced open the doors of China. It is capitalism that today undertakes its conquest. New markets are continually necessary for the western overproduction. China is an immense market upon which the greedy international competition throws itself with doubled frenzy.

The capitalist produces only for sale; he seeks only his immediate advantage. The advantage of his customer, the interests of his countrymen, the danger he may be preparing for his own heirs, are minor considerations for him. In the blind commercial struggle, profits, profits must be immediately realized, and on penalty of death the sentimental ideas must be stifled, the distant danger scoffed at. India had opium for sale. The Chinese needed it. It had to be taken in exchange for tea. If by so doing the degeneration of a quarter of the human race was accelerated, so much the worse for the Chinese.

The armed peace of the West did not furnish enough food for for the monstrous appetite of the rifle and cannon factories. Let us sell some to the Chinese! If it is necessary for this purpose to corrupt the mandarins and to waste in useless expenditures the resources of a country which only a wise economy can regenerate—so much the worse for the Chinese. The main thing is that there is work in the factories of America and Europe, and above all, that the stock and share holders realize fat dividends. And if the Chinese should take it into their heads to turn these weapons against the West, against civilization—so much the worse for civilization. Last June a certain great European firm in China engaged in filibustering sent arms to the boxers. And the governments are not inferior to private men in mad and criminal neglect. That is the reason why we have a yellow danger—a military danger in China.

Today the West is engaged in transforming the entire economy of

China with the same blind and dangerous inconsistency! We shall no longer import guns into China, but we shall help the Chinese to manufacture them. And as for other industries, such as spinning, tanning, etc., shall we endeavor to create those that are best adapted to the Chinese consumer? No. If more profits can be realized by ruining the same industries in the West, it will be done. But these peaceful industries will become machines of war —and therefore we are incurring the risk of another yellow danger, an economic Chinese danger!

In order to ruin the industries of the West, a perfected system of exploitation will, if possible, be applied to the Chinese laborer. If means can be found to maintain wages at their lowest level and avoid strikes; if any socio-physiological combination can be found to increase the productivity of the Oriental laborer without raising the cost of his maintenance, the capitalists will not shrink from trying the experiment. And then the prophecy of Mr. d'Estournelles would soon be realized; the starvation of the Western laborer through the enslavement of the Eastern laborer!

Socialism is the remedy. I know very well that at present all socialist parties are unanimous in their unmitigated denunciation of all colonial policy. But I believe that they will soon come to regard colonization as one of the inevitable facts of modern times. They will then no longer confine themselves to denouncing colonial abuses and scandals; they will have to formulate and put into practice in the near future a programme of colonization, of socialist expansion.

Commercial expansion will then be, just as colonization proper, simply a public service. Let us assume for a moment that this policy was carried out and China, recognized as incapable of regenerating herself, divided into protectorates or simply into spheres of influence among the nations of the West. In that case, the time of capitalist filibustering would be past. Every trader would be practically responsible to the laws of his country, and every country to international laws, for any importation of arms into Chinese territory.

In every one of the different spheres of influence, the work of economic transformation would then be carried on systematically from the standpoint of national interests—as it is now, at least in theory, in the colonies—not from that of private or class interests. Care would then be taken not to create over there unnecessarily such industries as would compete with those of the West, but simply to produce for the local market. On the other hand, care would also be taken to establish auxiliary industries that would procure for the production and consumption of the home countries such products and raw materials as only the soil and the climate of the tropics can furnish.

And further—this will be the great novelty—if socialism had not then arisen spontaneously among the Chinese proletariat, the socialist nations of the West would naturally impart the benefits of socialism to them. They would give rise to higher wages and reduction of the hours of labor. Far from reducing them to slaves of the factory, they would bring the condition of the millions of Eastern laborers near the level of that of the Western laborers. The yellow spectre of starvation wages would then wholly disappear.

At the same time the consumptive power of the Chinese masses would be enormously increased. The new Chinese industry could for many years limit its ambition to filling the demand at home. During this period the advent of the laboring masses of the East to economic independence will have further increased their consumptive power to such a degree that the Western industry will no longer suffer from overproduction.

At present two yellow dangers are threatening us: either the closing or the opening of the Chinese door. If it is closed, then the West is in danger of being choked by its own surplus products. If it is opened, the West must fear to be choked by the overproduction of the new Orient. But when the West will be transformed after the socialist ideal, then the East must follow its example. What will then remain of the two great fears that now begin to haunt us vaguely? Then, and then alone, can we practically give China to the Chinese, without fear of an economic or armed invasion!

Against the dangers to which the great capitalist *conquistadores* expose the public health and the peace of Western society, other capitalists who are as blind in their fear as the others are in their hardihood propose a defense: the wildest protectionism. To close your doors against others and to lock yourself in, to make the impossible possible in order to hinder the economic development of the East to the utmost.

We have already shown that such a policy would run counter to the natural evolution of society and how it would endanger the nation that would follow it. But nothing will hold it up to ridicule so well as to carry it to its logical conclusion and to apply it on the largest possible scale.

It is a *yellow danger* to leave China alone and insist that nobody shall touch it. But there is also such a thing as an *American danger* for Europe. There is such a thing as a *German danger* for England and France. What is the remedy against these dangers that are much more certain and imminent than the Chinese danger. Neither England nor France would risk an economic war against Germany. And all Europe combined would take care not to break off the economic relations with the United States.

More still: *Every colony is a danger for the mother country!* We are restless about the spinneries of Shanghai, but some are being built in Haiphong; the laborer of Anam is no less dangerous than the Chinese! How is it that nobody has ever prohibited the industries in the colonies? But some one has thought of it. Mr. Meline has thought of it and so have the owners of the spinneries in Rouen; down with the young industry of Tonkin! Tomorrow the spinneries of Rouen and in the Vosges mountains will no doubt protest against the establishment of a spinnery in Havre, especially if it should be a perfected plant. For would not that be a danger also? *The machine danger!* Every increase of the productivity of human labor at any point of the globe is a danger!

This statement which has only to be carried further in order to show the absurdity it involves, contains nevertheless a grain of truth. It is true; national, colonial and international competition causes losses, failures, and sometimes disasters. It is true: the invention of a machine or of a more economic production by hand may involve a deterioration in the condition of a whole population. And so we are indeed confronted by the shocking question: can general progress take place only at the expense of individual failures, and collective prosperity be realized only through the misery of some classes?

Present society does not dare to answer that question, for its answer is "yes." But the society of tomorrow, socialism, answers "no." It may be advantageous for France that our printed cotton goods are manufactured in Haiphong; in this case some Frenchmen gain what other Frenchmen lose. But it may also be advantageous for France to buy abroad a certain article that is now manufactured in France, so as not to produce unnecessarily and pay dearly for an article that is manufactured and sold cheaper elsewhere; and in order that we may engage in industries that will enable us to produce and sell at good prices.

Besides, the industries and also the agriculture of every country must be in a continual process of transformation. An incessant distribution and redistribution of labor must be maintained between the nations and between the continents. In order that local failures may not be the too precious ransom of these beneficent revolutions, what must be done? Is is necessary and sufficient that the economy of each country be scientifically, that is nationally, organized; that the national solidarity protect all the producers of the country against the eventualities of distant economic evolutions.

In default of a socialistically inspired organization of the Chinese empire that would do away even with the possibility of a yellow danger, the organization of the western nations on socialist principles, or the international organization of socialism between

all of them, is the only reasonable remedy. It will at the same time parry the danger of a capitalist transformation of the far East and that of the capitalist expansion of America.

Socialism insures the nations against the crises of cosmopolitan progress. It insures particularly Europe against the consequences of the development or the rejuvenation of other continents.

Georges Weulersse.

(*Translated by E. Untermann.*)

Mysticism of Our Labor Statistics

THE communication of John M. Day, in the September number of the *Review*, contains a query that should not be overlooked by any socialist, because it touches a subject which, owing to the nature of our statistics, is not satisfactorily solvable, but nevertheless affords ample opportunity of demonstrating the inexorability of capitalist exploitation.

Before coming to the main question let it be stated that in the criticism, "False Prophets vs. False Critics," it was denied that the figures used by Herman Whitaker were correct and that they were not "admitted." Nor was the "outcome" of the statistics given denied, but the conclusions drawn from it objected to. Neither was it the intention to show that the 55.08 per cent given to material "must come out of labor;" but it was clearly stated that: "The smaller per cent of this bulk of material we shall classify as useful labor expended upon the product, taking away the material substratum which is furnished by nature without the help of man."

But John M. Day asks the pertinent question: "Where does the raw material come from?" In want of better evidence than our faulty and misleading statistics it is left to us to reason out. We socialists of course proceed from our established principle that "Labor Creates All Wealth." If in the course of this paper the capitalist should be alluded to it is only with profound respect for him as that which the eyes of classical economy see in him—that is, "a machine for the conversion of surplus value into additional capital." Therefore, we must deal with him consistently as the incarnation of capital, and if it were only for the purpose of drawing the veil from off the mysticism of his doctrines and statistics.

The material substratum, or that which neither capitalist nor laborer produced, but is purely the product of nature, is not owned by the laborer, constitutes that item which, added to the profit of the capitalist enaged in manufacture and in production of raw material, is called capital in various forms. It devolves upon us to determine what constitutes the item called wages in manufacture and production of raw material, and as a natural consequence it follows that the remainder, not paid in wages, is profit, interest, and price for material substratum.

Statistics do not deal with a "particular labor case;" they can deal only with an average. The United States statistician, on the statistics of labor performed in manufacturing, assigns 55.08 per cent to raw material. Thus the machinery and other products are accounted for, and all that remains is "material." We grant for

the sake of argument that the laborer engaged in the production of raw material—mining, sawing wood, fleecing sheep, refining, tending to furnaces and the like—receives as high a percentage of the item called raw material as does the laborer engaged in manufacturing, according to the March Bulletin of the Department of Labor in 1896. This bulletin gives to the laborer in manufactures 20.18 per cent, and it is to be hoped that no objection will be raised if we grant, from the coal miner down to the most unimportant of raw material producer, the liberal percentage of 20.18 per cent. Though we do not here blame the capitalist engaged in both pursuits for pocketing 24.74 per cent multiplied by two, it is nevertheless a fact, adding the price for the material substratum.

20.18 p. c of $55.08 of raw material (produced by laborer)	$11.12
24.74 p. c. of $55.08 of raw material (profited by capital..	13.62
55.08 p. c. of raw material (for material substratum)....	30.34
100 per cent	$55.08
In the production of manufactures (capitalist receives)..	$24.74
In the production of raw material (capitalist receives)....	13.64
The material substratum (produced by nature) added to capital	30.34
Labor receives in the manufacturing process.....	$20.18
Labor receives in raw material production.....	11.12
	$31.30
Total	$100.00

This is granting also that the capitalist, when engaged in the production of raw material, does not profit any more than in manufacture. Now, let us take recourse with our "bible of the working class," and we find: "If a definite quantity of labor, say thirty days, is requisite to build a house, the total amount of labor incorporated in it is not altered by the fact that the work of the last day is done twenty-nine days later than that of the first. Therefore, the labor contained in the raw material and the instruments of labor can be treated just as if it were labor expended in an earlier stage of the spinning process, before the labor of actual spinning commenced."

Thus the labor expended in manufacturing and in production of raw material is homogenous human labor power amounting to $31.30 pay out of every $100 worth of product, the remaining $68.70 are surplus value or fleecings in the shape of imaginary price form. When it is taken into consideration that the imperfection of our statistics compels us to allow a liberal percentage to labor, in order to carry the point, it will not appear to be an extra-

ordinary extravagant statement when stating. "out of every 100 points the laborer scores but 20.18 per cent and the rest counts *almost* entirely against him."....Page 119 Review. The pure surplus value, $68.70, is the liberal pay which the capitalist or capitalists receive for an activity which is very doubtful as to its adding any value to the actual product. Karl Marx says, Book 1, Part 2, Chapter 11: "A certain stage of capitalist production necessitates that the capitalist be able to devote the whole of the time during which he functions as a capitalist—i. e., as personified capital —to the appropriation, and therefore control, of the labor of others, and the selling of the products of his labor."

This, then, is the quality of his genius which is rewarded so nobly and is accountable for the scanty returns to the exertions of labor. In the course of this noble activity it happens that he puts himself exclusively in the possession of the product, by supplying the raw material and selling the necessaries of life, the unavoidable sequence in the process of appropriation. First he buys the labor-power, and when the laborer goes to market for necessaries he finds the capitalist to be the sole owner of capital (means of production) and labor-power spent upon the substratum created by nature. That in the mad struggle for supremacy in the competitive market between the capitalist par excellence and the small, middle-class capitalist the former is benefited, and a small benefit at times accures to the working class, is no reason for rejoicing on the part of the latter. The inexorable law of capitalist accumulation and appropriation demands that those small benefits must in the course of time run into their "proper" channels. It is for this reason that imperfect statistics should be used only to demonstrate a general tendency, and if the statistics of the United States Commissioner of Labor do demonstrate anything they are an undeniable proof that the wage of the laborers engaged in manufacturing have experienced a relative decrease. That the same proof would be obtained if we were furnished with correct statistics relating to the production of raw material falls more inside the pale of reasoning than into that of mere supposition. The condition of the laborers engaged in the production of raw material, compared with the condition of the laborers engaged in manufacture, gives ample reason for such thought. Even Chinatown in the metropolis is a paradise alongside of a mining town where, as "Mother" Jones says, "The wealth of our nation is produced." The material substratum is absolutely void of value, as are cotton and spindle in the factory, unless the labor-power of the laborer transforms it into use-values. In "Senior's Last Hour" (Marx), we find: "It is because his labor converts the cotton and spindles into yarn—because he spins—that the values of the cotton and spindles go over to the yarn of their own accord."

It is the lack of comprehension of the maxim, "Labor creates all wealth," which permits some to be mystified by so-called "investment of raw material and means of production ad infinitum," not thinking of the fact that all capital is surplus value or surplus product and that none of it creates itself of its own accord, but simply by virtue of labor-power lending its helping hand.

In closing, it may be stated that in the previous criticism it was intended to point out the uselessness of applying imperfect statistics for the purpose of proving a conclusion which can only be arived at positively if perfect statistics are employed; therefore, it is admitted without hesitancy that we may only *take for granted* that which lies inside the frame of rational reasoning.

The facts stated by "Mother" Jones and brave souls like her, are telling a more reliable tale than the best statistics now at our disposal.

Carl Pankopf.

The Hero

Hail to the hero!
Decked out in blue, red and gilt, as in war-paint—
Rejoicing like a savage in a long head-feather and gold shoulder fringes—
Proud to commit with these adornments all the crimes for which he would be disgraced and punished as a felon without them,—
Modestly bearing on his breast a star and ribbon which say "I am a hero," as plainly as the beggar's placard says "I am blind"—
Followed by a brass band and bass drum, which screw up his courage at a pitch like the war dance and tom-tom of the Central African and redskin,—
Vain of his manliness in the field while indulging in effeminate quarreling over the honors, at the rate of a month's quarrelling to a half-hour's fighting,—
Admitting that he obeys orders without thinking, and thus proclaiming his complete abdication of conscience and intellect,—
Rushing home from the fray to advertise himself in the magazines at a hundred dollars a page,—
Hail to the hero!

O shade of Cervantes!
Come back and draw for us another Don Quixote.
Prick this bubble of militarism as you pricked that other bubble of knight errantry.
The world yearns for your reappearing.
Come and hail the hero!

Ernest Crosby.

Rhinebeck, N. Y.

In the Matter of Malthus, et al., Bankrupts

L' Economiste Francais, in a late issue, prints an article by Pierre Leroy-Beaulien on "The Stationary Condition of the French Population and the Remedies Proposed." Proceeding from an ultra-Manchester source, the article is suggestive of a comparison with the accepted Malthusian creed of the early days of the century just past. The salvation of the race lay, it was preached, in abstention from bringing children into the world; should civilized mankind fail in the performance of this negative duty, it was to suffer the penalty of increased mortality, and, but for our maudlin sentimentalism, might it not perhaps be both more scientific as well as more reverent, to view it as a benevolent dispensation of the all-merciful Providence, rather than as a penalty? Floods, earthquakes, epidemics, wars and—to bring it up to date—railway accidents and mine explosions, are in reality so many safety-valves of the human race, relieving it from the evils of a congested population.

The advanced nations of the world have to a very appreciable extent followed the Malthusian preachings. The conversion may have been forced by circumstances rather than brought about by moral suasion. However that may be, the conversion is complete, especially in France. And now comes a wail from the house of Malthus, decrying the low birth rate and high death rate as national calamities and going even to the extent of invoking state interference, that great bug-a-boo, as a remedy against depopulation. The bankruptcy of the Malthusian school could not be more complete.

Let us hear the facts. The growth of the French population in the XIXth century is shown by the following figures:

Year.	Population.
1809	27,000,000
1831	32,500,000
1872	36,000,000
1900	38,500,000

The birth rate to 1,000 population fell off as follows:

Year.	Per Cent.
1801	33.1
1831	30.3
1872	26.8
1899	22.3

The birth rates among the other civilized nations are above 30 to 1,000 population, the lowest rates being the following:

England	29.0
Belgium	29.0
Switzerland	29.0
Sweden	27.0

Studied by departments, the French rate is shown to be higher in industrial than in agricultural districts.

However, while in this respect France is at the bottom of the scale among the nations, the same tendency is observable in all advanced countries. These are the figures per 1,000 population fo England and Wales:

1874-1876	35.9
1883-1885	33.4
1897-1899	29.5

In Scotland the rate has, within the last quarter of a century, fallen from 35.5 to 30, in Belgium from 32.9 to 28.9. The more primitive countries, Russia, Hungary, Italy, Spain and Portugal, with a preponderance of rural population, are the only exceptions in Europe.

The author ascribes the phenomenon to the growth of democracy and democratic pride and cites the following figures for Australia:

Periods.	Average birth rate per 1,000 population.
1866-70	39.9
1871-75	37.3
1876-80	35.7
1881-85	35.2
1886-90	34.4
1891-95	31.3
1896-98	27.2

While there is a small preponderance of males over females in Australia (88 females to 100 males), still this is compensated by the higher proportion of people of young age. In some colonies the birth rate is almost as low as in France, viz.:

South Australia	24.5
Victoria	25.8

In New Zealand, the most democratic of all the colonies, the steady fall of the birthrate has been accompanied by a rise of the age of marriage, viz.:

Birth rate:

1881	37.9
1898	25.8

Percentage married below the age of 25:

1882	72.0
1898	59.0

On the other hand, the death rate is higher in France than in any other country, viz.:

France	21.2
England	18.1
Scotland	18.4

The same results could be brought out by comparison with Belgium, Holland and Switzerland. The most remarkable feature about it is the fact that the death rate has no relation to climatic and geographical conditions, being even higher in the mountainous departments than in the unhealthy lowlands on the Mediterranean shore or in the thickly congested Marseilles and vicinity.

It would seem that at least in regard to the death rate the pride of a growing democracy ought not to count for much; nor could it easily be connected with the higher death rate in the mountainous agricultural districts, where the democratic spirit is suppposed to reside *par excellence*, than in the industrial Marseilles, where democratic pride is less conspicuous.

The remedies suggested by the author are interesting. He does not believe that exemption from taxation in favor of heads of large families would be of much avail, since it is obviously cheaper to pay the full tax-bill than to rear an extra supply of children. He would grant exemption from military duty to reservists having four children, but the chief cure consists in including a minimum of three children among the requisite qualifications for appointment to inferior civil-service positions. There are plenty of people, he says, aspiring to those positions; "no doubt," he thinks, "that would decide many among them to procreate with more ardor."

Marxist.

The Banishment of Tolstoi

ONCE or twice in a century some great soul arises who shakes civilization to its center. In custom, mankind are like the waters of a great sea. They are subject to their calms and storms. For awhile the currents will flow smoothly, swept by calm zephyrs, till anon some furious storm will beat upon them and lash the surface into unwonted anger. Unless some heroic Neptune arises who smites the stagnant waters with his trident of authority and agitates them to their very center they become foul and stenchful, resulting in social degradation and moral deformity. The same law prevails in religion, society and politics. The tendency of all usage is to become stereotyped and unelastic, so that when one arises who undertakes to inject a new force into the body politic or the religious order he must needs shatter the entire system before the truth can manifest itself.

As political governments from their primitive stages of despotism and autocratic power have again and again been shattered in order to introduce the freer principles of liberal monarchies and republics founded on the principle of human justice, so have the institutions of religion been time and again smitten by the power of the reformer, who has sought to deliver them from the enthrallment of bigotry and traditional dogma.

'Tis but a few hundred years since England had her Wicliff, Germany her Luther and Italy her Savonarola. And today Russia, that modern political nightmare which tantalizes the dreams of oppressed multitudes, has heard the voice of one who threatens her age-long stagnation with the fury of a shattering tempest. What Luther and Savonarola were to the reformation of the sixteenth century, Count Leo Tolstoi promises to be that of the twentieth century.

This modern and ardent reformer is endowed with all the qualities of those giants of the reformation which enabled them to seize the monster of spiritual deformity and ecclesiastical corruption and cast him from his seat of power. The tyranny of ecclesiastical Rome could not prevail before the uncouth thunders of Martin Luther or the far-seeing prophecies of Savonarola. Neither shall the perverted power, the political usurpation or the ecclesiastical autocracy of the Czar of Russia be able to withstand the keen criticism, the logical acumen, the literary finesse and the religious enthusiasm of Tolstoi, the evangelist of the religion of humanity and the restorer of the true Christ of Christianity.

Tolstoi has been banished, but of what avail is that? Was not Martin Luther anathematized and excommunicated? Savonarola, Melancthon, Erasmus and all the brave souls whose eloquence thundered against the Vatican, were not these unconsciously excommunicated? And yet, when was their voice silenced, their power destroyed? Against the fury of their onslaught, political and ecclesiastical Rome, of four centuries ago, fell groaning and defeated, praying for mercy and restoration. And likewise, before the determined opposition and serious criticism of Count Leo Tolstoi and his coadjutors, the benighted power of all the Russias will fall, tottering to the ground, till from the grave of a buried despotism shall be erected the superstructure of a liberal monarchy, whose humane tendencies shall prophecy that final republic whose blessings shall glorify the world.

Tolstoi is the only one among the royalist reformers of the age whose voice is heard behind the closed doors of secret conclaves and startles the ears of the half-crazed Czar, whose throne is trembling on the mouth of an intermittent crater. That Russia has banished Tolstoi is the beginning of the end of her political despotism. Tolstoi clearly sees that not only his own accursed country but the whole modern world cries for a reformation which shall be comprehensive and complete, affecting not only political institutions, but social, moral and religious, till all mankind shall be uplifted by its beneficient consequences. Tolstoi sees that the accursed political system which binds men as serfs to the soil, as galley slaves to the wheels of whirling machinery, and treats them as worse than cowering beasts of burden, to be scourged and abused by the whims and passions of aristocrats and heartless overseers, cannot be reformed and readjusted to principles of justice and humanity, until that other abusive system which is associated with it —the religious—shall be relieved of its incubus of theological superstition and ecclesiastical despotism. Tolstoi sees that the people will never again enjoy their just rights to the soil until the power of the priest has been destroyed, and men shall learn to think right before they can hope to live right. Tolstoi understands that the craft of the landlord is like that of the priest-craft, dependent upon the authority which traditional ignorance affords it and fearful of the light of that knowledge which shall brighten the paths of men and bless them with the benedictions of peace.

Tolstoi knows that you cannot destroy political injustice until you overcome religious ignorance and dogmatic bigotry. He knows that if men are to be permitted to fraternize in social and industrial relations, to live in such conditions as shall honor the golden rule and prevent avarice and injustice from depriving them of their rightful earnings and the fruits of honorable ambition, then first the autocratic powers of priests must be annihilated;

the insult to their intelligence which a medieval and barbarous religious creed presents must be forever abrogated. He knows that religion must be made free before political conditions can be exalted, and first of all reformations must needs be the enlightenment of the human mind in order that neither priest nor potentate, creed nor code, shall consign the human race to industrial degradation or religious enslavement. Hence, all mankind must today hail Tolstoi, novelist, litterateur, political agitator, religious reformer and social inspirer, as a universal leader, who, himself deprived of the luxuries of inherited wealth, excommunicated for the sake of his ideas, is the true deliverer that points the way to the Pisgah heights of religious liberty and mankind's social enfranchisement.

Henry Frank,
Editor The Independent Thinker.

New York City.

The Charity Girl

By Caroline H. Pemberton, Author of "Stephen the Black," "Your Little Brother James," Etc.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE next morning Julian rose early and took a train that carried him into the interior of Pennsylvania. On the way he looked squarely in the face his determination of the night before. When he shrank from it as quixotic he argued with himself that the unhallowed infatuation from which he now believed himself free demanded this act of expiation. His repentance would be insincere without a more positive result than mere freedom from a sense of guilt; he wanted to punish himself and make his escape into a forbidden paradise an impossibility. He would therefore deliberately assume the highest of moral obligations and make of them a wall of Troy to surround his soul. He believed that he needed such a wall and he planned the building of it with a melancholy satisfaction.

While in the train his thoughts returned to the illusive personality of Marian, for no longer could there be danger in such reflections. The image that he contemplated was an inglorious one; its brightness had fled, and its halo was wanting. Julian had once visited the interior of a Catholic reformatory, and as he recalled the procession which he had witnessed of heavy-eyed, down-cast young women, all wearing the garb of the penitent and the hopeless look of those whom the world has forgotten, he seemed to see Marian standing in the ranks with the Magdalen's coarse white cap covering her bright hair. It was a distressing fancy, but less repulsive than the image of the street woman with whom she had seemed permanently associated the night before. Feeling himself at last free from the spell of Marian's loveliness, and removed to the safe hill-top of a philanthropist's attitude of benevolent contemplation, as far as the street woman was concerned, the vague aspirations of the courtesan now appealed to him as deeply pathetic. Her appeal for more just social conditions stirred within him much uneasiness and dissatisfaction. He regretted that he had made no effort to aid or advise her.

His reflections were cut short by his arrival at a wayside station, where he engaged a buggy and driver and was soon far from the dust and noise of the railroad. The part of Pennsylvania which

he had entered was settled chiefly by a class of religious separatists known as Mennonites.

The driver whom he had engaged entertained him with stories of their quaint customs. They practiced a medieval charity very far removed from the principles of the well organized associations with which Julian was familiar; they fed every hungry traveler that passed by with the religious zeal of the monks of the middle ages; already their neat lanes threatened to become the highways of a great army of tramps. They discarded buttons from their clothing—even the men wearing hooks and eyes on their outer garments—and all ornamentation from their wagons and harness; they even washed each other's feet in the excess of their pious humility.

Trade had not had a chance to sharpen their faculties by long practice in driving hard bargains. They were purely agricultural in their instincts, as simple within as they were without, yet they had prospered. There were no finer farms to be seen than theirs; no more magnificent barns or handsomer cattle or cozier homes.

When Julian alighted for the seventh time to inspect one of his juvenile charges, the dark-haired Mennonite matron who met him on the threshold looked the twin sister of the dame from whom he had just parted down the road. The large, soft, black eyes, the olive skin and long oval face undoubtedly reproduced the sixteenth century type of continental Europe. The long hair, the solemn mein, the quaint, broad-brimmed, flat-crowned hats of the men were suggestive of the days of fierce persecutions. The record of prolonged suffering was still to be read in the gentle mournfulness of their faces, which had not yet acquired the placid, self-satisfied expression of the modern Quakers.

One of the seven small refugees from the horrors of a county poorhouse had been intrusted to a worthy woman who met Julian at her side door. The poorhouse had left its brand upon each one of the seven; in fact, each prodigy was a manufactured article constructed on the plan of perpetual pauperism and warranted not to lose any flavor of original sin or any shade of the besotted boorishness which it is the peculiar privilege of poorhouses to bestow. This Mennonite woman shook her head with a woe-begone air, exactly as six other matrons in Mennonite-land had shaken their heads when questioned about the behavior of the transplanted seven.

"He does not listen," she said, in a plaintive, high-pitched voice, her accent being decidedly German and not what is known as "Pennsylvania Dutch." "I would like him to be a good boy and stay with us, but he will not listen. Yesterday he ran off, and my husband ran behind him a great many miles and brought him back. We did not chastise him because he is little, and my husband is a big man and might hurt him. We asked him with calmness where it was he wanted to go, and he said it was to the poorhouse! We would like a child that will do as other children do—play and talk and love my husband and me. But this boy—why does he want to go to the poorhouse?"

"Because he lived there nine years," explained Julian severely. "He is used to the society of idiots and crazy people. He misses them. I wish you would try him a little longer—I know you are kind people."

"Oh yes, we are kind people," she agreed, innocently, as if kindness were tooo common an attribute to deserve comment. "If he would listen—if Clarence would only listen—we would like him very well—oh yes!" Her countenance brightened at the bare possibility of there coming a day of grace in Clarence's calendar.

"This Mowgli—this American wolf-child," mused Julian as he drove on—"finds even the simplest form of our civilization a succession of man-traps. No wonder he turns and runs—it is just exactly what many of us would gladly do if we dared!" He sighed heavily.

It was now late in the afternoon. The blood-red clouds around the setting sun recalled to his mind a picture in an old Bible of a sacrificial altar. His imagination leaped back to the thought of his renunciation—his self-sacrifice. The words seemed to be written upon the heavens in fiery letters. Both victim and priest would he have to be. He looked around upon the quiet Pennsylvania scenery, now robbed of its leafy bloom and blossom, and more than ever suggestive of soberness of thought. On every side the happy homes of the Mennonite people were preaching powerfully the doctrine of peace through self-abnegation—through the world and its standards passionately forsaken—and obedience to the religious and domestic affections accepted as the whole duty of man.

"How easily might one pursue an ascetic ideal in such a paradise of simplicity as this," thought Julian, and a well-worn quotation from the New England seer passed through his mind: *"It is easy in the world to live after the world's opinion; it is easy in solitude to live after our own; but the great man is he who in the midst of the crowd keeps with perfect sweetness the independence of solitude."*

"But I am not seeking greatness," cried out his fretful spirit, "but only purity of life. Why cannot I find a reasonable standard?"

He drew down his brows and looked sternly at the sunset. He read again in the brilliant rays the word "self-sacrifice." Already the prospect frightened him. "If I could but live here—among these innocent people," he thought restlessly, and reproached him-

self quickly for cowardice in wishing to flee from the world's opinions.

The driver pulled up suddenly before a modest cottage. He announced that it was here that the Mennonite widow lived whom Julian was in search of. It was the home of Martha McPherson and her fatherless babe. Here, then, the great sacrifice was to have its beginning.

CHAPTER XV.

In response to his knock a child's small face peered out and drew back with a shriek at the sight of a stranger. Julian pushed the door open and followed the fleeing child quickly into a plainly furnished sitting-room. The little one buried his face in the folds of his mother's skirts. It was Martha's child, and it was she who rose calmly to meet Julian, her pale eyes staring at him through steel-rimmed spectacles.

Julian surveyed the clinging child with some emotion.

"How changed he is—how changed both of you are!" He had forgotten that it was a baby's business to grow. But Martha's spiritual self seemed also to have grown unaccountably. She extended her hand with an astonishing air of country-bred composure, but disappeared quickly from the room, leaving Julian holding the tiny fist of the small "Thomas James."

The boy was pretty and fair-haired. He studied Julian's face with a gentle gravity. Evidently it puzzled him, for he put up a small hand to Julian's cheek, passing it slowly over his ear. He then shook his head and backed into a corner of the room, where he stood with his gingham pinafore in his mouth, regarding Julian dubiously.

A soft tap on the door diverted his attention. The door opened to admit a tall rustic wearing the costume of the Mennonites. His long black hair, beneath a shovel-shaped felt hat, reached almost to his shoulders. He carried a long riding whip and wore high boots in which he trod so heavily that the thin planks creaked with his weight. His clothes were severely plain, of cheap homespun, and splashed with mud. His face was beardless, but rough and weatherbeaten; he had a long, straight nose and great black, gentle eyes.

No sooner had the newcomer advanced well into the room than the child, with a scream of delight, ran and flung himself into his arms. The Mennonite lifted the boy high into the air and surveyed him with a smile of grave sweetness. He then sat down with the child on his knee. After saluting Julian he became absorbed in contemplation of the child. Julian observed the pair in silence. There was evidently great love between them.

Martha came in and took her stand behind the Mennonite's chair; no greeting passed between them and Julian wondered if he were a member of the household.

But now the widow entered and hastened to welcome Julian with confused apologies.

"It's good you've come. Oh, yes, we're glad to see you come, but there is a great deal to tell. Perhaps you will get angry with me for not telling you sooner, but none of us do write good enough to say so much in a letter. Oh, yes, *he* can write; he's a good scholar, Ephraim is, but his fingers get stiff with the cold of the reins. He drives the stage from White Horse to Bird-in-Hand every day in the week."

"Twice a day," corrected Martha.

"And he's been mail carrier here for ten year and more; ain't that so, Ephraim?"

Ephraim nodded, but Martha corrected her again—"Twelve year, mother."

"Well, that's what I said—twelve's more than ten, according to arithmetic." She took breath hurriedly and went on with signs of increasing nervousness.

"He has a house, too, Ephraim has, near the White Horse village; it has got five rooms. He owns it all to himself and ten acres around."

"Why, there's nearly eleven acres, mother, but there's no more than four rooms to the house, without you count the woodshed." The subject was too serious to be treated with inexactness.

"Well, I guess you'll make me out a story-teller next! Is not the woodshed as good as a room when it has both the doors and the windows?"

"He put them in himself," observed Martha softly, as she patted her boy's curls.

"Yes, yes! He put them in himself," repeated the widow, brightening considerably. "He's handy with his hands, Ephraim is, ain't that so, Ephraim?"

Ephraim nodded.

"He can build a house or a barn, and he can plough a field and raise grain; he owns a reaping machine, too."

"He lets it out in summer," added Martha, "and gets good pay for it."

"Ephraim gets good pay for all things—that he does; everyone will tell you that. You can ask all along the road from White Horse to Lancaster and you will hear no word spoken against Ephraim here."

"That's the truth, mother," agreed Martha, with an air of happy finality. She leaned both elbows on the back of Ephraim's chair.

Julian looked from one to the other. Was there any point to

this story of Ephraim and his incomparable virtues? Something more must be coming.

"I don't know but what Ephraim acts as if he were fond of children," Julian observed slowly, with an easy assumption of rustic placidity; its effect was reassuring.

The widow clasped her hands.

"Ah! He is so kind and so good—just like the Saviour does he like little children. He loves the child, Thomas James, as much as I do. He will make himself a good father to the boy. Oh, yes! And if he has his way he will make a good husband to our Martha here."

"A husband?" Julian looked up with deepening interest.

"I will tell you—Ephraim is no talker—I will tell you how it is come to be done. Well—it's not done yet, but it's going to be, with your consent and your blessing—and the blessing of the Heavenly Father. It was this way. The little Thomas James fell sick about three month back—Oh, yes! A very sick child he was. We put onions on his stomach and I made him tea from three kinds of herbs, and we got the Hoo-doo woman to come, and she cut off a piece of his hair and his finger nail and buried them with a prayer; and she laid her hands on the boy three times; but he got no better, and eat his food he would not. We sent for the doctor that lives a mile across the fields, but his medicine did him no good. He said the Hoo-doo woman had hurt the child, which we knew was a wicked lie, and we told him so to his face. Then one day Martha had a bad dream, and she fell to crying all day about the child. Then she took it in her head that the doctor at the White Horse might cure him, for the folks speak good of him behind his back and everywhere else; so she goes to the store and leaves word for the stage to call for her and the baby by the next morning."

The widow stopped and looked hard at Ephraim, as if desiring him to take up the narrative, but with a gesture he signified his wish for her to proceed. She went on with cheeks glowing and eyes sparkling.

"Ephraim being the stage driver, he heard the sick child was to take the long cold ride, and him out o' doors for so long and his mother so sad over him, so over he brings with him a great shawl that once belong to *his* mother, and a hot brick for the feet of Martha to keep her warm also. Oh, yes! He was good to Martha and the child when he took them to the White Horse!" She looked at the Mennonite, who said nothing.

"So Martha, so full of sorrow with her trouble, heavy in her heart—Ephraim knew all about that from the folks around here." She looked at him again, and he nodded assent. "She sat herself down by the side of him with Thomas James in her arms. There

she sat, holding her boy like this and her head down so." She folded her arms and bent her head over an imaginary chid, glancing at Ephraim. who assumed a slightly different posture with an air of having corrected an important detail.

"Oh, yes—that was the way she sat; I was forgetting! She spoke no word on the road, and Ephraim he looked far away from her; but he covered her in warm, and he made his horses go faster than they ever did go before. They got there safe, and found the doctor, and he told Martha the child was not to live long. That was what he said, but he wanted she should come to him two times the week with the child for to get the treatment and the medicine; and when Martha got back to the stage and sat herself down again by the side of Ephraim she was crying for the fear of losing her child. She was crying hard. And Ephraim he looked now at Martha after he had covered her in so warm and so good; and he looked again; and when he looked at her now for the third time—only the third time—it was as I tell you—his heart was filled with compassion. It was filled with compassion for her and the child! I have told the Lord's truth, Ephraim?"

The Mennonite inclined his head to indicate that he was satisfied. She went on with tender deliberation:

"Martha she looked up and saw the compassion in the eyes of Ephraim, and she was pleased that he had not been bold to speak to her. Is that not so, Martha?"

"He acted the part of a modest behaved man with me," said Martha, looking around proudly at Julian, "and he saw that I behaved like a modest girl every time—in spite of my trouble—that's what he said."

Ephraim corroborated this statement fully by nodding twice.

"Yes—Oh, yes! Every time!" cried the widow eagerly; "and it was many times she went with him to the doctor, and all the times it was just the same!"

"Until I spoke unto her," said the Mennonite, opening his lips for the first time to pronounce these words in a deep, gutteral voice and leaning forward while he looked earnestly at the widow.

"Yes, yes!—until you spoke unto her! And in the beginning you spoke just three times. The first time you said the boy she held in her arms was worthy of a good mother; and the second time you said you had a dream like that the child was to get well—and Martha believed it was a true dream, for she knew Ephraim was a good, religious man. Then you said for the third time that the child was fair enough to have a good father—as well as to have a good mother."

"Two times I spoke that," corrected Ephraim, holding up two fingers.

"Yes, two times, Ephraim, in the same words always; and Mar-

tha came home and told me every word as you said it. I knew the Lord was working in your heart, but to Martha I said nothing that would matter."

"You said that he was a man of a kind heart—and full of grace—that was all you said, mother, and I thought nothing until Ephraim——"

"Until Ephraim spoke one cold, cold day, when the rain was falling and he was more full of compassion than ever—Ephraim spoke to Martha: 'Folks say your child has no father; is that the truth before the Lord?' And Martha looked at him and she says: 'It is the truth; I am both his father and his mother!'"

"Then says Ephraim, in a kind voice, 'He has a Father in Heaven.' So the tears came fast into Martha's eyes for *that*. She could not answer Ephraim all for a moment."

"No, not all for a moment," repeated Martha, speaking quickly, with a tremor in her voice. "But soon my voice come to me, and I said that I loved my boy just twice as much because he had no father on earth; and I kissed him. Then Ephraim says: 'Let me kiss him for the sake of his Father in Heaven.' So I let Ephraim kiss him. Then he says: 'It is not fair for you to have to love him for two.' And I said the child must have the love. And he says: 'I will love him up to the half that you love him.' And I—what more did I say, Ephraim?"

"You said, sorowful, that no one but a father could do that. Then I told you right there that I his father would be. But your voice shook when you began for to speak the answer, and all I did hear with mine ears was to come in—to come into this house; so in come I, and led you by the hand to *her*," pointing to widow.

"Yes, and they did not need to speak the word, for I understood!" cried the widow. "I saw what was in their eyes—the love of the one for the other, and the child running up to the two of them! It was a happy day!" Ephraim kissed the child on the forehead.

"And I will become Amish," Martha declared, "and wear the Amish dress."

"Not Mennonite, but Amish," explained Ephraim; "that is to be like unto myself."

"Go get the dress and show the gentleman how it will become you to look when you are once married," said the widow. Martha obeyed quickly, and returned clad in the severely plain costume of the stricter branch of the Mennonites; a white kerchief was crossed over her bosom and a flat white cap covered her young head.

It was not a bridal costume, but the happiness in Martha's eyes made up for the sombreness of her attire. Her young face was almost pretty. Her grey eyes beamed merrily through her spectacles. She smiled fearlessly upon Julian, then caught up her child and kissed him extravagantly.

"He has brought to thee a husband," whispered the widow, in quaint German.

"And to me a good wife—so shall she be by my side when the Lord Jesus has come here for the second time," said Ephraim, in solemn tones, sitting down heavily beside Julian and looking intently at him. Martha and the widow hushed their voices and the little one's prattle and sat down quickly with their hands clasped before them. Their faces suddenly put on the expression that people wear in church. They waited in reverent silence for Ephraim to proceed.

"For the second time," he repeated slowly, "but that is not so long away. It has been told to me in the night how that the Lord is to come soon—immediately soon—both the rich and the poor will He judge. But first, I tell you," holding up a thick forefinger, "it is to the poor first that He will come—first, before all the rest."

"Ephraim here has hearkened always to the voice of the Lord—that is why the truth is to him revealed—even to him before the ministers," whispered the widow to Julian. "When the Lord wills it he can speak good."

"Why will He judge the poor first?" asked Julian. "Are their sins heavier than the others?" Ephraim shook his head.

"Not the sins of them, but their burdens are the heavier. It is for this that He is to come so soon. For now we do live in the last watch. And the Lord Jesus will soon come to take into His hands the governments of the world, and with His hands He will make over those governments, so that it will no longer be that two, three—a dozen of men—will make the many thousands of dollars, and all the other men look unto those men for the day's work, so that they can buy bread for their children—a little bread for the one day only! No! The Lord Jesus Christ will make those rich men to work and the poor He will make to work—but the pay—it will be the same pay for the one as for the other! This is what was told unto me of nights."

"I trust He will not forget the wicked cities," said Julian, surprised at hearing from a simple countryman this new version of the street-walker's socialist programme.

"To the wicked cities He will come, rest assured!" The eyes of the Mennonite flashed darkly, his hands clenched on his knees. "I will tell you how it is to be done with those wicked cities. The Lord Jesus will come and His winnowing fan He will bring in His hand, and He will raise His hand *so*, and all those cities will He scatter to the four winds of His earth! He will scatter the cities and the people will flee—and flee before Him, as do the hares in a wind storm!"

"But all are not equally guilty, my friend; will He not remember the poor people in our cities?"

"Said I that the Lord will destroy those cities? No, I said it as it was told unto me; I said He will scatter them. Scattered they will be like the leaves when once they have fallen from the tree! The people will be scattered and scattered, and forth they will go into the country, where no cities are. For the Lord Jesus will drive them forth like leaves from the tree! And they will build them new homes in a country like unto this. But also the rich, they will be scattered even as the poor, and they will no more call unto the poor and say, *'Come, work for us for a little money—as little as we choose to give—lest ye starve!'* For all will work together for the same pay and much happiness will come—aye, and to the rich, for they will find peace in hearts—and deep happiness to Martha and me will come, if we do but abide in the faith; and to thee, and to all the world will come love and peace! I have said it as the Lord hath told me."

When Ephraim finished he wore the look of one who has done exactly as he is bidden and is content—having no responsibility—beyond obedience. Julian, rising to take his leave, clasped the enthusiast's hand warmly.

"I like you and your religion. I am glad to leave Martha in your hands. Is it not a good thing that the Lord's winnowing fan has driven her forth already from the wicked city?"

"Yes, it is good. All the signs pointed to the Lord's coming again soon, and one of the first signs was she."

"Yes, yes!" assented the widow, looking with cheerful approval at Martha. "I said it was the beginning of the Lord's work when I laid my eyes for the first time upon Martha here, for it was after I had heard the Lord's prophecy by the tongue of Ephraim, and I was looking about me for a sign."

"I was driven forth often enough before," explained Martha, clasping her hands thoughtfully before her, "but it was different this time. I had my child with me, and it was the Lord drove me forth."

"Like Hagar in the wilderness came she here—with the child fast in her arms," said Ephraim softly. He sat down again, spreading his hands on his knees, and motioned to Julian to sit beside him. After studying the floor carefully for a moment he said:

"I tell you it is in the mind of the Lord Jesus to bring nearer the markets to our people here. They go far to sell their hay and wheat in the city, but when the Lord comes He will bring the markets to the farmers, and every man to his neighbor will sell what he has. This is what I behold is yet to come. Is it not a good thing?"

He looked with eager simplicity at Julian, as if to note the effect of this striking proof of the Lord Jesus' commercial wisdom.

"Isn't it written," asked Julian, as he rose a second time to go, "that the children of this world are wiser in their generation than the children of light?"

"That is why He is to come for the second time. Ah, yes, the children of this world are wise—much too wise! agreed the Mennonite, in no wise disconcerted.

Julian departed, secretly rejoicing that there had been no moment when he could have imparted to Martha the sad fate of Tommy and Jimmy. She would have to learn the truth some day, but now that her cup was running over with a new happiness he would leave her to the full enjoyment of it.

(*To be continued.*)

SOCIALISM ABROAD

Professor E. Untermann

FRANCE.

The two "unities" resulting from the Lyons congress have started a ferment in the ranks of the French socialists. Kindred elements of one party are continually seeking kindred elements in the other party. The most important transmigration is that of a section of the Blanquists of the Cher department to the Union Socialiste, so that there will be two socialist tickets in that department—to the advantage of the capitalist candidate. On the other hand, the autonomous federation of the Yonne department has informed the General Committee of the Union Socialiste that "the participation of a socialist in the Cabinet must come to a speedy end." Unless it does, the federation "will dissolve all relations with the General Committee and make such use of its autonomy as seems best for the general welfare of the party."

Millerand's position is very unpleasant just now, and he finds little sympathy among the class for whom he works in good faith. The Guedists denounce his pension bill for aged laborers as an attempt to deceive the people. Lafargue writes in *Le Petit Sou:* "The project does not proclaim the right of old laborers to live, but simply imposes on all laborers, young and old, the obligation to pay a new tax." *Le Petit Sou* declares: "A party like ours cannot distrust those too much for whom socialism is only a means of elevating themselves." The visit of the Czar to Paris adds new troubles to Millerand's old ones. "We are neither inquisitive nor bad," writes the Belgian *Peuple*, "but we should like to see what attitude Millerand, who still calls himself a socialist minister, will assume in saluting the autocrat who in violation of his platonic demonstrations assassinates the right and does violence to the conscience." The general committee of the Socialist party issued a strenuous protest against the policy of a cabinet that invites the Czar to a military review, immediately after the horrible butcheries that have decimated the manual and intellectual proletariat of Russia," and called on the representatives of the party to refuse all credits for the Czar's reception on penalty of being dishonored in the eyes of the proletariat.

Le Mouvement Socialiste shows that during the last ten years Russia has made loans to the amount of 127,634 million francs. Of 439,966,000 francs subscribed in 1889, 406,493,500 francs came from Paris, and of 406,871,000 francs loaned in 1890 Paris furnished 158,476,500 francs. "It is certain," says *Le Mouvement Socialiste*, "that an economic motive is at the bottom of the Czar's trip. Every socialist in France will protest against this new loan that will serve to re-enforce the police and government machine of Czarism." Capitalist papers ridicule the idea of an "economic" motive of the Czar's trip, pointing out that "political" reasons of sufficient strength are given through the fact that France needs an ally against the triple alliance of Germany, Austria,

and Italy. But the same papers told us only recently that the triple alliance was crumbling to pieces on account of Germany's excessive tariff, and that the relations between France and Germany were improving. A glance at the map of China shows us that an alliance of Russia to the West, France in the South and Germany in the North would just now be very valuable for Russia against its old foe, England. And Prince Uchtomsky, one of the cronies of the Czar and an acknowledged authority on China, openly advocates such an alliance. You see, no economic motive whatever, pooh, pooh!

The quarrel with Turkey has revealed the fact that the Sultan kept a secret police organization in Paris for the purpose of tracking the "Young Turks" in that city. And now the socialists want to know what kind of an organization the Tsar is maintaining in the French capital, in which a monument was recently erected to the socialist Victor Considerant and dedicated—by the minister of war.

The progress of socialism is unremitting. Bouveri, the doughty socialist mayor of Monteeau-les-Mines, was elected to the Chamber of Deputies by 11,815 votes out of 21,191. Comrade Lavigne of the Parti Ouvrier Francais urged that candidates of the party be put in the field in every one of the 589 legislative election districts of France. The congress of labor exchanges provided funds to assist unemployed laborers in their search for work and pay their traveling expenses. Means were also devised to bring the socialists into closer relations with the soldiers in the army by opening reading rooms with free stationery and stamps for the latter. If direct intercourse between labor exchanges and soldiers is too difficult, then amicable relations are to be maintained by inviting the soldiers into the families. A new co-operative, l'Union, was opened at Lille on Sept. 14th. The referendum on the general strike of the miners in the coal basin of the Allier decided with 1,299 against 104 votes and 836 abstentions in favor of the measure.

GERMANY.

Cling—ling—ling! The curtain rises on the great and popular variety show "Modern Germany." In the background of the stage Billy the Heavenly on a second-hand throne, engrossed in the all-important task of growing a new style of whiskers. Martial music is heard all through the performance. Enter protestant junker, clerical industrial and Jewish banker; Lackey brings champagne and select Vuelta Abajo cigars. Enter proletarian in dirty overalls, nibbling a dry crust and carrying a bundle of "Vorwarts" under his arm. Billy: "Unpatriotic tramp! Get out!" Proletarian looks at him over his shoulder, takes a chair at the other end of the stage and begins to read "Vorwarts."

Junker (drinking): "Donnerwetter! Beastly life! Must double, treble, quadruple taxes on agricultural products." Billy: "First swallow my canal project!" Proletarian (reads): "Revenue taxes on agricultural products involve extra expenses for bread, meat, bacon and vegetables for Prussian army amounting to 10,925,460 marks per year; oats for horses, 6,716,000 marks more per year; total increase of expense for army through proposed tariff, 17,641,460 marks per year. This excludes maintenance of reserves and landwehr men on duty several weeks per year. It excludes, furthermore, fats, canned goods, skins, leather. Including these, the total increase will be 20,000,000 marks. Whence will this money come?" Billy: "Rats." Proletarian (reads): "Are the soldiers to receive short rations and be still worse fed than heretofore? Or are new extra taxes to be added to the burden of the German people?" Junker: "Idiot! Increased revenue, more money public treasury to pay extra expenses." Proletarian: "Pray, did not the Prime Minister expressly promise

that the surplus realized through the new revenue taxes should serve to provide for the widows and orphans of the lower classes? Do you class soldiers under this head?"

Industrial (at the top of his voice): "I want higher duties on raw materials and industrial products. Production one-third restricted in coal mines because demand low"—— Proletarian: "He has to undersell the foreign market and force the prices up at home in order to raise funds for a new country residence." Industrial (howling): "The iron industry received 13 million marks' worth of orders less this year." than last, and the Dortmund 'Union' pays no dividends this year." Banker: "Ah, but the war in China greatly increased our Hamburg trade with China." Proletarian (reads): "Khaki export to China: beer 849,000 marks, wine 370,000 marks, champagne 81,000 marks, rum 21,000 marks, cognac 117,000 marks; total 1,538,000 marks. In spite of this elevating influence of the Khaki expedition on the liquor trade of the home country the export to China for 1900 is only one million more than in 1899. The imperial order forbidding all public festivals and music during the period of mourning for the late empress Frederick throws 20,000 men out of employment for several weeks."

Messenger: "The Bank of Leipzig suspended payment!" Banker (collapsing): "Ach Himmel!" Proletarian (reads): "Receipts of 'Vorwarts' for one year, 317,934 marks; expenses, 291,788 marks; surplus, 26,146 marks. In the expenses are included 20,000 marks sent to Austria for assistance of socialist elections; 67,377 marks assigned to socialist press of Germany; 10,000 marks to 'Het Volk' in Holland; 4,800 marks to 'Volksrecht' in Zurich, Switzerland; 2,600 marks to 'Vorwarts' in Cracow." Second Messenger: "Financial editors of leading papers arrested for accepting hush money from dishonest bank directors. The Bank of Dresden has failed!" Industrial (collapsing): "Allmachtiger!" Proletarian (reads): "Co-operative 'Production' in Hamburg, after two years of existence, is building its own house with store, restaurant, 16 suites of furnished rooms, stable, wagon shed and storage rooms. Increase of membership in one year from 2,859 to 7,157. Sales in 5½ months from 163,748 marks to 940,584 marks. Socialist co-operatives doing well all over the country. Progress of co-operatives in Saxony from 1896 to 1899: membership from 118,326 to 179,843; sales from 31,139,434 marks to 46,542,910 marks; employes from 1,518 to 2,140." Messenger: "Extra! Extra! 32 protest meetings against taxes on grain held in one single day in Dresden and suburbs! 700,000 pamphlets against this usury distributed in Berlin during one day! Thousands attend protest meetings all over the country." Junker: "Verflucht!" (collapses.). Proletarian (reads): "Alleged murderer of Lieutenant Colonel von Krosigk sentenced to death in spite of insufficient evidence. Petty officers who gave testimony favorable to accused notified that government will not enlist them for another term. Some of these men have served from 8 to 11 years, and will now lose all the benefits of 12 years' service that were their incentive for serving over the regular 2 years' term. Sentences of socialists in 1900-1901 for "political" crimes two years of confinement, 32 years 11 months and 2 days' prison and 26,900 marks in fines. Tyranny in the army, oppression of civilians." Billy: "Yes, I'll show you that I am *It*." Proletarian (aside): "Whom the gods wish to destroy they first make mad." Messenger: "Extra! Extra! Socialist candidate in Friedberg (Hesse) elected for municipal councillor. Socialist vote in Memel-Heydekrug and Dortmund almost doubled! Socialists discover election frauds in Baden!" *It* collapses. Proletarian exit, whistling: "So leben wir, so leben wir, so leben wir alle Tage!" Curtain drops and reveals the

following extract from the "Vorwarts" on McKinley's assassination: "If it is true that the aggressor has confessed himself an anarchist and declared that he did only his duty, then we are confronted by a deed the criminality of which is only surpassed by its idiocy. Nobody but a complete imbecile could be the victim of the mad idea that the death of President McKinley would bring about any change in the political and social development of the American commonwealth. The mistaken attempt to transform social conditions by the removal of a single individual becomes so much more appalling when this individual has been entrusted with the administration of public affairs by a majority of the nation, and when that individual, as in McKinley's case, was by no means the driving and deciding factor in determining the form of the national policy, but only the expression of the arrangement of social forces for the time being." Criminal statistics in Prussia: In 18,049 cases of criminals 16,355 earned less than 900 marks per year; 15,906 crimes against property were the cause of the last arrest and 14,121 crimes against property the cause of the first arrest; 6,086 criminals were below 18 years of age when they committed their first crime and in 8,603 cases the father, or mother, or both parents, died before the criminals were 18 years old; 4,930 criminals were drunkards, 3,085 tramps, and 25 per cent of the females were prostitutes; 10,080 had received insufficient or no education, and 94 per cent of the whole number are liable to relapse. Criminality is greatest where employment is scarce and *smallest where the socialist vote is strongest.*

BELGIUM.

Reaction and progress are strenuously active in their preparation for the battle royal over universal suffrage, each side in its own peculiar way. There is the coercive power of the state, ruthlessly wielded in the interest of the ruling class, here enlightened intelligence calmly marching toward liberty.

The Attorney General requested all public authorities to inform him of any violation of the laws of July 20th, 1831, and March 25th, 1891. If any socialist only brush the provisions of these laws in agitating for universal suffrage, or if the socialist press publishes any articles or pamphlets which "seem criminal to the authorities," woe to the offenders! *Le Peuple*, like a faithful watchman, at once sounds a note of warning. The speakers and writers will once more be dogged! Be careful, friends. Look out for provocations! No unnecessary suffering! Remember that courage starts an enterprise, but discretion brings success!"

The government tries to increase the army by clandestinely adding 12,500,000 francs to the war budget—a *socialist officer* exposes the abominable condition of the privates' barracks, messes and camps. The minister of war promotes twenty of his favorites to the rank of brigadier of gendarmes over the heads of 150 well qualified members of the corps—the *socialist gendarmes* of Brussels show that a certain manufacturer, assisted by the minister of war, foists his old stock of aluminum canteens on the army at 10 francs apiece. Three thousand gendarmes would gladly miss these "useless incumbrances." An appropriation of 12,000 francs is assigned to the budget of the minister of war for the purpose of increasing the salaries below 3,000 francs—a *socialist member* of the war department publishes proofs that the salaries above 3,000 francs were increased instead. A clerical journal ridicules the "honest bourgeois who dreams of a country without a strong army"—and the liberal *Journal de Bruxelles* replies: "The majority of the clericals content themselves with an army composed

exclusively of workingmen. They do not see that these children of the working class will be so much less disposed to defend the wealth of others, as those others don't want under any condition that their own children go to the barracks and camps to learn the art of war." The public school budget is proportionately as high as the German—Vandervelde nevertheless shows that 100,000 children between the ages of 10 and 15 never gain access to school, and that the average yearly attendance is only 196 instead of 249 days. Over 100,000 children between the ages of 6 and 11 attend school, but only 36,000 aged 11 to 14 years remain. Only 25 per cent of all the school children go through a full course of primary instruction, and the attendance is smallest where wages are lowest.

The presumptive heir to the throne refuses his patronage to the National Anti-Tuberculosis League, the clericals vote against appropriations for fighting this disease that carries off 20,000 Belgian workingmen per year, 12,000 of whom are between the ages of 20 and 30. All this is grist for the socialist mill, and *Le Peuple* writes: "The government augments the already considerable subsidy for the amelioration of the equine race by 100,000 francs per year.....As to the protection of the human race against diseases like tuberculosis that decimate and destroy the laboring clases, the government does not care.....It is always the same policy of the ruling classes, expressed by Napoleon long ago: 'Take good care of the horses, for they cost us much money. As for the soldiers, we can get them for nothing'.....There is no public peace, gentlemen of the capitalist class, as long as your political laws sanction injustice in favor of your class, as long as those laws constitute a continual injury against the working class."

Some socialists still fear that universal suffrage for women will result in bringing fuel to the clerical fires, especially in rural districts. But the city industries employ 29,000 women more than does agriculture. Besides the co-operatives of the *socialist farmers* are very active and teach eminently practical lessons. And such incidents as the inauguration of the new Maison du Peuple in the little country town of Ninove offer exceptional opportunities for ever new demonstrations in favor of "U. S. and R. P.," universal suffrage and the republic.

The inquiry started by the International Bureau in Brussels for the purpose of ascertaining whether an international movement against the Boer war could be inaugurated has brought negative answers from all sides. Hyndman holds that at present all attempts of the International Congress to stop the war would be fruitless. Singer, Auer and Kautsky of Germany, Ferri of Italy, Jaures and Guesde of France and Fauquez of Switzerland have given similar replies.

DENMARK.

The Scandinavian Trade Union Congress, held in Copenhagen last month, heard the following interesting reports: *Denmark*: At the end of 1900, the socialist party was represented by 14 deputies, 2 senators, 556 communal councillors, 56 municipal councillors, 74 members of the tax committee. Copenhagen alone has 17 socialist councillors. Forty-three thousand socialist votes were cast, and in Copenhagen $3,000 for the election expenses were collected in one single day. *Socialdemokraten* has a daily circulation of 45,000 copies, and the aggregate daily sale of socialist papers amounts to 1,000,000 copies. *Socialdemokraten* advocates the formation of a Pan-German coalition of workers as a step toward the International union. *Sweden*: 1,150 unions, with 67,000 members, are in existence; 41,000 members belong to the national federation of unions. The iron workers and typos do not belong to the national federation—18 union papers. The socialist party counts 44,-

100 members in 75 localities—but three-fourths of them are as yet excluded from suffrage. Only one socialist deputy, Branting, in the legislature, elected by the help of the small traders. An active agitation for universal suffrage is carried on, and a national congress for this purpose will be called as soon as the new election bill will have been before the legislature. Not only socialist papers and organizations are invited to agitate for this congress, but all who advocate universal suffrage. If the bill is not accepted a general strike will be called, and Denmark and Norway will lend assistance. A special fund, after the model of the Belgian, has been created. The socalist party issues three dailies and five weeklies. The co-operative movement is rising; 20 co-operatives have formed a national organization, in which the socialists are participating. *Norway*: About twenty thousand laborers are unionized, half of them belonging to a national federation. There are about 150 socialist organizations, 49 of them in Christiana with 5,760 members, 101 in the country with 5,161 members. At the last Strothing elections 7,013 votes were cast by the party, 6,066 more than in 1897; the total electoral vote of the country being 230,000, the socialists polled about 3 per cent. Universal suffrage for all male citizens at least 25 years of age was obtained in 1890 through the influence of the socialists, and female suffrage for municipal elections.

The congress advocated the formation of a general committee for obtaining information on business crises, strikes, lack of employment, etc., and a meeting of all trade union secretaries at every international congress for the purpose of studying methods of organization. The following resolution on the farmer question was adopted: "We do not wish to attach too much importance to the creation of a system of small farms. The most natural principle is that of production on a large scale.....But we shall continue to organize the small farmers and the farm laborers, economically and politically.

The Landsthing's elections in Denmark resulted in the election of 416 liberals and socialists; only 41 conservatives retained their seats. The majority of the liberals acknowledge that the victory is due to the socialists who have imparted to the liberals "a thorough understanding of economic questions." A few bourgeois individuals of the liberal party, however, circulated a manifesto thanking the king—for governing the people over thirty years against the will of the people and their representatives. "Of course," writes *Socialdemokraten*, "that manifesto does not in the least express the sentiment of the people, no, not even of the liberals."

SPAIN.

The locals of the Socialist party and of the labor federation in Bilbao issued a joint protest against the outrages of the authorities against the laborers of Sevilla, La Coruna and other places; against the employers who refused admission to their factories to the recently appointed factory inspectors of the reform society; against the mayor who in violation of the law omitted to notify said society of the conduct of the employers and to take measures to enforce the law.—*La Lucha de Clases* denounces the bull fights as "a savage spectacle, unworthy of our civilization," and an "opportunity for the bourgeois to squander the money wrenched from the exertions of the working class."—The Typographers' Union of Bilbao has gained a raise of 50 cents (Spanish) per day in the printing office of the Order of the Holy Heart of Jesus (Jesuits).—Active locals of the socialist party are stirring in all the large towns of the land.—The Bilbao comrades kept vacation schools and colonies for their children during the summer.—*El Socialista, Madrid*, censures the

ill-advised general strike of the building trades in Gijon: "Its failure was very natural. Unless the laborers wished to weaken the important labor movement of that town by bloodshed, there was no ground for such a brainless enterprise. The employers are to-day very strong in resources, hence it behooves the laborers who are still feebly organized to prepare well and give unity to their movement above all other things."

ITALY.

The silk industry in the plain of the Po river is being ruined by speculators.—The "Reichspost" correspondent writes: "The farmer who lives and works on his own sod is a rare specimen along the Po. The best part of the fertile land is in the hands of the great feudal lords and money barons. Some of them carry on agriculture with the brutality characteristic of the monopolist, while the majority rent their holdings to small colonists. In order to raise the funds for the high rent, the tenant exploits the land and his laborers, until the productivity of the most fertile soil sinks and he can no longer endure the yoke of the hard and tricky contracts. Count Jacini declares in his official "Report on the Situation of Farmers in Italy" that their position is worse than that of the slaves of ancient Rome.—The socialists of Milan issued a new organ, *La Lega dei Contadini* (The Farmers' League).—Sixty-six locals of the socialist party have approved of the tactics advocated by the National committee and the deputies (see Int. So. Rev., Aug., 1901), and only 10 locals are opposed to them.

ARGENTINE.

The socialist party held its fourth congress on July 7th; 36 delegates from 21 locals took part. A strong class conscious movement is developing. The comrades have peculiar difficulties to contend with, as shown by the following resolution clipped from the *Vanguardia*: "The question of religion has inflamed many comrades who lose sight of the fundamental questions and devote themselves to matters of minor importance. The congress regrets that such questions arise in the party and proclaims emphatically the freedom of every one to hold his own religious views. In order to avoid such questions in the future, the congress recommends that party offices be only entrusted to persons who practice no religion."—The following article with a woolly West flavor was retained in the by-laws: "No member of the party shall take recourse to arms in settling personal disputes on penalty of expulsion from the party."

SWITZERLAND.

The socialists in Bern held mass meetings protesting against the reactionary policy of the government using police and militia against its own citizens in the interests of capitalists. The *Vorwarts* correspondent writes: "Everybody feels that this mass protest is not sufficient, but only a warning to the ruling classes, and that a new activity for the further extension of the labor movement and the creation of a strong, aggressive and uncompromising social democratic party must now begin."

JAPAN.

What is the matter with the Japanese judges? They acquitted Comrade Katayama, who was arrested for publishing the manifesto of the socialist party in the *Labor World*, on the ground that the manifesto contained only social and political doctrines "that are in no way contrary to the laws of the country." The public prosecutor has appealed against the decision. In the meantime the capitalists had better "see" the judges.

HOLLAND.

Two more socialists sent to parliament, Comrades Hugenholtz and Helsdingen. That makes 9 in all, and Troelstra left out in the cold—to stir up the animals.

NEW ZEALAND.

The New Zealand Times states that a Socialist Party is forming in this "workingmen's paradise." Strange. Have not we been told all along that New Zealand is is the "most socialistic" country in the world? Comrade Robert Rives La Monte's impressions of this proletarian eldorado knock the bottom out of this irridescent air castle.

"As far as I can make out," he says in a recent letter in the Worker, "the radical movement here (what Lloyd calls 'the Revolution of 1890') was a class struggle between the small farmers and the big land owners. The small farmers needed the support of the city workers; hence the labor program, compulsory arbitration, and the great consideration shown by the government to trade unions. . . . The most amusing thing about the situation is that all New Zealand has gone daft with 'jingoism,' 'militarism,' 'imperialism,' etc., over the South African war. There is no socialistic—that is, no class-conscious—feeling here, and, indeed, the proletarans are not as yet a majority, so that agitation will be difficult. The government labor department does not do half the things Lloyd's book said it did. It confines itself almost exclusively to furnishing men to the railroad department for construction work, and if a man is not an experienced pick-and-shovel hand, and often if he is not married, the department will do nothing for him. The ordinary man out of a job has to go to the private employment agencies here as elsewhere. A compact group of labor members in parliament could be of the greatest service. But they must be class-conscious; labor members who are simply a tail to Premier Seddon's kite are worse than open reactionaries."

Add to this the report of "Vorwarts" that Premier Seddon is sharply criticizing the arbitration boards. Consider, furthermore, that the Wellington Times is telling the labor unions "if they do not take note of the signs of the times and mend their ways accordingly they must not complain if their best friends cut them adrift and insist upon the repeal of laws which are being abused." You will then be prepared for the news that the "country without strikes" is on the verge of losing that distinction.

Already the farmers are forming organizations for the purpose of demanding the repeal of labor laws that "have made wages artificially high and injured the farmers as employers of labor," and the repeal of protective duties. Seddon is steering an amendment to the arbitration law through the legislature which will turn its point against trade unions.

"It is a good thing for the trade unionists," says La Monte, "to learn that they must cease relying on the favors of a middle class ministry, and must rely solely on themselves and the efficiency of their organizations. They will thus develop a militant, class-conscious spirit."

See that point?

INTERNATIONAL BULLETIN.

SPANISH SOCIALIST PARTY.

The Socialist party consists at present of 73 groups with about 10,000 members. The press is made up of 13 publications.

At the last general election held in May 25,400 votes were cast for the party, but no candidates were elected on account of the frauds, the intrigues of the government and the coalition of the bourgeois parties. The socialists took part in the election for the sixth time. The vote has been steadily increasing since 1891. It was 5,000 in 1891, 7,000 in 1893, 14,000 in 1896, 20,000 in 1898, 23,000 in 1899, 25,400 in 1901.

The party is represented in the municipalities of Bilboa (4 councilmen), Burgos (1), Baraenedo (1), Gallarta (1), Maureza (1).

The strongest organization in Spain is the "Union general de trabajadores," made up of the active element of the socialists and following their tactics.

THE BULGARI N SOCIALIST PARTY.

The Labor party of Bulgaria was founded in 1891 under the regime of Minister Stambouloff and consisted of scattered secret societies. In 1892 two Socialist parties made their appearance. As there were no great differences of opinion between these two parties, they united in 1893 under the name of Social Democratic Labor Party of Bulgaria. This party held its first congress in Sofia, in July, 1894. Its eighth congress was recently held in Plevna.

There are 69 locals with 1,984 paying members, 4 co-operatives with 915 members and about 10 labor unions. From July 1st, 1899, to June 30, 1900, 194 public meetings, 458 business meetings, 102 literary and musical entertainments were given and 232 public lectures held.

The official organ of the party is the *Rabotnitschesky Vestnik* (*Labor Journal*), has a circulation of 2,500 copies, and the socialist reviews, *Novo Vreme*, *Obschto Delo* and *Tronv*, each have 1,000 to 1,200 subscribers.

In 1894 the party gained two seats in the Chamber, which were maintained in the elections of 1896. In 1899 six more seats were conquered.

But the government, frightened at the progress of the party, refused to acknowledge the representatives of the people, suppressed the movement by force and scattered the inhabitants of the socialist election districts throughout the land. In consequence, only one socialist deputy, Comrade Georgian Kirkhoff, editor of the *Rabotnitschesky Vestnik*, holds a seat in the legislature. The number of votes cast amounts to 13,302.

THE WORLD OF LABOR

By Max S. Hayes

The iron and steel strike is a thing of the past. The Amalgamated Association has met with a crushing defeat, and what its future course will be is problematical. At least a dozen union mills were lost, and the mere verbal agreement that union wages will be paid is of little importance, as experience proves that when the magnates have the power to reduce wages and the desire to do so they do not hesitate to use that power. The calling off of the strike aroused much bitterness among the men, proving conclusively that the plutocratic press lied shamefully when the charge was daily made that President Shaffer was keeping the men out of the mills against their will and that they were anxious to return to work. It is probable that the strike will be continued here and there by individual lodges, but their chances of winning are very slim. Many of the rank and file are discussing the advisability of attacking the trust with a political club by joining the Socialist Party, and onlookers are wondering whether the miners will be Morgan's next victims.

The anthracite miners have framed their demands and their officials are attempting to secure a hearing from the trust to have them considered. The miners expect, among other things, that their organization will be recognized by April 1. Morgan has given no sign, however, that he intends to treat with the workers as a union, and the leading capitalist journals of New York are already predicting that serious trouble is likely to come, and that the miners will meet the same fate that the iron and steel workers did if they persist in enforcing their "unreasonable demands." The movements on the industrial chess-board will be watched with interest during the next few months. There is no doubt that the trust barons, flushed with victory in the fight with the mill workers, will not yield without a struggle.

Centralization of capital has been somewhat slow during the past month, only about $55,000,000 having been invested in new trusts, but absorption of independent plants by combines has gone steadily forward. Many of the smaller railways have also been merged into the large systems and there is now practically no competition. Steamship lines on the oceans and lakes are also coming under one central power. The tobacco industry is to be organized on the same lines as the Standard Oil Company, while the welding together of the coal industries of the various states is continuing in a manner satisfactory to those who are planning the formation of a gigantic national bituminous trust. On account of the fact that most of the industries are wholly or partly trustified, the formation of new trusts must necessarily cease. Future developments will probably be in the direction of combining the middlemen and distributors, drawing in the independent concerns, amalgamating and consolidating various combines and the organization of trusts of trusts, thus making possible socialism in our time.

The Pacific Coast Citizen, Portland, Ore., is a new Socialist Party paper.

Striking machinists, boilermakers, patternmakers and helpers of Seattle, Wash., held a large mass meeting and came out strong for socialism.

Philadelphia United Labor League, a large central body, in discussing the recent franchise steal in that city, declared in favor of socialism and steps will be taken to support the new Socialist Party morally and financially.

The Challenge, H. Gaylord Wilshire's paper, has been removed from Los Angeles, Cal., to New York.

The new Socialist Party has been gathering funds for the iron and steel strikers.

The Comrade, illustrated, published in New York, and Here and Now, printed in Rochester, are names of two new monthlies issued in the interest of the Socialist Party.

The powerful Flint Glass Workers' Union elected three Socialists as delegates to the A. F. of L. convention, and also a committee composed of Socialists to draft a preamble and declaration of principles to show the position the organization occupies in relation to present economic and political conditions. That's real progress.

L. P. Wild, one of the original organizers of the People's Party, has written an open letter in which he says there is now nothing left for progressive Populists to do but join the Socialist Party.

Steam Engineers' Union of Denver has weekly discussions on socialism, and the printers of Charleston, S. C., are circulating socialist literature.

About 360 turpentine manufacturers of Florida recently held a meeting and decided to form a trust. They informed each other that "employes receive too much," and decided to cut wages. Also to restrict production and raise prices. That's the usual way it's done. The trust game is a lead-pipe cinch. Workingmen are foolish in not being trust magnates.

The formation of the international match trust has resulted in 700 workers being thrown out of employment.—J. P. Morgan has given orders that the business of the Northern Pacific, Great Northern, the Burlington and tributary railroads be centralized, which means that hundreds of the office and transportation workers will have to walk the plank.—Orders have gone forth from New York to dismantle some of the small mills of the billion-dollar steel trust this winter. Concentration is squeezing hard in some directions.

Swift & Co., of Chicago, have put in a new egg candling machine. It has a capacity of 26,000 eggs an hour. Heretofore the work has been done almost wholly by hand, which is necessarily very slow. The new contrivance displaces one-half of former employes and does five times as much work; it is very simple of construction and inexpensive. It was invented in England.

A Belgian inventor by the name of Tobiansky is reported to have discovered a method by which smoke can be turned into light. The smoke is gathered from any kind of fire and forced into a receiver. It is then saturated with hydrocarburet and a brilliant light results. U. S. Consul Mahin is investigating the method, and likely as not the Standard Oil Company will make a heavy bid to control the new light, if possible.

A new machine, designed to do eight different parts on a shoe, will soon be placed on the market. Every part will work automatically. The new device will do heel shaving, rough scouring, fine scouring, heel edge blacking, top-lift blacking, heel burnishing, top-lift burnishing and breasting. The inventor of the Rockingham burnisher is the inventor of this latest tool of production. The Union Boot and Shoe Worker says the machine "will be a great labor-saver, eight parts being done in the time that one is done with the present machinery, and as only an ordinary laborer is required to operate the machine, he will probably displace seven skilled mechanics." The shoeworkers are, therefore, up against the new method of production harder than ever.

A little machine which threads 1,000 needles a minute is on exhibition in Minneapolis. It was invented in Switzerland and is used in connection with a new loom for embroidering fine Swiss and Hamburg laces, and operates almost automatically.

Elevator constructors formed a national union with eight locals to start with.

A New York daily says that fully a dozen different street-cleaning machines have been invented recently and that the "white wings" appear to be doomed.

Sixteen painters are to be displaced by a new painting machine operated by two men.

The new Hungarian system of telegraphy is now in practical operation between Budapest and Flume, a distance of 375 miles. A speed of 40,000 words an hour is obtained, and the messages are written in Roman characters, requiring no transcription. The system will be established in France and Germany and prominent capitalists of this country are trying to secure the American rights for the new method.

An Iowa inventor has completed a motor that promises to aid materially in revolutionizing motive power. It uses an infinitely small amount of fuel or water. Prominent railway officials are said to be taking a lively interest in the new invention and are making enthusiastic claims for it.

Daniel Drawbaugh, of Harrisburg, Pa., who claims to have invented the first telephone, says that after two years of experimenting he has developed a new system of wireless telegraphy. He utilizes the electric currents of the earth instead of the ether currents.

About 2,500 carriage workers were locked out in Cincinnati by a bosses' combine, and it is frankly and publicly stated that the object is to disrupt the unions. Of course, an injunction was applied for and secured, and, during the discussion of the matter, the judge declared that it was unnecessary for defendants to come into court when the restraining order was made, which means that workingmen can be injunctioned by a sort of drum-head court-martial or inquisition method. It is a foregone conclusion that they are guilty of anything that the master class charges. Honestly, what have workingmen secured during the past twenty-five years of voting? New kind of shackles?

The big seamen and dock workers' strike in San Francisco has been dragging along wearily and the bosses are leaving no stone unturned in their effort to destroy the unions. Like the Dayton employers, who are making no denial of the fact that they are trying to disrupt labor organizations, and who have sued union men for $25,000 damages for boycotting, the 'Frisco bosses have also brought suit against

strikers for damages. Nowadays when a workingman who may happen to own a little home or have a few dollars invested goes on strike, he takes chances of having his property fall into the hands of the boss who controls the wealth he produces in the shop. Yet wage-workers vote to uphold the system that is their own undoing.

Another automatic printing press feeder that can shove 5,000 sheets an hour is a new labor-displacer announced.

Columbus trade unionists adopted resolutions denouncing ex-Congressman John J. Lentz, a "workingman's friend," for procuring an injunction against striking brickmakers of Roseville, O. Lentz and Gov. Nash are owners of the company. While in Congress Lentz was one of the loudest howlers against injunctions. He now says that since the workingmen voted in favor of injunctions at the last presidential election he is in favor of giving them all of their medicine that they want.

A Chicago judge has decided that because a striker approached a non-union worker and said, "May I talk to you a moment?" the said striker violated an injunction and can be punished for contempt of court. Such things happen in Russia occasionally, too.

When the miners employed in the United Vereda copper mine demanded an eight-hour day, Senator Clark, who also poses as "a workingman's friend," locked them out and said he had "studied the eight-hour question and there is nothing in it." The men fought for several weeks and were defeated. Clark, who is a good Democrat, has an income from his copper properties estimated at $10,000,000 a year, while the men poison and ruin their bodies in digging out this wealth for him.

Employers' combinations of Columbus, Dayton and Springfield, O., Chicago, and other places, are forming "unions" that they can handle. Members of present bona fide labor organizations are barred from membership and strikes are prohibited. In extraordinary cases, where bosses cannot settle grievances of individual workmen, arbitration between the employer and the president of the "union" is permissable. The new scheme will hardly prove much of a success.

A St. Louis paper has just discovered that a national law was enacted in 1892 to impose a penalty of not less than $100 or more than $1,000 on any railroad company that discharges an employe for being a member of a union. The law has never been enforced, and won't be. Still the corporations control the votes of their workers largely.

Labor Commissioner of Kansas has issued a report showing that wages of railway employes have decreased from $596 in 1898 to $523 in 1900—a loss of $74 in the yearly earnings of railroad men. Freight rates remained "stable" and dividends prove that there must be prosperity in the land, as the railway workers of Kansas contributed nearly $2,000,000 to the stockholders through the air-line reduction route. Everybody, therefore, must be happy in Kansas and voting for the two old parties is still the fad.

An Indiana union went to the trouble of getting out a book and printing the records of state legislators to prove that they are corrupt. It was hardly necessary.

Coal operators of Kansas announce that in the future they will resist the miners' union in every shape and form. No; there's no class struggle!

BOOK REVIEWS

Government. John Sherwin Crosby. Peter Eckler. Paper, 112 pp. 25 cents.

An exposition of Single Tax with a few extra vagaries. Repeats all the talk about "Natural Rights" that has been exploded for three generations. Reverses facts as to evolution and makes government the determining social factor, instead of merely one expression of a certain stage of economic evolution. The book is mainly interesting as showing to how great a degree the vagaries of the pre-revolutionary period in France are reproducing themselves here.

The Kingdom of Heaven; a Drama in Five Acts. C. L. Phifer.

We are informed, as if it were not something to be regretted instead of proudly announced, that it was "set from the case, without being written." Why a socialist should make such a concession to the demand for "freak literature" is hard to see. This is the more to be regretted since a study of the play (which is a little after the style of the old "miracle plays") really contains evidence of considerable native talent and ability at blank-verse making. It is a pity that the play was not written ten times, instead of not at all, as it then might have been of real permanent value.

How I Became a Socialist. Biographical Sketches, with Portraits of H. M. Hyndman, William Morris, Walter Crane, Robert Blatchford, Tom Mann, etc. Twentieth Century Press. 81 pp.

This is one of the books that indicates that the socialist movement has reached the stage where it has a history. A most interesting history it is, too. One could quote from it until the whole book was gone and still find no dull passages. Here we are introduced to the personalities of all those we have heard so much about. We hear Hyndman tell how he started in as a Radical at college, then wandered over Europe writing for papers and associating with Mazzini, around to Australia, where he converted "squatters" to land nationalization. Then came the Commune, which aroused his sympathies, followed by a trip across the United States, which convinced him "that mere Radical Republicanism had no good effect on the social question." Six or seven years of study of the East Indian question "threw a flood of light on the capitalist system." Then a copy of Marx's Capital fell into his hands, and "from that time onward," he says, "I was a socialist, and in 1880 I made up my mind I would do my utmost to organize a Social-Democratic Party in this country."

William Morris closes the story of his evolution with these char-

acteristic words: "It is the province of art to set the true ideal of a full and reasonable life before the workman, a life to which the perception and creation of beauty, the enjoyment of real pleasure that is, shall be felt to be as necessary to man as his daily bread, and that no man and no set of men can be deprived of this except by mere oppression, which should be resisted to the utmost." Taking the book as a whole, it makes a most interesting and fairly complete history of many phases of the English socialist movement. And when we remember that it has only been twenty years since the Social Democratic Federation was founded, we cannot feel but that in spite of all discouragements and obstacles, and in few countries have they been greater, the English comrades have accomplished much of which to be proud. A portrait of each of those whose opinions are given adds very much to the value of the work. The sketches have been compiled by H. Quelch, editor of Justice, in which paper most of the sketches previously appeared, and he is to be congratulated upon the excellent piece of work he has done, a work that will gain in value as the years pass by, and one by one the pioneers of socialism drop away and are no longer left to tell their own story.

AMONG THE PERIODICALS

The two most significant articles in the American Journal of Sociology are undoubtedly the studies which are being made of the Stock Yards and the South Chicago Steel works, by Charles J. Bushnell and John M. Gillette, respectively. The study of the Stock Yards opens with a remarkable quotation from a recent "Market Bulletin," from which the following selection is taken: "The most remarkable and far-reaching development of the last fifteen years, and the most important in its bearing upon the welfare of the whole people, is the rapidly growing demonstration of the fact that the daily necessaries of life can be produced and their distribution accomplished on a large scale much cheaper than on a small scale; that the greater economy and superior facilities secured by large combinations of capital, labor and talent make them more successful in supplying the wants of the people than is possible for individual effort or a large number of small independent concerns which do not adopt modern methods . . . The final result of such improved methods and means on the part of those who supply the world with food and other necessaries has always been the greatest good to the greatest number, and this development may eventually resolve itself into universal co-operation." This industry, established less than forty years ago, has now grown to the point where "225,000 of Chicago's population get their living directly from the business activities of the square mile occupied by the Union Stock Yards, and another 225,000 get their living indirectly from the same source." An elaborate diagram with maps shows that even in 1877 the market for the meats of the Yards was confined to the United States and immediately adjacent country, while in 1900 there is scarce a spot of habitable land on the earth that does not use its products. The process of evolution by which meat products have been rendered more permanent and capable of wider shipment, with the utilization of by-products, is explained. The article in the present number is but one of a series which should be of great value to any social student. The study of South Chicago is concerned with "culture agencies," and is rather pedantic. There is a surplus of classification in proportion to matter. A little familiarity with the pedagogical work of Prof. Dewey of the same university would have saved his saying some very foolish things about education, as, for example, where he protests against a "system of schools which prescribes like education for the most diverse populations," because "in a laboring community it is not a question of culture in the lower reaches of education, nor of a preparatory school for higher educational institutions, but of a preparation for a life which all know that ninety-nine out of every hundred must enter." For this purpose he urges sewing and cooking for the girls and industrial and technical work for the boys. Aside from the amazing ignorance which this displays of pedagogical reasons for the use of manual training, it is refreshing to see the manner in which it is taken for granted that we are always to have a nation divided into slaves and masters. He noticed the fact, which is quite complimentary to the comrades of South Chicago, that "The Socialist Party carries on a campaign of education constantly and is doing a real service for South Chicago. Weekly meetings are held. Speakers of ability are provided who address the members and auditors on topics pertaining to labor conditions. Free discussion is participated in by those interested." If he had attended a few of these lectures he would not have closed his article with the statement that "The incentive and initiative and substantial means for realization must come from without; for certainly they do not exist within the needy district."

EDITORIAL

ROOSEVELT—A CHARACTER SKETCH

Nothing could better illustrate the uselessness of assassination as a means of accomplishing political changes than the results of the cowardly murder of President McKinley. Roosevelt has at once declared his intention of continuing unchanged the policy of his predecessor. The same cabinet will remain, and it is certain that whatever deviation may follow will not be in the directions desired by the enemies of the previous administration. Nothing could more perfectly demonstrate the socialist contention that present governments are but committees to carry out the will of the ruling economic class. So long as that economic rule is undisturbed, no change of officials, administrations, or even forms of government, will have any great effect upon social conditions.

There can be no denying, however, that the man who now occupies the presidential chair possesses in many ways the strongest individuality of any man who has occupied that chair since the time of Lincoln. Strange as it may seem, Roosevelt is at once the counterpart and the antithesis of the great liberator of the slaves. Lincoln was the finest flower of competition. He was the greatest example of the self-made man known to history. He was the true child of the American frontier, where more than anywhere else since man rose from savagery "all men have been created equal." He was the best product of the poverty of the broad prairie, the trackless forest and the open sky,—the poverty that really ennobles, strengthens and develops, even though it does so by the crude and cruel process of "eliminating the unfit."

In the same way Roosevelt represents the best that fully developed monopolistic capitalism can produce. A child of wealth, he had and used from his earliest days the best that capitalism could give. Physically and mentally he received all that control over the labor of wage-slaves could give. The result is worthy of examination. Both Roosevelt and Lincoln presented remarkable physical characteristics. But one was the sinewey strength of honest toil; the other the carefully trained muscles of the gymnasium athlete. One had the quiet courage that comes from continuous combat with Nature in an effort

to subdue her to the service of man. The other has the ferocious bravado of the prize-fighter, who fights for the love of battle. The one was forced by the demands of his surroundings to extraordinary exertions. The other preaches the "strenuous life" as a theoretical duty. Intellectually Lincoln was the pupil of the forest, the stream, the prairie and his fellow men, and from them gained the broad yet keen knowledge of men and things for which the world now knows him best. Roosevelt is the intellectual child of the university and the library, with their classified and encyclopedic, but artificial and second-hand knowledge. To repeat,—one is the climax of all that is good in competition; the other is the synthesis of the best in monopolistic plutocracy. Both, while men of commanding ability, leave something to be desired.

It is not without significance that these two men appeared at the time they did. With the completion of the period of Reconstruction, that really closed the Civil War, the competitive stage in American society reached its height and began to merge into monopoly. With the coming of Roosevelt there is every reason to believe that the monopolistic stage has reached its height, and must soon give way to the era of co-operation. We may rest assured that during the seven years of the reign of Roosevelt (for only a miracle can prevent his election in 1904) all the powers of government will be used in the interest of concentrated wealth. Just because Roosevelt is the incarnation of the spirit of plutocracy will it appear that he is consciously directing social machinery according to his individual ideas. For the very reason that he is so perfectly adapted to the purposes of capitalism it will appear as if he were formulating and directing instead of merely reflecting those purposes.

THE STEEL STRIKE

The steel strike is now but a part of the history of industrial warfare in America. The first great battle between trustified industry and union labor has been fought and the union has been defeated at every point. Many mills previously union will henceforth be operated as non-union. It goes without saying that this means a reduction of wages to the point fixed by individual bargaining,—that is, at the point where the weakest can manage to live. There is a sad and regretful sort of satisfaction in the fact that the South Chicago mills will be one of the first to feel this change. It will be remembered that the workers in these mills gained for themselves the adulation of their masters and the curses of their fellow workers by playing the traitor in time of battle. Their excuse for so doing was that they had a contract with one of the companies which had subsequently disappeared into the United States Steel Company, in order the better and quicker to destroy the force of that and similar contracts protecting the

laborers. The capitalist papers all joined in a chorus of praise of these laborers for their "honest integrity and good sense." Now, even before the strike is fairly over, the Steel trust has proceeded to break this much praised contract by declaring the South Chicago mills non-union. So far, not one of our highly moral newspapers has seen fit to even mention this fact, to say nothing of protesting against it.

This strike, however, has taught all laborers, and especially all union men, the elements of some much needed lessons. The tone of self-confident bravado with which some of the officers of trades unions last winter announced their ability to meet the trusts in open warfare on the industrial field is heard no more. All who have intelligence and honesty left to fairly face the situation are forced to admit that the trades unions of this country are on the eve of the most critical stage in their existence. There is not the slightest doubt but what the men who are in control of the steel trust will at once adopt the methods which have proven successful in the present struggle in the other lines of industry controlled by them. This means that if the labor unions are even to maintain an existence they must unite upon a broader scale than ever before. Not only must the antiquated idea of "trade autonomy" be given up, but the battle must be shifted to the political field, where the interests of all producers, irrespective of the nature of their work, are the same and where the whole question of economic subjection or independence can be settled once for all.

The socialists have been explaining these facts to the world of union labor with all possible energy, while at every seat of conflict the strikers have been deluged with socialist literature. That their work was not in vain is already evident. President Schaffer was himself forced to point out in his Labor Day speech that the time had now come when laborers must use the ballot if they would make an effective fight. If this lesson has really been thoroughly learned by the striking steel workers the result of the fight will prove the dearest-bought victory ever gained by organized capital.

Prof. George D. Herron has found it necessary on account of his health to drop all literary work, and has taken a trip to Europe for a vacation. On this account the department of "Socialism and Religion" will be indefinitely suspended. In the meantime, however, Prof. Herron promises to furnish us with a series of articles on the socialist movement in Europe.

Our next number will contain an article on "The Courts of the Poor," by Clarence S. Darrow, the eminent Chicago attorney. This article is one which is bound to attract great attention, and we have no hesitation in saying it is the most powerful arraignment of modern legal and judical practice that has ever been put into the English language.

PUBLISHERS' DEPARTMENT

We have just issued a new propaganda booklet entitled SOCIALISM, containing half-tone portraits of Karl Marx and Emile Vandervelde, the full text of the platform adopted at Indianapolis by the Unity Convention of the Socialist Party, instructions for organizing Socialist Locals, detailed descriptions of the best low-priced Socialist literature, and the addresses of the principal Socialist periodicals of the United States. The booklet has 32 pages, with transparent parchment cover, and is exactly similar in size and style to a number of the Pocket Library of Socialism. For the reason, however, that this booklet serves to introduce our literature to new readers, we offer it at less than cost, 10 cents a dozen or 60 cents a hundred by mail, or $3.35 a thousand by express. This is beyond all comparison the cheapest socialist literature ever offered. The platform of the Socialist Party is in itself a powerful argument to any thinking man, and in this attractive form it will be tenfold more likely to be preserved and read than if offered in the form of a cheap circular. This booklet will assist any Socialist Local to increase its membership, and will be an invaluable help to any socialist desiring to organize a new Local.

SOCIALISM VS. ANARCHY.

The popular excitement over the shooting of McKinley has been utilized by reactionaries, especially outside the large cities, to intensify the prejudice of ignorant people against Socialism. It is important that socialists meet this situation with a vigorous campaign of education. On Sept. 15, A. M. Simons, editor of the International Socialist Review, delivered at the Socialist Temple a lecture on SOCIALISM vs. ANARCHY, a portion of which with some revision appears in this number of the REVIEW. The lecture in full is printed as No. 31 of the Pocket Library of Socialism and will be mailed to any address for 5 cents a copy, 10 for 30 cents; 40 for $1.50. Stockholders in our co-operative company can get copies at $1.00 a hundred.

SOCIALISM AND THE HOME.

This booklet by May Walden Kerr is No. 28 of the Pocket Library of Socialism. It is an attempt to state in language which will be easily understood by people who have not been trained

to abstract thinking, the every-day facts which should convince every woman that her own personal interests will be served by the change from capitalism to socialism. The booklet is unlike anything heretofore published and seems to meet a want, as is indicated by the fact that the first edition of 5,000 copies is nearly exhausted.

TRUSTS AND IMPERIALISM.

This address by H. Gaylord Wilshire has already been published in various forms and has proved itself a valuable propaganda pamphlet. In the convenient Pocket Library shape it will have a larger circulation than ever.

A SKETCH OF SOCIAL EVOLUTION.

This is by H. W. Boyd Mackay. It is an important contribution to the historical argument for socialism, starting as it does, with the primitive conditions of prehistoric man and tracing the growth of society through various forms of slavery to the form now prevailing, with a suggestion of the social changes for the better that are now impending. It will be a useful pamphlet for those who imagine that present conditions always have prevailed and always will prevail. (Pocket Library, No. 30.)

LETTERS FROM STOCKHOLDERS.

We have in various issues of the REVIEW published letters from our stockholders showing how they are satisfied with our plan of supplying socialist literature at cost. We subjoin here a few more letters which have never yet been published and which corroborate the statements made in former issues of the REVIEW:

"Replying to your circular of 11th inst., I wish to say that my business relations with you since I became a stockholder have been all right. Your promptness in filling orders is especially pleasing to one who has had much trouble about delays, in other lines of business. My only regret is that I am not able to make my investment larger."

E. Howard Randall, Springfield, O.

"I am pleased to state that the $10.00 I invested in your Company some time ago has been used to my satisfaction. The literature you publish is indeed very instructive and should be used freely by all wage-earners, and I can recommend others to assist in the same way."

John Bray, Dorchester, Mass.

"I freely grant your request to write expressing my views regarding the way I believe the $10,00 I invested in stock in your Company was used. I believe it was honestly used to further the cause of Socialism and I have never regretted having invested that much. Would be glad to take more stock on same terms if I could, as I want to do all I can for the cause."

J. R. Morgan, Sunshine, Utah.

"In regard to my investment of stock in the International Socialist Review, let me say that I am very well satisfied with it, purely from a financial point of view. In discounts on literature I consider I have had my money repaid, besides enabling me to place books and pamphlets where I knew they have done good work for Socialism. I regard it as a good investment." Z. Roberts,

St. Anthony Park, Minn.

"I beg to assure you of my complete satisfaction with the work you are doing for the cause of socialism. I am fully content with my purchase of a share of stock, as a direct contribution toward the propagation of the social gospel, independently of the personal benefits derived."

J. M. McGregor, Slocan, B. C., Canada.

"I consider the money invested in the stock of Charles H. Kerr & Co., publishers of socialist literature (of Chicago), one of the best for the work of sowing the seed for which the harvest will come later on, when we can all be secured from the great competitive system now in its dying agonies, and will say to all comrades to agitate and spread the gospel."

S. D. Mercer, Lenox, Ia.

"I deem it the duty of every person who believes there is a better way than the existing social and economic system to do all in his power to aid in bringing it into existence. It is only by each man doing his part, contributing his mite, be it a greater or less sum, that an active propaganda can be maintained. Hence I have subscribed for one share of stock in your company as the best means within my knowledge of making my contribution. I feel assured that any fund placed at your disposal will be faithfully administered and will yield its fullest possible returns in forwarding the great work before us. I would urge every friend of humanity to do likewise—not at some indefinite period in the future, but *now*. The enemies of the people are active all along the line, new chains are constantly being forged, the time for a peaceful propaganda is growing shorter with each passive day, and we should do our utmost while there is yet opportunity."

H. B. Congdon, Tulare, Cal.

We already have stockholders in 200 cities and towns of the United States. We ought to have a stockholder in every city where there is a group of socialists. The extra capital which would come from the new stock subscriptions would enable us to increase our output of socialist literature as fast as the movement requires it, and the privilege of buying socialist literature at cost will enable the socialists who subscribe for stock to flood their neighborhood with socialist literature at the lowest possible cost to themselves.

We are now offering an increased variety of books at stockholders' prices. Send $10.00 for a share of stock. Address

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56 Fifth Avenue, Chicago.

The Principles of Social Progress

Rev. William Thurston Brown, of Rochester, N. Y., whose name is familiar to all readers of the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW, writes as follows:

"James Bale Morman, A. B., of this city, has written a book entitled 'The Principles of Social Progress, which brings to mind Henry Demarest Lloyd's declaration that 'we are in the rapids of a new era.' Many thinking men agree with this statement. They discern an industrial and social awakening. They perceive changes that have taken place within a century—changes that have been peaceful and silent, coming almost without observation. Following closely upon these developments there has come a sociological literature, and to this literature Mr. Morman has made a worthy additon in his book. A considerable number of the pamphlets and books which have been written during the past decade or two have tended more to obscure than to illuminate the subject, affording a shallow and misleading treatment. Mr. Morman has given to the public a conspicuously clear, judicial and thoughtful treatise. His book implies a remarkable breadth of intellecutal grasp upon the subject, together with original research, wide reading and careful thinking. And it is written in the best of diction. It is one of the few essentially scientific treatments of the social problem, and it is doubtful if an equally broad survey of history and biology in their relation to social evolution can be found in print within the scope of 240 pages. The institutions of society and government are traced back to their biological origin, and then the direction in which social development is tending and the way of intelligent co-operation with those elemental tendencies are shown with great clearness and cogency of argument. It is the work of an optimist, but of one whose optimism rests upon the secure basis of extensive study, profound thought and clear reasoning. Very few books dealing with the burning questions of the day are so well suited as this to meet the needs of such a wide variety of readers. It is a distinctly patriotic service that Mr. Morman has rendered, and no one will lay this book down after a careful reading without a sense of obligation to its author."

"The Principles of Social Progress" is a book of 200 pages, printed in clear type on extra paper and bound in a style equal to books usually sold at $1.00. By special arrangement with the author we can send it postpaid to any address for 50 cents. We do not publish it and our lowest price to stockholders is 43 cents by mail or 35 cents at this office. Address

CHARLES H. KERR & COMPANY, 56 Fifth Ave., Chicago.

THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW.

VOL. II NOVEMBER, 1901 No. 5

THE PROBLEM OF THE NEGRO.

Delivered Before the Men's Forum, Sunday, May 19, 1901.

Stenographic Report.

PROBABLY I do not look at the race problem in as hopeful a way as many of your people do, and I fear that much I shall say this evening will appear discouraging and pessimistic, for I am somewhat pessimistic about the white race, to say nothing about the colored race; when I see how anxious the white race is to go to war over nothing, and to shoot down men in cold blood for the benefit of trade, I am pessimistic about the white race, and when I see the injustice everywhere present and how the colored race are particularly subjected to that injustice and oppression I admit that I am pessimistic as to the future of the colored race, and fear the dreams we have indulged in of perfect equality and of unlimited opportunity are a long way from any realization; but unless we approach these subjects from the right standpoint and go along the right path there is no prospect of ever reaching a right solution.

Last week I had two conversations with two typical men, and these conversations have done much to arouse in my mind a train of thought in reference to this problem, which is not altogether hopeful, I must say, to the Negro race, and I want to give these conversations, or the substance of them, about as they occurred, and as I go along I will try to draw a lesson from them. I do not want you to think in the beginning that I endorse either one of them, excepting as they show the thoughts of two men, both of whom were students, both close observers, two men approaching this question from a diametrically opposite standpoint.

The first was born in Virginia upon a plantation, and knew what slavery was—he is one of the ablest men in the United States, a man who has given his whole life to the cause of human liberty—Mr. Moncure D. Conway. Beginning life as a Metho-

dist minister, he graduated from that to a Congregational minister, and from that he graduated out of all the churches. He had the spirit of abolitionism and, while he was the son of a slave-holder, born with the slaves, he did not believe in slavery. He entered the cause of abolitionism way back when John Brown entered it; he entered it with Wendell Phillips, with William Lloyd Garrison, with Henry Ward Beecher, and with all the great men who made the cause of abolitionism famous, and I may say sacred, as a great cause for human liberty.

He told me with what enthusiasm he entered that cause, how it had been his life, and that when Lincoln issued his proclamation, he thought all had been accomplished, and he felt that he had been one of the warriors in a great battle that had ended in favor of human liberty. He went to England and spent many years there as a teacher and leader of advanced thought. He came back to America a few years ago, went South again, went over the scenes of his early youth and life—an old man still young in his enthusiasm for justice, truth and liberty; but he said, as he looked the field over now, he felt that the abolitionists had been befooled and cheated and defrauded, that this great victory which he believed they had won was not a victory at all, that the enemies of human liberty had really turned victory into defeat, that the colored man to-day was a slave as much as he was when Moncure D. Conway entered the great fight for human liberty fifty years ago. He said, as he looked over the South and looked over the conditions of the Negro in the South, he believed that they had less—less to eat, less to wear, less comfortable homes to live in, less to satisfy their material wants than they had as slaves, and that some way or other the powers of injustice and wrong which are ever battling in this world against justice, liberty and truth, that these had succeeded and had undone all the glorious work of Garrison, of Phillips, and Conway and Beecher, and that host of men who worked so valiantly for the black man's cause.

The next day I had a conversation with quite a different type of man. This man occupies a high official position in a Southern State—he is a man of culture and learning and intelligence. He was born in the South, had all the prejudices of the South, and looked at this question from quite the opposite point of view from the grand old gentleman with whom I had talked the day before. This man said that the Negro in the South was worse off than he was under slavery, that all the schools and colleges in the South were worse than useless, that the Negro had made absolutely no progress and that he never would; that whatever education had been given to the Negro had harmed him and had harmed the whites. He defended all the lynchings and all the

burnings; he said the white people were bound to do these things, that it was necessary to protect their property, to protect their lives and especially to protect their women. He said there was absolutely no solution to the Negro question excepting upon the lines of the inferiority of the Negro race; that they were not social equals, never could be social equals, and that every attempt to make them such injured alike the black race and the white.

I have heard this so many times before that I think this statement represents substantially the whole of the white people of the Southern States; in the South are a few white people who have been born there who do not agree with this view, but so far as my observation goes, the great mass do agree with it and they form a solid phalanx to fight the cause of the Negro, to keep him where he is, or, if possible, reduce him still further to a position of servitude, so that he simply toils for the race and never expects any reward, or asks for any reward.

Let me tell you some other things that this man said. He said that if they did not lynch Negroes and burn them that it would not be safe for white women in the South. I have heard these things before, and you have heard them before. He said there was no such danger in the days of slavery; white men and white women were perfectly safe in the South in the days of slavery, but now they were not; that these Negroes had received ideas that they were as good as anybody else, and that on account of these ideas they had placed themselves in such an attitude towards the whites that they were obliged to lynch them if necessary to protect themselves. He had lived in the South long years before the war, and he said there never was any trouble with the Negro race before the war.

He said that in New Orleans a very strong agitation was setting in to compel companies to have different street cars for the white and colored passengers, and that they would undoubtedly succeed in making the companies carry the colored people on separate cars. He said there were many reasons why this should be; that the white people and the colored people should not mix; and again, he said, of course, the colored people are working people; they go into a car not in proper condition to ride with the people who do not work. Of course I understood that it would be only a question of time when we would get separate cars for working people up here in the North, if this theory was to be universally applied. An aristocrat is an aristocrat, no matter whether you find him in the North or in the South; it is in him and will come out whether he is speaking about colored people, Irishmen, working people, or anyone whatsoever.

There is no use of disguising the fact that the colored people

are in an inferior position to-day throughout the South and throughout the North. There is no use to disguise the fact that the South proposes to keep them in that inferior position, and that they do not propose to ever tolerate anything that approaches social equality; they say it openly, at least when they think they are talking to their friends, and they practice it upon every occasion.

This man said to me that it was unpleasant to ride in a street car with a colored person. He said that he did not like the odor of the colored people in the street cars. I had heard that before. I said to him, "You do not refuse to go to a hotel where they have a colored waiter, do you?" "No," he said, "that is all right." "Well," I said, "what is the difference between the odor of the waiter bringing you a dinner and when he rides in a street car?" Well, he said, there was a difference and they could not stand it anyway. Then he went on to tell how he loved his old black mammy—they always tell you that, how they love their old black mammy. There is nothing wrong about the odor of the old black mammy, providing she is still the same old black mammy, but when the most refined, delicate, clean, colored person in the world meets them upon terms of equality, then there is something wrong about their odor. A black woman, no matter how black, may sit all day on a Pullman car if she is holding a white child on her lap; nobody objects to that, but if the white child was not there nobody could possibly stand it to be anywhere near that black woman.

Now, of course, all of these reasons that they give are excuses, pure and simple; they are not truthful statements; at the root it is simply race prejudice, and the prejudices of superiority which we find everywhere in the world, but against which the Negro suffers more than any other race in the world. Nobody can analyze this feeling and arrive at any other conclusion. A man is refused a ride upon a street car in the South not because he is dirty, but because the Lord made his face black, that is the reason. They refuse to eat their dinner beside a woman in a restaurant, a woman whom I could not tell whether she is white or black from her appearance, as I could not tell many of the women here and many of the men here to-night; but they refuse to break bread with them because the Lord happened to put a few drops of African blood in their veins, and of course one drop is just the same as all. There is no excuse for this. No person can place it upon a scientific basis; it is a question of feeling.

When Douglas and Lincoln were debating in Illinois, Mr. Douglas, as his last and unanswerable statement asked, "Would you want your girl to marry a Negro?" and that was the end of it. Well, that is a pretty fair question, and I am inclined to think that really that question is the final question of the race problem; and not merely the catchword of a politician. Is there any reason why a white girl should not marry a man with African blood in his veins, or is there any reason why a white man should not marry a colored girl? If there is, then they are right and I am wrong. Everybody may have his own taste about marrying, whether it is between two people of the same race or two people of a different race, but is there any reason in logic or in ethics why people should not meet together upon perfect equality and in every relation of life and never think of the difference, simply because one has a little darker skin than the other? It does not always follow even that they have darker skins. There are very many people who have some colored blood in their veins and who have a lighter skin.

Is there any reason why an Indian should not associate on terms of perfect equality with the white man? Even our most fastidious people you know invite the East Indian gentlemen to come to their dinners and their parties and exhibit them as great curiosities in the best families and the best churches. When the Buddhists came over here at the time of the World's Fair we thought they were great people, and their skin was as dark as any of you people here to-night, and there was no reason why they should not have been treated on terms of perfect equality with the white people of the United States, neither is there any reason why a person of dark skin, who has been born and bred in the United States, should be considered any different whatever from a person of white skin, and yet they are. The basis of it is prejudice, and the excuses given are pure hypocrisy; they are not good excuses, they are not honest excuses.

We hear people say that it is necessary to lynch a Negro in the South, and even to burn a Negro in the South to protect white women, and you find some good, Christian people defending the lynching of Negroes, and even the burning of Negroes in the South, because it is necessary, and I presume they open some of these lynchings with prayer. I do not know why they should not; they defend them.

Now, I do not object to lynchings on account of lynchings especially. We do not always arrive at exact justice in our courts of law; you are not sure because you go through a court that you get at the truth, and I presume that a court organized on the spot, as a body of lynchers are organized, is perhaps quite as apt to get at the truth as a court of justice where lawyers are hired to work a long while to prove that the guilty man is inno-

cent and the innocent man is guilty. I am not especially opposed to the lynchings of Negroes in the South because they do not get a fair trial. A poor man does not get a fair trial anywhere. But this is what I object to: I object to lynching a man because he is a Negro. These men in the South are not lynched because they have committed this crime; they are lynched because the Lord painted their faces black. If the Southern people or the Northern people would enter into an agreement and would stand by it, by which they would try every black man who assaults a white woman by lynch law, and at the same time try every white man who assaults a black woman by lynch law, I would say, "Well and good, we will stand by it." I do not believe in hanging anybody, much less do I believe in burning anybody, but above all things else I believe in equality between all people, no hypocrisy; treat everybody alike, and if the Southern gentlemen, or the Northern gentlemen, believe it is necessary to build bonfires to burn colored men for assaulting white women, well and good, but let them also build bonfires to burn white men for assaulting colored women; treat them all alike. These reasons that are given are excuses, hypocritical excuses, which are not true, and which they know are not true. These lynchings in the South and these burnings in the South are not for the protection of the home and the fireside; they are to keep the Negroes in their place. Of course here and there they are done under some provocation. Crimes are being committed always, everywhere, by whites and blacks, but these particular instances are different. When the offenders are Negroes, or are supposed to be Negroes, then they send out to all the world telling what a dangerous class of citizens these poor unfortunates men and women are.

I have traveled somewhat in the South, and I have observed that the Negroes do all the work and the other people have all the property. The South does not want to get rid of the Negroes. Now and then we find some statesman who proposes to solve the Negro question by wishing to send them off to themselves somewhere, as if the Lord made one country for white people and another for black people, and he forgot to sort them out, and as if we should do the sorting—but the South does not propose to send the Negroes away, for if they sent the Negroes away they would be obliged to go to work themselves. These people all say that the Negroes make excellent servants. This same gentleman with whom I visited and talked upon this question, said there were no servants in the world equal to the Negro servants, and they they were all right when they were kept in their place, and so they believe. They do not object to the colored man tilling the fields, they do not object to his picking cotton, they do not object to his bringing in wood, they do not object to the colored cook out in the kitchen, she is clean enough to be in the kitchen; they do not object to their waiting on them in restaurants. They simply object to them taking any position in the world excepting the position of inferiors. They do not all of them object to the colored people learning trades, and some of them believe that Mr. Washington is the true prophet of the colored race—I do not care to discuss that question very thoroughly to-night, because I have doubts as to my own position on that point, and I have talked it over with many of my colored friends, some taking one view and some another—but these gentlemen do object to the Negroes becoming lawyers, becoming doctors, becoming preachers, becoming politicians, or anything excepting manual laborers. They are all right to work out in the cotton fields. Some of them perhaps are all right to be stone masons and carpenters, but none of them must be lawyers, none of them must be ministers, none of them must be doctors, they must not rise above manual trades.

Now, the South never means to recognize any such thing as social equality between the blacks and the whites, and every single year that passes by there are more and more people in the North who do not propose to recognize any social equality between the blacks and the whites. There are more and more people in the North who propose to say, and who do say that the Negro is one kind of being and the white man is another.

Soon after the war Northern men of wealth gave a great deal of money to found institutions in the South and they scattered these institutions all over that portion of the country. They undoubtedly built a great many colleges that the colored men were not ready for, because they had come fresh from slavery, and they were not quite ready to learn Latin—perhaps they would be just as well off if they never learned it, and the white people too for that matter. A great many Northern philanthropists who had some feeling and sympathy for the Negro because the Negro was away from them, and had been stirred by such books as "Uncle Tom's Cabin," endowed these schools; but these Northern people are looking upon this question from a different standpoint to-day, and I want to show you why, and you will find it more and more as the years go by. It is not so much in the North that they object to the color of the skin, but there is coming a feeling in the North that every man who works is an inferior man to the man of property. I can remember the time as a boy in the country when the farmer, the man of the field, and the hired girl in the kitchen, when all of these people were social equals, but now the farmers and the men who own property are on a different footing. More and more we are dividing

into class and caste; every year you find the rich people uniting with each other. You find them crowding the poor into inferior positions. There is no genuine democracy in the North between the rich and the poor; there is no feeling of common brotherhood between the rich and the poor. The man who lives down here on Prairie Avenue or Michigan Avenue has a carriage and a driver, and the driver does not associate with the owner of the house. He has a butler and he scarcely knows his butler's name; his name may be John, and he knows him by that name only. His wife has nothing to do with the maid, or with the cook in the kitchen. Social equality has gone long ago, and the colored people of the North are filling these menial positions, and the whole social equality has entirely passed away. These rich people of the North believe that the working people are all right if they keep in their place, but they should keep in their place. They do not believe that they should be doctors and lawyers and politicians, but they should wait on tables, work in the stock-yards, be waiters in restaurants—keep in their place. They should not strike for higher wages, they should recognize the fact that the earth belongs to the rich and the poor should keep in their place. And more than that, there is coming to be a union of the North and the South. I do not know how closely you people have observed it, but the interest between the North and the South is very close. The Northern capitalists are beginning to take up all the industries of the South, they have mills in the South, and own shares of the railroads in the South, and as long as the Northern man has come to own the mills, the cotton plantations and the railroads of the South, he has come to look at all these questions just exactly as your former master looked at them, and when they telegraph the news of Negro lynchings up here to the Northern papers you find the Northern papers just as hostile as the Southern papers, and there is no difference to-day between the North and the South.

Some time ago I was talking with one of the large employers of labor in Chicago, and he said he liked the colored people, because they are so loyal, they are loyal to you, they will stick to you and they don't "strike." "Well," I said, "are you loyal to them?" Well, he answered, as loyal as he could be. I suggested to him that I had seen men like him, and read of other men like him, and that I had noticed when a body of miners left the mines and struck that they would send South and import a lot of Negroes, and when the strike was over would turn the Negroes loose and send them back again. But here was a man who really said he liked the colored man. Now, he did not. He liked their labor because they worked cheap and they did not have spunk enough to strike; he liked them because they had been slaves and they were still; they still bore the attitude of slavery, and it would be very strange if a race should come up from what you people have come and not in a measure bear the stamp of slavery; it should not be expected that you should be otherwise—and here this man liked colored laborers because he could get them at his own price, and if they did not like the price they would take it anyhow and would not strike.

Now these are the sort of friends that you people have among the rich of the North. Now, let us see what can be done for all of this. It is comparatively easy to tell what is wrong; it is not so easy to say what you are going to do about it, and I am not at all sure of my position on these questions.

The path before the colored race is very long and very hard. The first thing to find out is what are you really going to do. I have felt very many times that Booker T. Washington was not on the right path, and I would not say this too positively because I know how devoted he is to the cause of the colored people, and I believe he is honest and sincere, but I want to tell you why I have felt many times that he is not on the right track, and in this I, too, may be wrong, and I may not fairly estimate Washington. This race question can never be finally settled excepting upon one principle, and that is, that all people are equal, that every human being on the earth, white and black and yellow, men and women, are entitled to the same rights, to perfect social equality, and perfect opportunity, the one with the other. It can never be finally settled upon any compromise whatever. Every man must recognize the right of his brother and his sister upon the earth upon equal terms with himself, and these people who believe, or profess to believe, in the Christian religion, and believe the Lord has made our souls all alike, show they do not believe it when they say that the Lord has made one set masters and the other slaves. This question may be settled in a hundred years, it may be settled in ten thousand years, but if it is not settled for a million years it will never be settled until every human being is the peer of every other human being, and until nobody will dream of asking the color of your skin, or where you were born, or what is your religion, but will simply ask what are you, and nothing else in the world.

I have no confidence in any plan for improving any class of people that does not teach man his own integrity and worth; you must make each man and each woman understand that they are the peer of any human being on the earth. You must respect yourselves or nobody will respect you. No black

man, no working man, nor red man, ever ought for one single moment to think of himself as being inferior to any human being who treads the earth, no matter who that is. He may be compelled to take an inferior position because he needs to live, and the strong may starve him if he does not, but he ought to carry within his own breast the consciousness that after all he is equal to any man who lives, and if he does not carry that feeling within his breast, then he is not the equal of any man that lives.

And the colored race should learn this: If the white race insults you on account of your inferior position that they also degrade themselves when they do it. Every time a superior person who has position invades the rights and liberties and the dignity of an inferior person, he degrades himself, he retards and debases his own manhood, when he does it. You may be obliged many times to submit to this, but it must always be with the mental reservation that you know you are their equal, or you know that you are their superior, and you suffer the indignity because you are compelled to suffer it, as your fathers were once compelled to do, but after all, your soul is free and you believe in yourself, you believe in your right to live and to be the equal of every human being on the earth.

Now, I know that many white men believe Mr. Washington is right, and he has gone through the North and through the South, and received a great deal of money on account of it, and I am not saying that his work is not good. I know that the colored people must be taught trades; I know that they must be taught farming; I know that they must be taught to make a living, and so far as that goes I agree with him, but I do not agree in saying that they should have nothing to do with politics. I do not believe in the position that is taken by many of his supporters that in this way the colored people can find a place in society. They can never do it by accepting a subordinate position to the whites; you can never settle this question upon that basis. If it is settled upon that basis you had better go back to slavery from whence you came, and be done with the struggle at once. It must be settled upon a different basis from that. Any education that does not teach the colored person his true dignity and his true worth as a man and as an individual, falls short of the mark. That must be taught first of all and insisted upon in season and out. Now, I know that you people tried your hand at government in the reconstruction days in the South. Sometimes you did not succeed much better than the white people have succeeded, and I suppose it would be expecting a very great deal to think that you could take the reins of government and manage the affairs of state well within a few years of the time of your liberation. We are not doing any too well ourselves, and

we have had a good deal of time to practice in. A man's right in a government does not depend upon his color, or his property, but upon the man, that is all, and he should have an equal right, whatever his color, or whatever his property, and every colored person ought to be free, they ought to have every advantage of citizenship that the white people have, and they ought to exercise it, too.

Now, I know that you have stirred up much antagonism in the South by exercising the right of suffrage. How could it be otherwise, because the South wants you to be slaves, they propose to keep you there, and it is perfectly natural that if you wish to be elected to Congress, or to be Governor, or take some of the positions which the white people occupy, that you will stir up antagonism in the South, and you will stir it up in the North just exactly the same, as soon as you take an independent position in the North, just as the working man is stirring it up to-day all over the United States.

There are some things that the colored people can do. Of course, the colored people as a race are poor; they have been slaves for long, weary years. They cannot do all that they ought to do and must do, but after all no people ever were given their liberty from their superiors; you must get it by your own worth, by your own perseverance and by your own work. Nobody will come to boost you up; it is only here and there that some person, out of a feeling of justice, will help you, but you must fight this battle out yourself, many of you must suffer, and many of you must die before the victory will be won. There are some things, however, that you can do, and these poor fellows who have been shot down through the South, and many in the North, have done their work well; they were bound to die, it could not be avoided.

The Negro race, of course, have come from bondage; they have been accustomed to look up to the white race; they have done it for so long that in a way they will keep doing it for some time to come.

They should be taught first of all independence, manhood, integrity. I do not mean to tell the truth. I mean they should be taught the integrity of their own soul, that they are individuals—it may be necessary to tell a lie to secure money. If you must tell them, do so; tell them when you have to do so to get along. You will not live very long if you do not tell them.

So far as you people have made your way in independent callings you have done it too much in a servile position. I know you have been obliged to in a way, but you want to get out of it just as fast as you possibly can.

The colored race have been in the habit of being waiters in restaurants, porters on Pullman cars, barbers, working in the

kitchen, running elevators, blacking shoes. Now, I know perfectly that you will reply, If we do not do these things, what will we do? I do not know, but I understand that you have worked along the lines of least resistance. The whites have given you a chance to make up beds on the Pullman cars, to be paid in tips; brushing a man's hat when it does not need it. I don't blame you, you can't help it; but, after all, it is a degrading position. You are simply trying to coax a quarter or a half dollar out of a victim. It is the same way in a restaurant, being as polite as you can to a man to see how big a tip you can get—a menial position, where you are depending upon charity, which is the next door to slavery; in fact, I think it is the other side. I would rather be a slave outright than to depend upon the charity of somebody who had more money than I. Being a barber is not very far removed from it. Now, you cannot all be lawyers, you know. I know too much about this question to suppose that you can all start a bank; you cannot do that; but you can do the best that is possible. It should be the effort of every colored person to make himself independent as far as he can; do not become anybody's slave any longer than you can; don't live on tips any more than possible, and if you live on tips get as many tips as you can get; brush out as many quarters as you can. Try to be independent. Get a little news stand, a grocery, be a lawyer, a doctor, or an expressman—if you only get an old blind horse that is poorer than you are, and a broken-down wagon, stand on the corner and run your own business; that is better than taking tips. Make your struggle to be independent, just as independent as you possibly can, because you must fight this out yourselves. These fellows are not going to help you, because it means dividing up their money. You people have done all the work and get nothing for it; now, if you go on and do the work and get the money, too, where are they? It is the same problem the working man is facing to-day, and your cause is the cause of the working man. You people make a mistake in your friends. The ones who will help you people to any lasting benefit are not the rich, they are the poor every time. They may not be able to give you as big tips—you people who have had to live on them—but, after all, the cause of the poor is a common cause all over the world, and when your case is won it will be by uniting your cause with the cause of the common laboring man all over the world; you cannot do it any other way. The rich have been using the working man, making him set you off by yourselves, and they have been using you to cut the working man's throats. The working men organize their trades' union for their own benefit, and then, when they have a disagreement, as for instance down at the stock-yards, they strike; then the employers

send off for a lot of you people to come and take the places of the working men, and that is where you do evil. Perhaps you cannot help it; you cannot always help many things that you do, I understand that; but, after all, you can only grow by the growth of the poor; you can only get your rights by joining in the common cause with all the weak, the poor and the oppressed, and help them get their rights. No weak man should ever try to get rich by trampling upon some person weaker than himself. They should unite with the weak.

I know the trades' unions have not treated you fairly, but they come much nearer it than any other class of men in the country. Now, trades' unions have refused to admit you, but you ought to knock at their doors; you ought to join with them wherever you can; you ought to make it clear to them that their cause is your cause, and that they cannot afford to fight you because they cannot rise unless they take you with them, and when they are willing to take you, you are willing to go and to help fight the common battle of the poor against the strong.

Now, there is another place where you people have all been wrong, and upon this I know pretty nearly all of you disagree with me. You have been stupid and blind in politics. Now, I am not going to advise you all to vote the Democratic ticket. I am going to put this to you so you can see my point, for what I say is true. What I say is not for political effect, for when I want to talk politics I say so. Of course you know my political views, and they are different from those of 99 out of every 100 of your race. You have been in the habit of voting the Republican ticket. Now, let me talk to you a little bit about this: I am not particularly interested in the Republican party; I am not interested especially in the Democratic. I am only interested in these fundamental questions that make for the betterment of the weak and the poor. I do not care about the rich; they can take care of themselves; they do not need me. I am interested in the other fellow. Now, I do not object to you people voting the Republican ticket when you think it best, but the ballot is your chief stock in trade, and you have no sense if you don't make the most you can out of it. I do not want to ask of you people that you should not vote conscientiusly, for the best good of your country, for you are a part of it, and there is no person in the country who needs it any more than you—nobody is more helpless, and you can go out to-morrow and your vote will count just as much as mine.

The colored people of the United States absolutely have the control of New York, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Kansas, Michigan, California, Nevada; in fact, most of the Eastern States and the Western States. You people have the absolute balance of power

in all of these middle Northern States. Now, what have you done with it? Why, you have voted like children; you have marched to the polls and voted solidly year after year for the Republican ticket. Why? Because thirty-five or forty years ago the Republican party did espouse your cause . Now I say that as a Democrat and as a man who has studied the history of his country. There was a reason why you first should have voted the Republican ticket, because they did more to help secure your liberty than the other party, but every political issue of thirty years ago has been settled. Now, it may be that the Republicans are right and the Democrats are wrong. I am not discussing that question, but there is no reason why every black man should vote the Republican ticket any more than that every Irishman should vote the Republican ticket, or every Dutchman should vote the Republican ticket, or any other race should vote the Republican ticket. Is there any reason why any body of men as a whole race should vote year after year as you have done? You know there is not, and you know this, if you think it over honestly and carefully, you know that the reason the black people of the United States have voted the Republican ticket is not because of the issues of to-day, but it is out of gratitude for what the Republican party has done for you in the past. Gratitude is an honorable virtue, but I think you have pretty nearly paid your debt; you ought to have a receipt in full and call the account square, and from this time you ought to say that you are going to vote for yourselves, that you are perfectly willing to vote the Republican ticket if the Republicans will do the most for you and for the country. Here is a great body of people who have the absolute balance of power, could put it anywhere they want it in any of the Northern States, and you throw it away, and they count your votes the day before election—they do not need to do anything for you, they know right where to find you.

My friends, it is not a question of getting very many people taken care of; that is not the object. It is a question of putting yourselves to the front, it is a question of being recognized. If you have a few members of the Legislature, if you have a few girls in the public schools, if you have a few policemen on the police force, and a few of your girls in public offices, they will begin to recognize you and begin to know you are living, and you will begin to get your rights. You ought to use every opportunity that you can, for let me tell you, you must fight this out yourselves. Help the colored lawyer and the colored doctor —give the colored doctor a chance, even if he does kill you. Give the colored lawyer a chance. Patronize your people all you can, build them up, do not fight each other; do not one get jealous of the other when you know they are doing a little better

than you are, as you sometimes do. When one is built up he builds up every other colored person. Of course, I know there are some people who are not building up in a substantial way, some are making money out of crap games, saloons and that sort of thing; they are getting a good deal of money, too.

Now, as fast as you can, get reading rooms, debating clubs, societies like this one, to call your young men away from the crap games and the saloons. Get them together and discuss these questions; let them learn some of the pleasures which come from the mind; and remember all the time you have got to help yourself to make the most of every opportunity, and some time, when I do not know, or how, or where, but some time, there will be perfect equality upon the earth.

C. S. Darrow.

COUNT RUMFORD AND OUR UNEMPLOYED.

DID you ever hear of Count Rumford? If not, it is time you did. Having heard much of such modern Americans as Jay Gould, Russell Sage, Mr. Rockefeller, and many others, who might be named in the same category—not forgetting Wm. Waldorf Astor—it was a relief to me to learn about the life and achievements of a much greater man, who was born one hundred and fifty years ago in North Woburn, Mass., and who left a trail of blessings behind him wherever he went.

I learned about this remarkable and noble man through a history of his life published by the "Social Service Press," of New York. As not one reader of the Review in five thousand is liable to see this history, I shall make an epitome of its contents for their benefit. Its author, G. Kendall, says :

"To restore hope to the hopeless and the despairing, gently to compel the vicious, the tramp, and the beggar into habits of industry and contentment—this was the immortal work which endeared Count Rumford to the people."

What greater work need a man do! Count Rumford's name was Benjamin Thompson. When he was nineteen years old he came into the possession of a large fortune.

Although born in America, he took sides with England, as did many of the foremost men in the Colonies, at that time.

We regret this, but when we learn what Count Rumford did for humanity, we can forgive him for not thinking just as our ancestors thought about the War of the Revolution.

After America became victorious in her struggle, he was her benefactor and friend.

He was knighted by George III. in his thirty-first year, and, attracting the attention of the Elector of Bavaria in Munich, he was requested to take up his residence there, and to introduce a new order of system, discipline, and economy among the troops of the Duke of Bavaria.

Before 1790 Munich swarmed with beggars.

The public—like the public in American cities to-day—considered the evil hopeless, and one which must be submitted to.

The historian says:

"These idle and dissolute vagabonds swarmed everywhere; not only their impudence and clamorous importunity were without bounds, but they had recourse to the most diabolical arts and crimes in the prosecution of their infamous traffic. Most of them had been used to living in the most miserable hovels, in the midst

of vermin and every kind of filthiness, or to sleep in the streets and under the hedges, half naked and exposed to all the inclemencies of the seasons. Not only were the greater number unacquainted with all kinds of work—having been bred up from infancy in the profession of begging—but they had the most insuperable aversion to honest labor, and had been so long familiarized with every crime that they had become perfectly callous to all sense of shame and remorse."

A few years later and all this is completely changed. The streets formerly thronged and infested are exempt and purified of this "pestilential visitation." In the intervening years the paupers and criminals had been gathered into the comfortable, well-appointed Work House which Count Rumford had prepared for their reception and reformation.

Count Rumford chose Jan. 1st, 1790, as a day to make the arrest of all the beggars in the country.

He was aided by regiments of cavalry, and by civil forces.

Each beggar was gently arrested (not clubbed by a policeman) and informed that begging was forbidden by law, and that all who needed aid would be given it.

Then the beggars were conducted to the town hall, where their names were inscribed, and a commission was provided to inquire into their immediate necessities. There were 60,000 citizens in Munich; and in that city alone 2,600 beggars were arrested.

At first, naturally, confusion prevailed; but Count Rumford's excellent system succeeded after a few days in getting them all numbered and in order, and the inspectors were enabled to proceed. Work was found for these unfortunate beings in various departments of what was called the Military Workhouse. Count Rumford, speaking of his experiment, says:

"The awkwardness of these poor creatures when first taken from the streets as beggars and put to work may easily be conceived; but the facility with which they acquired address in the various manufactures in which they were employed was very remarkable and much exceeded all expectation.

"But what was quite surprising and at the same time interesting in the highest degree was the apparent and rapid change which was produced in their manners, in their general behavior, and even in the very air of their countenances upon being a little accustomed to their new situation.

"The kind usage they met with and the comforts they enjoyed seemed to have softened their hearts and awakened in them sentiments as new and surprising to themselves as they were interesting to those about them.

"Strangers who go to this institution (and there are very few

who pass through Munich who do not take that trouble) cannot sufficiently express their surprise at the air of happiness and contentment which reigns throughout every part of this extensive establishment; and can hardly be persuaded that among those they see so cheerily engaged in that interesting scene of industry, by far the greater part were, five years ago, the most miserable and most worthless of beings—common beggars on the street."

To inspire them with a true spirit of persevering industry, in addition to the very generous price paid them for their labor, praise, distinctions and rewards were bestowed. Those who excelled were publicly praised and encouraged, brought forward and particularly named and shown as examples for others to copy.

As a crowning proof of the perfect success of this philanthropic enterprise, reference is made to the "flourishing state of the establishment; to its growing reputation, to its extensive connections, which reach even to foreign countries; to the punctuality with which all its engagements are fulfilled, to its unimpeached credit, and to its growing wealth."

Notwithstanding all the disadvantages under which it labored in its infant state, the net profit arising from it during the first six years of its existence amounted to above one hundred thousand florins, after the expenses of every kind, salaries, wages, repairs, etc., had been deducted; and, in consequence of the augmentation of the demand for clothing of the troops, the business increased so much that the amount of the orders received and executed in one year did not fall much short of half a million florins.

Count Rumford died in 1814, and his monument is at Auteuil, near Paris. I would sooner make a pilgrimage to it than to the tomb of Napoleon.

Why should we not have here in America a National Relief Department, under the management of the Government?

It is suggested by the compiler of the history from which I have quoted that this Relief Department should have within its gift, funds: To make canals, park and harbor improvements, city and village improvements, and even adornments if work falls short; to drain wet lands, to irrigate others, to perfect our vast unending system of roadways, to cultivate the large area of fertile land still unbroken, to plant eucalyptus and other health trees, etc., etc.

Why should we not have our Houses of Industry, as Munich has its military work house—a place where all beggars may become self-supporting citizens.

We are a century and a decade older than when Count Rumford tried his experiment.

We have had our George W. Childs and Stephen Girard, our Carnegie. But when will we have our Count Rumford, whose

brain conceived and whose purse aided in carrying out a greater work than all of these?

We do not need a free-handed bestower of charity. A man who throws food, rent, clothes, hospitals and libraries to the poor as bones are thrown to the dogs—we need an organizer of the masses, a focuser of undirected minds—a systemizer of the unsystematic. We need a leader who feels the love of mankind in his soul, and who regards the most wretched creature on God's earth as his brother—one to be encouraged, strengthened and stimulated to begin a new life, and given a chance to enter into his rightful kingdom of self-respecting manhood.

Ella Wheeler Wilcox.

The Co-operative Movement in Belgium.

III.

THERE exist several classes of co-operative societies; the most numerous are:

1. Co-operatives of consumption: bakeries, groceries, establishments for the sale of clothing, shoes, coal, etc.

2. Co-operatives of production, employing labor.

3. Co-operatives for farmers, creameries, distilleries, societies for the purchase of seed, fertilizers and merchandise, and for the sale of products of the farm.

4. Co-operatives of loan and savings.

We shall describe the construction and working of each of these kinds of societies.

Co-operatives of Consumption.

In the large cities, as we have said, a start was made by the establishment of bakeries.

This is the way it was done at Brussels.

A group of workingmen of all trades met and decided to establish a co-operative society for the operation of a bakery. Each member agreed to contribute the sum of 10 francs in weekly payments of 25 or 50 centimes.

At the end of some months there were about eighty members and the treasury contained 700 francs.

These eighty families required for the consumption of their families about 120 loaves of bread a day.

They rented a cellar containing a baker's oven at a rental of 35 francs a month. They bought a mixing-trough, a cart and a dog, other utensils and tools, and wood for heating the oven. A flour merchant sold them fifteen sacks of flour for cash and thereafter agreed to allow them credit, receiving his pay every fortnight for the flour that had been consumed. A baker was engaged. In the morning he baked his bread and in the afternoon he carried it to the houses of the members. It was not an easy thing, for there were members in all quarters of the city and the suburbs.

The society was directed by a committee of nine members, of whom one was secretary and one was treasurer. They all served gratuitously.

On Sunday mornings, from 10 o'clock to noon, two or three members met in a tavern not far from the location of the bakery. There the members came with their pass-books to buy bread

checks; the one who required ten loaves for his household paid in advance the price of ten loaves and received in exchange ten metal checks, each representing a loaf. The amount of the checks was inscribed in the pass-book of the member.

Every day, when the baker presented himself at the home of the member, the latter, in exchange for the loaves which he desired, had to deliver to the messenger one or more checks. In the evening, when his circuit was finished, the man who delivered the bread had to return the unsold loaves and the checks coming from the loaves placed with his customers, and every week the same game began again. Every six months a balance was struck. They ascertained what profit was realized, and after they deducted from this profit the charges for sinking fund and interest and the portion reserved for propaganda, they divided the rest according to the number of loaves consumed during the half year, and each member received the portion which was coming to him, according to the number of loaves bought by him, which was inscribed in his pass-book at the same time as in the books of the co-operative.

Surely nothing could be simpler.

The profit per loaf, especially at the beginning, was quite considerable, for the bakers made an average profit of 8 to 12 centimes a loaf.*

This was a fine saving for a working-class family. The women talked about it to their neighbors, and thus, little by little, the number of members increased from 80 to 250. At the end of four years there were 400 in the association, and they had to rent a larger place and set up improved ovens and a kneading machine.

In 1886 the co-operative rented a large building at an annual rental of $1,000. It put it at the disposal of the labor and socialist organizations of Brussels.

Less than ten years later the Socialist building was too small, and the Maison du Peuple Co-operative decided on the construction of a new building, which cost $240,000.

To-day this Co-operative enrolls 18,000 members, who are heads of families, which, at the ratio of five persons to a family, makes about 90,000 consumers. In 1885, after operating for four years, the Brussels Co-operatives produced 100,000 loaves of bread a year. Last year the output was over 12,000,000.

In proportion as the number of members increased, the Maison du Peuple improved its organization.

For an average weekly assessment of one cent, each co-operator (the head of a family) became entitled to seven loaves of

(*This means about 2 cents profit on a loaf weighing 2 1-5 pounds. Chicago bakers make a larger profit than this on a pound loaf.—Translator.)

bread a week and to the services of a doctor and the necessary medicines through the whole course of any sickness. To-day, in order to enjoy the same advantages it is no longer necessary to pay an assessment. These expenditures make a part of the general expenses of the society. Its medical service includes twelve doctors, fifteen pharmacists, several dentists, an oculist, etc. This medical-pharmacal service involves an expenditure of more than $10,000 a year.

To serve their customers, who are scattered over the whole territory of Brussels, the Co-operative employs a great number of bread carriers. It has moreover established sub-stations in the different districts of the city and suburbs. There are about twenty of these to-day.

Each of these substations has a manager who sells bread checks to the members and supplies them with other food products. These sub-stations supply groceries, canned goods, house-furnishings, wine, etc.

Moreover, the Maison du Peuple undertakes the sale of coal; it has also established in the country at Herfelingen a co-operative dairy and distributes every day milk and butter to those of its members who desire it.

Moreover, the Maison du Peuple has a meat market and attached to its central establishment an immense and beautiful bazar of dry goods, shoes, etc.

From the moral and intellectual point of view it is well worth while to study what has been accomplished by the Maison du Peuple. Apart from the admirable building and veritable people's palace which is put at the disposal of its members and the workingmen's associations, we should also mention its library the dramatic representations which it organizes, the resources which it supplies to the Parti Ouvrier for the publication of newspapers, election expenses, etc.

What we have said of the Socialist Co-operative of Brussels may also be said of the other great associations of the same kind, the Vooruit of Ghent, the Werker of Anvers, the Progress of Jolimont, the Populaire of Liege, etc. At Ghent even more has been done. The Vooruit grants to its members, after twenty years, if they have the requisite age, a pension which varies according to the amounts of the purchases made by its members.

In the large cities and the more important industrial villages, it is the bakery which is the principal enterprise operated. Elsewhere, in the smaller towns, the Co-operative store sells all sorts of goods, groceries, clothing, shoes, tools, flour, house furnishings. These Co-operatives, especially in the villages of the Walloon country, half agricultural, half industrial, are veritable bazars, where one can procure anything desired.

These Co-operatives show an annual balance sheet which varies from 150 to 300,000 francs. The profit which they distribute can be estimated at from 12 to 20 per cent of the amount of the purchases.

The most perfect type of the smaller Co-operatives, which will serve as an example of this class, is the Co-operative called La Fraternite, at Jupille, near Liege.

This Co-operative was founded only three years ago. The capital which its founders had at their disposal amounted to not quite $35.00. Its beginnings were far from easy, and the difficulties to overcome were many. At the end of the first year the young Co-operative numbered 117 members, its capital amounted to $585.00, its business for the year to $2,868.20, and the profit realized was $250.00. At the end of the year 1899 La Fraternite numbered 227 members, with a capital of $2,270.00, and an annual business of $17,397.20. The profit realized amounted to $1,727.80, and was about 10 per cent of the amount of the sales. The members of the young Co-operative, with its modest resources, have at least launched their commercial bark very successfully. But what is most noteworthy is the moral and social propaganda which they have accomplished.

Judge of this by these few details:

An active propaganda against alcohol was carried on from the start, and as a sequel to this propaganda an anti-alcoholic circle has been organized. The first practical measure taken by this institution was the suppression of the sale of liquors on the premises of the Co-operative. But the action of the circle did not stop there. Through its propaganda it succeeded not only in checking the consumption of alcohol but also in reducing the excessive use of other drinks. The consequence has been that, although the socialist store has more customers than formerly, the consumption of beer has rather diminished.

In 1898 the Fraternity decided to limit to 10 per cent the profit to be distributed on groceries, and to 5 per cent that on flour; the rest to be devoted to other enterprises.

In January, 1899, the surplus thus obtained amounted to 408 francs, and it was devoted to the establishment of a sick benefit fund. According to the regulations, every co-operator suffering from sickness, or accident, has a right, after two weeks of inability to work, to receive gratuitously one-half of the weekly amount of goods which he had been previously purchasing.

On the 30th of last June this fund had received 1,278 francs and had expended 244 francs; its present reserve is in excess of 1,000 francs.

A dramatic circle was organized last year. This circle has already conducted three concerts and taken part in a festival.

In the month of November, 1899, a study circle was established among the members of the Fraternity. This circle included fourteen members at the start and twenty-five to-day, three of whom are women. They are almost all manual laborers, and have been doing good work in primary studies. Three of these members are less than 20 years of age, nine from 20 to 30, and fifteen more than 30.

The members of the study circle pay monthly dues of 5 cents; the object of the circle is to elevate the moral and intellectual level of its members, to assist them in the study of socialism and of all questions which relate to it directly or indirectly.

The method employed is for each member, in turn, to study an assigned subject upon which he is to give a conversation, which is always followed by discussion.

Since its establishment, the circle, which meets every Tuesday evening from 8 to 10, has held twenty-eight sessions with an average of fifteen or sixteen in attendance.

One session was devoted to the study of the public services of De Paepe; ten sessions to the study of socialism, following Schaeffle's "Quintessence of Socialism;" nine sessions to discussions relative to organization, to readings, etc.

Conversations have also been given on the principal laws of physics, on electricity, workingmen's dwellings, trade unions and education.

Last May the Co-operative decided to establish a library, the administration of which was entrusted to the study circle. This library is open every Sunday from 10 a. m. to noon. It is free and accessible to all members of the Parti Ouvrier. It includes to-day 1,206 volumes, 487 of which are good literature, poetry and philology; 202 treat of the sciences, art and the trades; 189 of history, 108 of social economics and politics, 95 of philosophy, etc. The library moreover subscribes to a certain number of newspapers and reviews.

We are certainly safe in saying that the examples given by the co-operators of Joupille deserve attention and the services which its members have rendered should be recognized.

Joupille is a place of only 5,500 people. A few devoted men have been enough to make a success of the Co-operative and of the work of intellectual emancipation which goes with it.

Co-operatives of Production.

This class of Co-operatives has not been particularly prosperous. Many attempts have been made and with a few rare exceptions they have not ended in favorable results.

At Brussels there exists a certain number of Co-operatives of production, house painters, florists, machinery assemblers,

trimming-makers, shoemakers, confectioners, mill-wrights, carriage painters, etc.

At Ghent we find Co-operatives among masons, millers, cigarmakers, etc.

At Liege and Huy there are co-operative printers.

Most of these societies were established in consequence of a strike and to give employment to the victims. They were started with insignificant capital. Generally, the shares are of 10 to 25 francs each, payable in monthly assessments.

The society is administered by a council of five members or more, and its social activities are controlled by three Commissioners.

The profits realized are shared as follows: 40 per cent for reserve and sinking fund; 30 per cent for the treasury of the union; 25 per cent for the contingent fund, and 5 per cent for the employes.

That is the distribution reported by the Co-operatives of the millwrights of Brussels.

Several of these societies of production were founded by trade unions which possessed an out-of-work benefit fund. The members who were without employment were entitled to a daily indemnity. Certain unions, on account of the great number of those out of work, saw their resources thus being dissipated. They then conceived the idea of setting their idle members at work, which appeared practical, but several attempts of this kind failed.

The Co-operative of the painters' union of Brussels was founded with a capital of 730 francs and a borrowed capital of 3,700 francs. The first year it realized a profit of 5,497 francs. From a report made to the General Assembly by the board of directors we take the following passage: "The amount of the contracts has been 24,612.98 francs, for which the material used amounted to 4,769.79, and the wages paid amounted to 10,993.85. The greater part of these wages were paid during the winter season, which gave a double advantage to the laborers. First, an immediate advantage in that they avoided being out of work; second, to their union, which was not obliged to pay out money from its reserve fund. The employes have generally performed their duties well. We are glad to note the good spirit which has prevailed in the society and the pleasant relations existing between the workers and the managers. We return thanks to the laborers for the spirit of solidarity existing among them. They have done their duty nobly in the work of propaganda and the relief of the sick. This is indeed an admirable example for the whole working class in that these workers are uniting their ef-

forts to assist their companions in labor. We call upon all workingmen to follow this example.

"The goods employed in the execution of our contracts cost, after allowing for those on hand Dec. 31, '98, 4,131.34 francs.

The net amount received for the contracts completed was	23,190.05
The labor and materials cost	15,125.09
General expenses, including salary of manager	2,567.90
The balance remaining is	5,497.36

This is the net profit to be distributed according to the regulations.

"The following distribution was made by the directors and is submitted for your approbation: 1,099.52 for reserve and sinking fund; 3,848.11 francs for education and propaganda fund; 549.73 francs to the employes, or two centimes per hour of labor.

"We need not deny that we should be very glad to be compelled for the current year to increase the figures of this distribution. It will become necessary if you continue to work with your present energy. It will thus be seen that our establishment is alive and may render immense services to the working class, particularly the allied unions. If you wish it to increase its work and at the same time afford such clear advantages to our members you will need to be always active.

"The success of our work depends in great part on the choice of your managers, for the strength of a society is determined by that of the members which direct it. It is thus of the highest importance to choose them with great care.

"People are not born managers, but they may be born with the feeling that a true co-operator should have. Every good co-operator who practices solidarity should be disposed to sacrifice a little of his own well-being for the greater advantage of his comrades. Members who desire to work for our Co-operative should not regard co-operative workshops as many people regard their employer, that is to say, as some one who is entitled to no fidelity if supervision is relaxed for a moment."

Other Co-operatives of production have not had so good a chance as that of the painters, and there are some which, after struggling ten years, are ready to collapse.

Our friend Victor Serwy made inquiry regarding the Co-operatives of production in Brussels. The results of this inquiry were published in my review, "Les Co-operateurs Belges," under the form of monographs. We can do no better than to cite the conclusions of this very interesting study with the conclusions of which we agree. Should we not, Comrade Serwy asks, spread

and encourage the institution of Co-operative societies of production? Yes, we reply without hesitating, because it constitutes a superior form of organized labor, and because it may give manifest advantages to certain laborers.

Yes, it should be encouraged, but on condition that the following rules be observed:

1. Select the industry judiciously, taking account of its capitalist development. In general the co-operative of production is possible only in an industry of small or modest extent.

Before establishing a co-operative of production it is important to take account of the financial situation and the technical condition of the competing establishments.

2. Secure the necessary capital before beginning.

3. Have care in the enlistment of the employes. Select laborers among those most devoted and most capable of understanding the necessity of discipline.

4. Make sure of the co-operation of a good management (superintendent, clerks and salesmen).

5. Pay good wages, good salaries. Interest the workingmen in the good management of their affairs, especially at the beginning.

6. Keep in touch with the labor unions.

Agricultural Co-operatives.

The agricultural Co-operatives most in vogue are dairies and societies for purchase and sale.

The first co-operative dairy was established in 1889. It is, however, only since 1895 that this movement has taken on a rapid growth.

In general this is the mode of procedure. The average capital is 2,000 to 2,500 francs. It is divided into shares of 25 francs each, drawing an annual interest of one franc each.

Each member subscribes for a number of shares equal to the number of cows which he owns. He agrees, moreover, to furnish to the society in its pure state all the milk coming from his cows under conditions and regulations determined by the committee.

For the liquidation of the capital a deduction is made of one centime on every kilogramme of milk furnished by each member to the co-operative dairy. (This is equivalent to a little less than 1-5 of a cent a quart.) When these deductions amount to 25 francs, that is to say, when a farmer has furnished 2,500 kilogrammes of milk, he has fully paid up one share of 25 francs.

The milk is carried to the dairy twice a day. This milk is weighed and the weight entered on the records as well as on the pass-book which the one delivering the milk presents to the clerk. The richness of the milk is then tested by means of a special instrument and the milk is poured into a separator. The cream is

used to make butter; the by-products, skim milk and buttermilk, are returned to the member. As for the butter, it is sold under the direction of the society.

The kilogramme of milk which formerly brought the farmer only eight or nine centimes, brings him to-day almost twice as much;* this means that the advantage of the co-operative dairies is enormous, and that their establishment has rendered undeniable service to the country populations. Thus, the co-operative dairies are counted to-day by hundreds, and new ones are established every week.

Moreover, in certain parts of our country, as for example in Luxembourg, so many of these have been founded that they begin to have trouble in marketing their products at a remunerative price. Accordingly these dairies have federated themselves so as to have a better understanding on the subject of the sale of butter, and thus put an end to the competition between them which has existed. Again, a corporation has been started for the special purpose of opening new dairies, the products of which it centralizes and sells on the markets of great cities and even in foreign countries. The societies for purchase and sale are also widely scattered. They undertake the purchase at wholesale of seeds, machinery, food for cattle, and groceries. A certain number of these societies also undertake the sale of farm products.

For some time also certain farmers have joined in a union under a co-operative form, for the purpose of defending their business interests and buying from the manufacturers farm machinery which they then lease to their members and the public.

Farmers are complaining more than ever of the lack of help or the necessity of paying too high wages. This is specially due to the facility which the country workers have of traveling at greatly reduced rates on the railroad. There are at present nearly 100,000 workingmen who go from their village to the city, purchasing commutation tickets on the railroad. They leave their home in the morning and return in the evening. They thus make six trips each way during the week and pay less than an ordinary traveler pays for a single trip.

The consequence of this is that the country people prefer to go into the cities or the industrial centers to earn good wages rather than to work in their village at the rate of 20 cents a day. Thus the lack of help makes itself felt, with a resulting increase in the wages of farm hands, which it must be confessed is often illusory. Wherever large-scale farming exists the farmers use machinery, but this is as yet the exception. Belgium is decidedly a country of small farms. In view of all this, labor is lacking

*In other words the Belgian farmer, under co-operation, gets 3 cents a quart for his milk.

and the small farmers have not the means to buy machinery. It is to remedy this individual weakness that co-operative societies are being formed with the object of buying agricultural machinery in common.

Another sort of co-operation widely scattered in the country is the co-operatives of loan and savings, after the Raiffeisen system for the most part. There are existing at present more than 300 of these. They are intended to unite the savings of their members and to make them productive. Moreover, they have the right to borrow money from the State Savings Bank to be loaned to their members.

These societies are all organized on the same plan. There is a minimum of seven members who each subscribe for one share of three francs, from which it will be seen that the social capital of these loan and savings societies amounts to 21 francs. The members mutually guarantee each other, and on this guaranty the State Savings Bank makes advances to them.

We now come to the co-operative breweries and distilleries.

A law of 1896 favored the establishment of agricultural distilleries. It is well known that formerly there existed in Belgium hundreds of distilleries in our country towns which, through their by-products afforded food for many head of cattle. But the distillery has become more and more capitalistic and to-day a few dozen great distilleries easily produce the enormous quantity of alcohol necessary for consumption.

The clerical government has wished to favor the establishment of new distilleries in the country districts, under the co-operative form. To permit them to exist by the side of the capitalist distilleries, the rural ones enjoy a reduction in duty to the amount of 15 centimes per litre (about 12 cents a gallon).

Immediately many co-operative distilleries sprang up, most of them in the hands of speculators, who produced alcohol in quantities with the reduction of duty, caused the ruin of the industrial distilleries and cost the State very dearly.

This law of 1896 has already been modified, but the problem has not yet been solved. The government, which wished to favor the farmers and facilitate the raising of cattle, missed its calculation, and the result of the law has been merely to permit a small number of shrewd speculators to make a profit of several hundred thousand francs at the expense of the public treasury.

Finally, to complete our showing of the various kinds of agricultural co-operatives, we must also mention the societies for insurance against loss of cattle, against fire, etc. These societies are more than 600 in number, with 60,000 members and insure 150,000 head of cattle. It is well known that the Belgian government allows indemnity to farmers whose cattle have to be

killed on account of disease. It is through the insurance societies that the government pays these indemnities, which amount to several hundred thousand francs each year.

Up to this time, as we have said, the agricultural Co-operative was managed by the Catholics, with the assistance of the priests. But as the Socialists began to venture into the purely agricultural centers and that, in spite of unheard of difficulties, they began also to start Co-operatives in the interest of the country people. Some of these are already founded in certain villages of Luxembourg and of the Walloon portion of Brabant.

On Dec. 20, 1900, the Moniteur published the by-laws of a Co-operative society Les Campagnards Socialists located at Grandleez in the province of Namur.

The object of this society is to arrange for the purchase and the sale of whatever is produced, consumed or used by its members. It is organized under the supervision of the Parti Ouvrier of Belgium and is affiliated with the co-operative federation.

As soon as it numbers ten members in a commune it establishes a section there. Its capital is fixed at the minimum of 2,000 francs, divided into shares of 10 francs each. The members are responsible only for the amount of the shares subscribed and not for the obligations of each other. The society is managed by a board of directors composed of not less than three members elected for two years. Moreover, each local section has the right to nominate a member to take part in the council of administration. A committee of supervision composed of three members has for its duty to control the operations of the society. The profit is distributed every year, and is divided as follows:

A. 10 per cent is put into the reserve.

B. Enough is then taken to pay an annual interest of three francs on each share.

C. 10 per cent is devoted to propaganda.

The rest will be divided among the members proportioned to the purchases made by each of them, and at a ratio determined by the general assembly of the members.

We must pause here in the description of the mechanism and the operation of these various kinds of co-operative societies, as space fails us to analyze more in detail the special nature and functions of each branch of the co-operative tree.

Louis Bertrand.
Socialist Deputy from Brussels.
(Translated by Charles H. Kerr.)
(To be continued.)

OPPORTUNISM IN PRACTICE.

1. Opportunism and Social Development.

THERE is now no longer any doubt that we have a full fledged opportunism in Germany. There was a time not so long ago—the youngest in the party can still remember it—when the German Social Democracy was considered immune against opportunism. At that time, all that was necessary to kill any political measure in the party was to point out its opportunist character. For it was considered an axiom that the party should not, and could not, be opportunistic. Any one who two or three years ago dared to charge any prominent party member with opportunism was denounced as a calamity howler and was liable to be kicked out of the party as a rowdy for "personal abuse."

But now neither the term opportunism nor its meaning are shunned. Political fops—we have some even in our party—boast of their opportunism and flaunt it in everybody's face; while revolutionary tactics appear as old-fashioned and provincial to the eyes of these politicians of the latest make-up as the long coats and overgrown "stovepipes" of 1848. In short, the opportunist has arrived and enjoys life. And the fact of his existence serves him as his stock argument in defending his right to existence and his political value. He declares: "Haven't I been repeatedly repudiated, beaten in debate, and otherwise annihilated? Has not all the world been frequently convinced that I should never recover, after having my sterility of mind, my ignorance, and my falsification of quotations so mercilessly and so justly exposed? Nevertheless I always return, and I grow daily more insolent. Is not that sufficient proof that I am the necessary and natural product of historic development? What is the matter with your conception of social evolution?"

The development of the social democracy cannot be detached from the general political development of the capitalistic world. The revolutionary activity of the proletariat is not equivalent to its revolutionary perception. And a man's grasp of social phenomena is not due simply to revolutionary propaganda. The diligence of our propaganda and the clear perception of our aims are far from being the only factors that produce a revolutionary effect. The great interrelations of the world market that determine the pace of industrial development; the periodical change of prosperity and crisis; the stagnation of the population in the rural districts or the crowding of country people into the cities; emigration, development of capitalist colonies, rise of new industrial

countries, and the decay of old forms of production; the formation of new world powers and the weakening or downfall of old ones; war and peace, the struggle between nations, the fight for political democracy, the reactionary tendencies of governments, the conflicting interests of the bourgeois parties themselves, the fight between church and state; all these are exerting a momentous influence on the revolutionary activity of the proletariat. In the proletarian struggle for emancipation as well as in the economic and political development of capitalism, there are periods of intensified pressure and of lagging advance; there are times of enthusiastic onslaught and push when the working class surprises the world by its resolute, courageous attitude and its daring plans; there are times of depression, when that class is irresolute and diffident, apparently wasting its world-stirring strength in trifles.

The great historical storms of the revolution in 1848 were followed by a strong depression. This was relieved in the sixties by a new upward movement that found its expression in the International, the Commune, and the grand political organizations of the German laborers. A renewed relapse took place after the events of 1870-71, naturally lasting longest in France, and then came another start ahead. This last period is marked by the alignment of the proletariat in great parliamentary parties. Especially in Germany we witness this tendency. Through the rapid development into a great capitalist state, masses of factory workers were gathered together and whole branches of industry were revolutionized, such as tailoring by the merchant tailors, shoemaking by the shoe factories. The growth of the great cities created the modern building trades, quite different from the bricklayers and joiners of the small towns. A new political and ethical life began to stir, and the Socialists infused it with a ready organization and a clear-cut program. Meantime the bourgeoisie that had no other record to show but the political traditions of half-heartedness, weakness, cowardice, and treason, groveled at the feet of Bismarck, while this janitor of the house of Hohenzollern flung to them as the gracious gift of the King of Prussia that German unity, to which they were incapable of attaining themselves. The iron chancellor himself became entangled in a quarrel with the Catholic clergy which, in spite of its brutality, was as silly an undertaking as it was irresolute. And by the help of the laws of exception he hammered class consciousness and solidarity into the vigorously growing young social democracy. A similar evolution took place in France, Austria, Italy, Belgium, Holland, Switzerland, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Spain.

This new period of advance in the revolutionary fight temporarily reached its climax in 1889 at Paris. The organizations

have indeed grown tremendously since then, but the energy of revolutionary initiative displayed at the first international Socialist congress, the convocation of which was in itself a great achievement, has not been equalled since. The movement kept up to the high water mark for some years, and then we entered on the dull stage in which we now find ourselves. The growth of the organizations still continues, but the surface of the great historical current no longer shows the former uniformity. We see side and counter currents gliding along in thin bands, and we also find oil on the waves. These phenomena may be explained by many negative and positive reasons.

The primary purpose of parliamentary combination was agitation. But parliamentarianism could not forever remain a mere means of propaganda. The growth of the party's political influence created a desire to aim at practical results. When the Socialist party was small and weak, it blamed the class character of the state for many shortcomings that were really the result of its own feebleness. But when the strengthened party now succeeds in gradually gaining many a parliamentary victory, then the brain of the parliamentarian is apt to regard it in the light of a contradiction to the principle of fighting the capitalist state. At the same time the political activity of the social democracy becomes more varied, many-sided, and goes into many details. The petty work of politics is not only unavoidable, it is also eminently revolutionary; but many a man who concentrates his mind on detail work, loses sight of the great outlines. Besides, it is not to be expected that a great historical movement like the proletarian that is on the eve of touching with its numerous political phenomena the entire public life, should clearly show its fundamental character in every detail. The more powerful the revolutionary movement grows, the more scope is given for deviations and irregularities in details. It becomes more difficult to recognize the fundamental character of the movement in those details, and we must pay all the more heed to the general relations of things. In short, parliamentarianism offers to Socialists many practical problems that are apt to lead them away from the policy of fighting the capitalist state on principle. An outside observer is still more easily misled by them.

On the other hand, the exceedingly painful process of revolutionizing the trades, that brought many despairing individuals into the ranks of the Socialist party, may now be considered as being practically completed in Western Europe. The ruined craftsman finds a certain satisfaction and a moral hold in a general critique of capitalist conditions. But this does not satisfy the industrial laborer. He wants to get rid of his misery first of all. He wants great revolutionary changes if possible, but he also ac-

cepts small ones if there is no help for it. Without stopping to discuss the solution of this problem, I only wish to state that this creates another desire for a "positive" action. The policy of the state against the Socialist party has also changed considerably. It is safe to assume that, generally speaking, the period of political disfranchisement and muzzling of the proletariat is past. I do not mean to convey the idea that the capitalist state has entirely renounced the use of force against the Socialist party; but it is true, the state has realized that petty police measures are futile. After the many defeats received at the hands of the Socialists, the state is now bent on establishing a parliamentary truce with Socialism. This is the case not alone in France, where a ministry of "social peace" has actually been established, but also in Germany, in Austria, and, lately, in Italy. These tactics are favored by the circumstance that the colonial policy and the foreign relations have of late assumed an unequalled importance for capitalist states. This draws the attention of the governments away from the interior policy. The desire for internal peace awakes, because it is necessary to have the hands free for war outside. This relaxation of the political reaction also has a soothing effect. The illusions produced in the brains are all the more luxuriant, the better the soil was previously manured by social reform. The industrial prosperity of the last years has contributed its share to foster these illusions.

Of course all these factors cannot change the revolutionary character of the proletarian class struggle, but they fully suffice to create in the brains of some parliamentarians, lawyers and journalists the peculiar hash of ideas characteristic of opportunism. The hollow heads of bourgeois newspaper scribes form the sounding board necessary to give publicity to this sort of thing.

But already we can plainly observe the indications of an evolution that must lead to a new revolutionary concentration of the proletariat. The balance of commercial supremacy on the capitalist world market is preparing to shift. All the world perceives that the industrial power of England is threatened. That cannot remain without influence on the policy of the English laboring class. The industrial liberalism of England has passed through a magnificent development since the repeal of the corn laws, and it even succeeded in tying the laborers to its triumphal chariot. But the golden time of England's commercial supremacy is past. English capital is being hard pressed in the home market and the colonial market. The development of the export

and the industries has long ceased to keep pace with the capitalist development of other countries. What is to be done? "What will be the consequence, when the influx of continental and especially of American products will grow in an ever-increasing ratio, when the present lion's share of English factories in supplying the world will shrink from year to year? Answer, free trade, you panacea!" This question, posed by Frederick Engels in 1885, is now being answered by streams of blood: "Imperialism!" English imperialism is the last desperate step of English capital endeavoring to maintain for a little while longer its commercial supremacy on the sea. It is beyond doubt that this attempt has failed. Whatever may be the formal end of the South African war, it will not create the coveted basis for the formation of a British world empire; it rather marks the beginning of a retrogressive era of English world power. Either immediately or after a short whirl of sham prosperity, this war will be followed by an appalling economic and political insolvency.

Before everybody's eyes, tsarism is meantime drawing an iron semicircle, reaching from Pekin to the Persian Gulf and possessing numerous fortified points, around the English sphere of influence in Asia. Meantime, also, the German and American export trade presses hard on the English industry in the world market. Since Engels wrote those words, English liberalism—the political representative of industrial capital—has continually grown weaker. It has split into factions and continues to split. It does not dare to assume the full responsibility for the policy of the government, nor to oppose it on principle. Thus English liberalism shares the fate of all bourgeois liberalism: political dissolution. That frees the English laborers and must force them to form a political party of their own. The farther the British state will be compelled to proceed on the road of militarism, and the more critical the situation becomes in the world's market, the more will the prospects of the English Socialists brighten. Every year brings England closer to the question: "Either the nation goes to pieces or the capitalist production." (Engels.)

The industrials of the continent rejoice over the imminent downfall of England, for they hope to divide the English inheritance among themselves. Especially the German capitalist considers himself the predestined successor of England in trade supremacy. Futile speculation! The dispute is much more general than between two nations. The competition between whole continents is involved. The industrial future belongs to America and Russia. These countries have the advantage over old Europe through their geographical position, their immense extension, the colossal scale on which the industries develop from

the very beginning, and their political unity. Their competition threatens Germany and France as well as England. In vain does Germany throw the weight of its war forces into the scale; it cannot thereby reduce the distances of the world market, nor increase the industrial potencies of Europe. German imperialism has so far done very good work for Socialism. And it will continue to do so, if we can only keep opportunism out of the policy of the party.

Aside from economic conflicts Europe, cursed with historical traditions and politically divided, will also have to undergo political conflicts. There are historical moments when evolution in the various fields has matured to the point of a crisis and everything tends toward a grand revolution. For instance, during the revolutionary struggles of 1848, we had the identification of the idea of liberty with the conception of a united Germany, a united Italy and an independent Hungary. At present we also are in a period of general restlessness. The Eastern question demands settlement, the quarrel of the Austrian nationalities has paralyzed the machinery of state. Unless one is absolutely convinced that the Austrian state will last forever, one cannot ignore the evil signs of disintegration to be witnessed during the last years. The political system of Europe, which breaks up the nationalities in one place and bunches them together in another, has again come into conflict with the tendency of history to form great national bodies. The whole system of small states in Western Europe becomes more and more an obstacle in the way of the capitalistic development of the immense economic organizations of America and Russia. The capitalistic world market demands with ever greater insistence the formation of a united Europe. But a united Europe can only be a republic. And while this is going on in Western Europe, the land of tsarism shows every day more plainly how incapable it is of mastering the forces set loose by capitalist development. The young proletariat lifts its daring head and draws closer and closer around the throne of the autocrat, in spite of knout and Siberia.

We see, it is not necessary to think of a social revolution in order to hold that the political development of Europe will not run smoothly and peacefully. And I also believe that many a man who gradually and gently transforms capitalism into socialism—on paper—will stop short before the task of minor historical importance involved in painlessly merging into one the houses of Hapsburg, Savoy, and a score of other political firms of the grace of God. But whether the political evolution of Europe proceeds more or less stormily, its influence on the concentration of the revolutionary proletariat is proven beyond doubt by all the experiences of the past century. This concentration

will proceed all the more easily, as the incessant progress of the political consolidation of the proletariat has created organizations of such grand dimensions, that they are unique in the political history of Europe and have never been equalled by any attempts of the proletariat at organization. At the same time a more rapid process of expropriation is lately taking place in industry, throwing aside the capitalist middle class and creating immense combinations, giant pools, that concentrate the class struggle of the laborers in the same measure in which they concentrate production. The question of property is thereby reduced to the simple problem: monopoly of a capitalist combination or collectivism? And under the pressure of electro-technical development, a fundamental revolution of the entire productive activity is also taking place.

Capitalist development is proceeding much more rapidly than the evolution of so-called "public opinion." It is always considerably ahead of the ideas that dominate in the press and the parliament. Hardly have the bourgeois idea mongers had time to prepare their little doctrines and wishing slips for a quiet, slow, and easy capitalist development, when it suddenly bursts forth impetuously, rushes on madly, and behaves in general as if it were specially bent on hoodwinking its friends. The influence of this always belated public opinion of the bourgeois reaches even to the ranks of the Socialists. Were we to judge of the political character of the proletarian class struggle by the opinions uttered daily in the ranks of the labor parties, then we should often have good reasons for discouragement. But the revolutionary character of the labor movement is founded on facts, not on the vacillating opinions of this or that man who may temporarily disport himself as the mouthpiece of the party. There are always certain unlucky birds in the party whom the revolutionary perception approaches mostly from the outside, in the shape of literary or political drubbings. If we view evolution from this point, we must admit that the German Social Democracy brought forth a good deal of revolutionary perception during the last years. For whenever opportunistic tendencies showed themselves, the revolutionary perception always and everywhere followed close behind. Opportunism was tracked by revolutionary perception step by step, and often pulled out of its darkest hiding place. The historical method bequeathed by Marx and Engels affords the possibility of recognizing the sources and consequences of errors and political mistakes made by the proletariat. Thus we prevent disappointment, assist in removing disarrangements, and endeavor to preserve the accumulated revolutionary energy from wasting, until a new revolu-

tionary concentration of the proletariat takes place under the pressure of the conditions.

2. Opportunism and the Doctrine.

Since opportunism appeared among German Socialists, it has never ceased to complain that it was being misunderstood. Vollman's eldorado speeches in 1891 were misunderstood, his remarks on State Socialism were misunderstood, the consent of the Bavarian fraction in the Landtag to the budget was misunderstood, the idea of independent farmers in the draft of the South German agrarian program was misunderstood, Schippel's position toward militarism at the Hamburg congress was misunderstood, Heine's compromise policy was misunderstood, and finally Bernstein's revision was misunderstood first by myself, then by everybody else who attacked it, including Karl Kautsky, the intimate friend of Bernstein, with whom a twenty years' exchange of ideas connected him. The capacity for being misunderstood is the strongest intellectual weapon of opportunism. There are politicians who can never succeed in being misunderstood, no matter how much they try. They are rather too outspoken, draw too one-sided conclusions out of individual cases and pay the penalty by falling unawares into a ludicrous contradiction. A contradiction arising from a daring and upright search for truth and clearness is surely more praiseworthy than that intellectual adaptability which always carries in its mouth two half-truths that do not fit together because they belong to two different wholes. But the contradiction is clearly apparent, the half-truth is plainly perceptible.

The alleged misfortune of being misunderstood is founded in the character of opportunism. First and most of all it is misunderstood by itself. It needs outside help in order to draw the conclusions from its own actions, and a long experience in order to know itself. When it first appears, it is only a modification, a different shade of color, a grease spot. No matter how much it grows, it never becomes a system, a doctrine, or even a principle. It remains a shapeless, gelatinous mass. For this reason nothing in the world is so distasteful to it as a firm outline, a doctrine or a dogma. At the same time, when attacked, it never finds any difficulty in adhering to a dogma.

Hence it has always been impossible to strike opportunism by any resolution. When Bebel offered his resolution in Erfurt, the congress was convinced that Vollmar would have to define his position by certain amendments and additions. But he did nothing of the kind and at once fully endorsed the resolution. He even declared in his closing speech that he did not wish to see the tactics of the party changed; they suited him very well as they were. Likewise Bernstein now endorses all resolutions.

While carrying on a bitter fight against the entire scientific and political activity of Marx and Engels, he declares that he is standing on the ground created by the ideas and activity of these men. And although an abyss has long since formed between him and the entire policy and historical tradition of the party, he persistently repeats that the party is standing on the same ground with him and is only not aware of it.

To clearly formulate opportunism is not feasible. It is as little adapted for that purpose as quicksand is for sculpturing. In criticizing it, we must confine ourselves to exposing its origin, its development, and its muddleheadedness.

One trait is common in the origin of all opportunist errors in the Socialist labor movement: the incapacity for organically combining the present policy of the party with its final revolutionary aim. In the eyes of the opportunists these two points separate themselves: here the final aim, there the present policy. At best they recognize a parallel activity: agitation for the social revolution and activity within the capitalist state. That it is possible for our present activity to be thoroughly revolutionary with all its variety, all its "positive" and practical character, even in the old true sense of the term, according to which the social revolution does not begin until the proletariat is supreme, that passes their understanding. But the simple revolutionary spirit that scorns all present activity is perfectly plain to them. Vollmar, e. g., represented the so-called "young Socialists" as models of consistency. In 1891, he described their position as follows: "The modern social and political conditions are beyond improvement. . . . Hence we have stood aloof from all participation in practical politics and confine ourselves to protesting and waiting, until our strength lies in the street and we can get the whole at one stroke. And this time is near; it even depends on us alone to hasten its arrival." And he added: "This position is doubtless clear and precise."

But the position of Bebel, Liebknecht and others appears to him as pure inconsistency. He writes in the same articles of the Muenchener Post (Ueber Optimismus, reproduced in the pamphlet Ueber die naechsten Aufgaben der deutschen Sozialdemokratie, publisher M Ernst): "It directly contradicts our entire conception of a gradual growing into a new form of society, if now and then declarations are suddenly sprung on us that represent any work for immediate measures as practically worthless. . . . A prominent party member recently said in a well-considered speech at Berlin: 'The state of the ruling classes will never yield to more than petty concessions.' That might have been said very well by one of the 'young Socialists' as an argument in favor of his policy of abstention from all practical poli-

tics and of pure agitation of principles. Why should we, indeed, devote nine-tenths of our activity to work which will never yield anything but insignificant results?" You see, what Vollmar does not understand is the value of present day parliamentary work and practical politics for our revolutionary propaganda. This value will become plainly apparent when the class interest or the class egoism of the ruling elements prevent the realization of our demands by legal means. It was precisely this that was later emphasized by the Erfurt resolution, and Vollmar did not even hesitate to approve of it.

Whoever does not know how to combine the fight for social revolution with the present day political or parliamentary work, finds now the revolutionary agitation in the way of present day work, now the latter in the way of the former. Hence he is placed before the alternative: pure revolution, or pure reform. That explains why the time limit plays such an important role in the opportunist reflections on the social revolution. If the revolution is impending, then they are freed from the vexing problem and believe that there is no use in bothering with social reform measures; they are then extremely revolutionary. Thus Vollmar replied to Bebel, who expected great social changes in the near future: "If I could share this belief, no regard to agitation could induce me to continue any political chores." By the way, that would be just the right method to delay the revolution a little longer.

Whether it takes ten, or twenty, or fifty years for the proletariat to obtain sufficient power to make an end of capitalist exploitation, that is a question of great ethical importance. But revolutionary politics are not dependent on the date of the revolution. They are the result of capitalist evolution that creates an irreconcilable conflict between the working class and the capitalists, no matter whether its march is slow or rapid. It has caused some surprise that Vollmar, who first was much more inclined to go to extremes in his ultra-revolutionary attitude, became so moderate. We know to-day that therein lies a peculiar consistency which was also exhibited later on by the "young Socialists" of 1891, all of whom have shed their skins and become Vollmarians unless, they have left politics entirely. It is clear: if a man is only a revolutionary, because he expects a revolution tomorrow, he will turn into a reformer, if the revolution is delayed by the march of events until the end of the week. The revolutionism of the "young ones" was due more to desire than to conviction. It lacked the true insight into the development of social conditions, and it was as hollow as their present opportunism. But Marx and Engels fought for the social revolution during half a century without wavering for a single moment. On the contrary, their buoyancy increased with the years, for they had the historical perception which the others lacked. Nor did August Bebel change when no great political events took place by 1898. It is not a matter of any great political day, but of great historical events that are not dependent so much on our ability to plan ahead, as on capitalist development.

Vollmar, who charged Bebel with inconsistency because the latter did not push his revolutionary tendencies to the point of totally abandoning his "chores," failed to draw the logical conclusions from his own standpoint. For if such a chasm yawns between the social revolution and the "daily chores," then it follows that in order to devote ourselves fully to the "chores" we should have to give up the idea of a social revolution. This Vollmar did not do, however, but declared that he wished to keep his eye on the "final aim" while doing his "chores." Eduard Bernstein went a step farther in his well-known statement: "The final aim is nothing, the movement everything to me." But this is precisely the characteristic mark of opportunism that it does not dare to solve the contradictions that entangle it. Once the opportunist draws his conclusions as to social reforms, he ceases to be an opportunist and becomes a reformer. That would at once clear the situation, and we should settle the pure reformer's account as quickly as we did the advocates of pure revolution.

The development of opportunism tends toward reformism. But until this final result is reached, opportunism throws a cloak over its own development. Thus the theories are born of a gradual growing of society into socialism, of an insensible stifling of capitalism, etc., all of which simply tend to substitute social reform for social revolution. They pretend to change things by changing names. As this is impossible, they become gradually involved in an irreconcilable opposition to their starting point. They sneer at revolutionism, first proclaim the freedom of Socialist science, then appeal from science to the fallaciousness of human perception, and finally make Socialism a matter of belief and temperament. Hence these Socialists who first could not be revolutionary enough, turn into social reformers long before capitalism is transferred into Socialism. Instead of stifling capitalism, they choke their own political past.

So far from solving the contradiction in which he is entangled, the opportunist transfers it to his whole party. He thinks that in fighting him we oppose the future ideal of social revolution to the present day chores. But this problem does not exist for us at all. For the work of the present does not interfere with our revolutionary agitation, it rather furthers it. The trouble lies in the present day work itself, from which the opportunists want to eliminate revolutionary agitation. The question is:

Shall we aim exclusively at immediate parliamentary and economic results in our present work, or shall these results be simply the means for the realization of a higher object, the revolutionary organization of the proletariat. It is not merely a question of voting, obtaining political successes, advocating social reforms and democratic laws, organizing strikes for higher wages, and other labor demands—but of either leaving the political power in the hands of the bourgeoisie or leading the proletariat by means of these measures to the conquest of the political powers for the purpose of changing the fundaments of the state, of property and of the mode of production. Parvus.

(Translated by E. Untermann.)

The Trade Unionist, Regnant.

HE comes pale, bloodless, cowed and dazed
By hunger grim, betrayed by Scab,
Slow creeping back to shop and mine—
A Striker still—deep muttering:
We'll fight again some other day.

And soon by joy of life's deep urge
Resilient made, or desperate grown
By barren, brutal, deep starved life,—
Again he strikes for wife and child.
Again his Lord, puissant grown
By deed, and law, and gold,—strikes blow
Of iron and brings him stunned to heel.
Again, indomitable, he
Gives battle strong, and wins.

The years move on. And desperate strike,
And brotherhood deep brace and purge,
Grow hidden power to regal life,
Reveal his Christ-like mission great,—
Until he stands erect, composed.
Strong statesman armored for his Cause.

At length his mighty power begins
To surge and urge,—and bursting clear
At last, at last, upon his view,
The field on which to fight,—he crowds
Precipitate to Hall of State,—
And there invincible He stands
Announcing bold to Bourgeoisie
THE RULE OF PROLETAIRE BEGUN.

Frederich Irons Bamford.

THE CHARITY GIRL.

By Caroline H. Pemberton, Author of "Stephen the Black," "Your Little Brother James," Etc.

CHAPTER XVI.

The sacrificial altar had taken itself out of Julian's reach. Another had stepped in, and without dreaming of condescension or self-sacrifice, had wrapped those two despised ones of the earth in the secure love of his simple heart. He had given the substance in place of the shadow that Julian, with much trepidation and many misgivings, had been bracing himself to offer. It was very wonderful—in the nature of a miracle—this love-story of Martha's, and he could not but feel that he had himself acted the part of a special Providence in bringing this miracle to pass,—or was it only that the girl's life had blossomed into loveliness as soon as she was removed from the grinding pressure of poverty and the blighting touch of Charity? It would seem, then, that the beneficiary must needs be moved as far as possible from the benefactor,—the farther the better—and the relations between them reduced to purely economic ones with all sentimental considerations left out, but this did not accord with his original ideal of Charity, nor did it leave room for the exaction of that tribute coin, gratitude, which his managers invariably claimed.

As he recalled the enthusiasm of the Mennonite fanatic over the new social order that Christ was to introduce at His second coming, he fell to dreaming himself of an improved condition of things which should eliminate pauperism (he remembered with a pang that all Charity workers agree in detesting pauperism while they adore the squalid poverty of "the poor") and provide the helpless ones with means of support in some impersonal way by the State, and on a grandly munificent scale of justice to each individual. It was odd that the Mennonite's vision should coincide with that of the wretched street woman. It would seem that such problems were in the air—floating about for every child of misery or lonely thinker to catch at—and waiting for a solution. How long, O Lord, how long would the waiting have to be?

The question pursued him during his waking hours; it hung over his bedside at night and robbed him of sleep at pleasant country inns until the reflection of his haggard face in the morning mirror became a mere ghostly personification of that reproachful Question.

After spending nearly three weeks in visiting country almshouses, jails and other abodes of misery—all tabulated by the

State under the mocking head of "Charitable and Reformatory Institutions"—Julian at last turned his careworn face away from their concentrated horrors and boarded a train that would carry him swiftly to the city, where lay stretched out at its full length the great Question—still unanswered—aye, even untouched!

He tried again to set himself to the task of solving the Problem on a basis of alms-giving organized and directed by the State, but this brought him face to face with the sad inconsistency of having the State reward incompentency, drunkenness and neglect of paternal duty, while it left the industrious poor to struggle along unaided. Then came the awful question of taxation. He felt the Problem to be too much for him. The only conclusion he could come to was that private alms-giving and care of the poor were a dismal failure anyway, even when looked at from their brightest side. Elisabeth's career was a shining light shedding glory on the Association, but could his Managers claim honor for their long series of blunders in Martha's case, even though a miracle had been performed at the last? And then the divided responsibility which several organizations shared for the cruelties inflicted on Martha's brothers—did this not pull down the scales on the other side and leave many philanthropic managers in the position of creating a keener misery than that which they had started out to relieve?

Suddenly, the current of his thoughts changed. His absorption in the Mennonite idyl was blotted out by the cries of the newsboys on the train as it approached the city. He now learned that war had been declared between the United States and Spain; the President was about to issue a call for volunteers; the regulars, it was said, were already on their way to protect the southern coast!

This then was the meaning of the great excitement he had observed at every station along the route; men were to be seen talking in groups everywhere; flags were being displayed with a fierce patriotism that was burning to avenge the "Maine." All the young men were said by the newspapers to be eager to enlist in a war that was proudly proclaimed to be undertaken solely in the interests of humanity. It was of course understood that America could enter the arena only in defense of a noble cause. But was not the avenging of the "Maine" a noble cause—at least about as noble as taking up arms in behalf of those miserable little Cubans—suggested some of the papers.

Julian's blood turned to fire in his veins.

Notwithstanding those confused cries of "vengeance" and "humanity" by the yellow journals, Julian felt that here indeed was a chance for self-sacrifice on a large scale—demanding his life—all he had!

Moreover, it offered him a blessed release from that hopeless

effort to solve the Riddle which our modern Sphinx—like a frenzied madwoman—was persistently bawling in his ears.

It was eight o'clock in the evening when he stepped off the train, but there was time to visit several armories. Before the evening was over he had registered his name as a volunteer to be called upon if needed. He passed the physical examination and discovered that he lacked two pounds of the requisite weight of a United States soldier.

"Eat hearty and maybe you'll fill out in a few days," said the recruiting officer. It was a militia regiment, well disciplined and neat, but of no great social pretensions. The rank and file were industrious clerks, bookkeepers and salesmen, with a sprinkling of mechanics and laborers. There were some vacancies in the membership and Julian's unmarried state was in his favor. On the whole it was likely they might send for him soon. At two other armories he had received distinct discouragement; in one organization known to be composed of the higher social elements of the city, the membership list was far from complete,—but they expected to fill it out with their personal friends.

"It's a kind of club, you know, and of course the fellows want to be together," some one had ventured to explain. Julian thought this perfectly natural; it meant that they wanted to die together, if die they had to on the field of battle. It would of course be vastly more comfortable to be shot down in the company of one's friends and to expire in their arms, than to die among strangers. He looked searchingly at the members of the regiment he hoped to join and weighed their prospective merits as death-bed companions. He decided that they looked good enough to die among. Their comradeship seemed to be built on very human lines, he thought,—and he was glad the others had rejected him.

The next morning when he reached the office of the "Association" he found another war raging. It had been reported to the Managers that Elisabeth had disappeared from the boarding-house they had selected for her, and no one knew where she had spent the night following her departure. She had been hastily summoned before a Committee of Managers to whom she explained that she had spent the evening at the Opera, and after finding herself locked out had sought refuge at another boarding establishment.

This incomplete statement had produced an extraordinary sensation. It was clevely surmised that Elisabeth had not revealed the whole truth. Following some inexplicable instinct she had suppressed all mention of Julian's name, which of course increased the mystery of her conduct. A series of meetings were

held for the purpose of fixing the exact degree of wrongdoing for which Elisabeth should be held responsible; to this was added the enormous guilt of an intention to deceive.

Julian found the Managers holding a star chamber session, and profoundly enjoying their task of probing Elisabeth's faltering admissions and denials with their penetrating logic. But their wonderful air of holy disinterestedness, their attitude of angelic tolerance for each other's opinions (a state of mind presumably evolved from an abiding confidence in the superiority of their social station) all this had vanished, and his astonished eyes now beheld the Board room turning rapidly into a camp of furious Amazons. In vain did Julian insist that the responsibility for Elisabeth's transgressions was wholly his. The situation had become too strained to admit of new testimony. The Board had split into warring factions, and those who believed Elisabeth guilty of gross impropriety represented an aggressive majority. The minority which had originally been composed of several feebly expostulating members, dwindled at every meeting, until it was finally reduced to a group of three. The three developed at last an undaunted courage; they retired from the shock of battle with wet eyes, rumpled hair and the general appearance of high-bred chickens fleeing from a storm of wind and rain, but they gathered themselves together afterwards and returned to the charge with unflinching heroism.

They took Julian into their confidence one day, and explained to him the real nature of the combat. It was not, they said, a difference of opinion on Elisabeth's behavior. The real issue was a question of leadership. Dissatisfaction had been brewing for a long time; the leader of the majority had jumped at the opportunity offered by the report of Elisabeth's alleged improprieties to utter her famous war-cry: "The principles of Human Brotherhood are at stake!" it was meaningless, but powerful in rallying the weaker sisters. With cutting irony the trio dissected the motives and characteristics of the triumphant young Amazon whose bidding they now refused. But the only result of their incisive thrusts was the development of a new theory (on the part of their adversaries) which demanded the immediate dismissal of Elisabeth.

To his astonishment, Julian found himself set aside in the discussions that followed. Nothing that he could say made the slightest impression; the majority had no fault to find with him; he was ruled out of the argument by skillful sophistry, and denied admission to the meetings. He was not consulted about Elisabeth's dismissal. When he complained of this treatment, the defeated ones told him she had been dismissed simply to drive

her three faithful champions from the Board. It was the last move of the game.

"Why do they not dismiss me?" cried Julian, eagerly.

The forlorn leader of the minority smiled.

"Their theory now is," she replied, "that you have fallen a victim to Elisabeth's wiles. Your welfare is supposed to be endangered by her presence in the office. You see you forced them into this position when you proved so clearly that she was absolutely blameless in the matter."

Her two colleagues joined her in ladylike, delicately suppressed screams of bitter laughter at the conclusion of this statement, which was a correct exposition of their adversaries' line of argument,—the climax of misrepresentation and false reasoning. Julian turned away in sharp disgust.

That same day Julian was notified to hold himself in readiness to join his regiment at a few hours' notice. He sought Elisabeth immediately. The undeserved disgrace into which she had fallen was now stinging him to the quick. He could not permit this helpless young creature to suffer the consequences of his own selfishness and lack of worldly wisdom. Some way must be found to extricate her from the humiliation of her position. He believed that the Managers would never have taken such a view of her conduct if she had not been one of the waifs. Alas! would she never be released from waifdom? Could he not cut her loose with one blow?—and after that the war,—and probably death! His life was his country's, but he could give Elisabeth his name and a home with his mother who he believed loved and understood her. In the face of war, marriage seemed now a very trifling obligation. As for love—his heart was dead within him—he would not deceive her.

It was near the close of the day's work. Julian expressed a wish for Elisabeth to remain afterwards. When they were left alone he motioned to the young girl to draw near, and he placed her chair beside his. She sat down obediently.

"You have not said a word to me about the trouble with the Managers—not a word," he began abruptly, "I'm afraid they have worried you terribly?" Elisabeth tried to speak, but tears choked her. She laid her hand on the desk in an effort to steady herself.

Julian looked at the small hand on his desk; it bore the stamp of toil in childhood, the roughness of the needle's pricking and a lately acquired inky stain. He was moved to put his own hand swiftly over it, and to hold it in a light, firm grasp.

"I have not been a very wise guardian—or a very good friend to you—have I?" he cried, impulsively.

"You have been good to me,—always!" she replied. He dismissed a sudden impulse to draw Elisabeth nearer to him.

"I should like to be good to you always," he assured her with a kind smile. Elisabeth raised her eyes. Julian observed with an unaccountable pang in his heart the peculiar charm of her face; a suggestion of Semitic origin in the delicate arch of her nose accentuated the pathetic gravity of her expression. But he bethought himself suddenly of another face—a thousand times more lovely. He drew his breath quickly and withdrew his hand from Elisabeth's. The change in his attitude cast a chill over the young girl. He went on with a rapid utterance and an air of determination, but the impulsiveness of his manner vanished.

"I do indeed wish to be good to you. Elisabeth, I am going to the war—I have enlisted——" The girl uttered a faint exclamation. Julian noting her agitation went on hurriedly, "That may mean nothing more than a holiday excursion—or I may never come back,—of course no one can tell what we are going into, or how long it will last. I want to leave you provided for. I want you to be happily situated in every respect." Having reached this point, Julian ceased to look at the girl and began to draw imaginary circles and geometrical designs on his desk with the end of an ivory paper-cutter. His face was still expressive of unalterable resolution. He went on:

"I have thought over what is best for you, from every point of view. I am not satisfied to leave you to the mercies of those female dragons. I do not want to see you working for strangers, either. I cannot bear the thought of your going out into the world by yourself. You are so young; I hate to see such needless exposure of a young life——" He dug the paper knife into a groove in the desk, and then laid it suddenly down. "So I have come to this conclusion, Elisabeth,—that the way out of it,—the best way for both of us—is for you to marry me before I go to the war."

Elisabeth stood before him; her lips parted with a breathless, bewildering realization of joy unspeakable. She tried to speak, but no sound came forth. Julian looked at her gravely,—with an odd shyness. Elisabeth struggled again for speech and at last found her voice. She said with an innocent directness:

"Do you mean that you love me?"

Julian picked up the paper cutter and returned to his geometrical designs. How could this child know anything about love?

"Love means all things to all people, Elisabeth. I think with me it means everything in life—everything holy and beautiful. I love humanity—but the larger element swallows up the lesser, the more personal. Elisabeth, I once believed that my life was dedicated to service; without any cant, I wanted to give all of myself

to my work. When I chose that path it did not leave much room for the purely personal affections,—at least it should not. I'm not making my meaning clear. What I want to say is——" He frowned and studied the desk a moment; he remembered he had not lived up to his creed: he did not want to sail under false colors in Elisabeth's eyes. Then his face cleared and his voice fell to a persuasive note.

"But the greater includes the less—that is what I meant to say. 'Greater love hath no man than this—that he should lay down his life for his friend'—as I would for you,—ay, a thousand times over again! But my life is dedicated also to those who need me,—just now to my country. Elisabeth, will you—be satisfied with what I have to give you?"

His attitude was not that of a lover; even to her inexperienced young soul this much was revealed. But he looked with a most ingenuous expression from the desk to her face; his youthful magnetism and the look in his eyes of passionate exaltation made their own appeal.

She turned to him artlessly. "I know you have others to think of as well as me—I am satisfied." Satisfied? She was in paradise!

The eyes of these two very unworldly young persons met. The world was nothing to either of them; it knew them not or had long since forgotten what little it once knew concerning them. A worker in a charitable organization and a waif under his care—surely, two such insignificant human molecules might plan their lives to suit themselves! So thought Julian with a suppressed, sober joy in his heart.

He held out his hand. Elisabeth placed hers within it. An impulse to kiss her entered his mind, but he put it aside with sternness. The occasion was so very solemn! The agonies and the glories of war were staring him in the face; they were mating for a parting. He must think of Elisabeth's future and arrange for his probable death. He helped her on with her coat, and took down her hat.

"To-morrow we shall be married—and then—my regiment may leave any day. Elisabeth, I have something I want to leave with you—this package. I wish to leave these things in your care—and I know you will keep them safely until I ask for them?"

"I will—I will," she whispered. Julian opened his desk and took out an oddly shaped parcel. It contained what remained of his flute and violin. He placed the package in her hands.

"You are going to the war—to be killed!" Casting the package aside, she turned toward him with a sob. Julian drew her to him and did his best to console her. His tone was kind, as usual.

"You can stay with my mother until I come back," he suggested, gently; then coldly—"my mother loves you, Elisabeth."

For at that moment a vision was rising unbidden before him. He saw a similar scene in a rose garden; the exquisite face of Marian floated before his eyes. He shuddered. She had stepped between them and paralyzed the newly awakened tenderness that was springing up in his heart for Elisabeth.

The situation became suddenly intolerable; he was panic-stricken at the complexity of his emotions. The next instant, he tore himself from Elisabeth with incoherent excuses that he must attend to his new duties; he must telegraph to his mother; he must seek the armory and the Managers of the Association—a thousand things were to be attended to without delay—he must leave her.

Dismayed at his own abruptness—conscious of deplorable failure in his effort to speak with tenderness and act with consistency—Julian left Elisabeth and rushed out into the street.

CHAPTER XVII.

That evening, Julian was on his knees in his bed-room tying up in a borrowed army blanket the few articles of clothing he expected to take with him to the State Camp. He was not thinking, however, of military matters, but of a comment Denning had made on Elisabeth's good looks during her short stay in his boarding-house.

Coupled with the thought of Denning's careless admiration was the embarrassing fact which a clergyman had explained to him, that Elisabeth being still a minor, the consent of a parent or guardian would have to be obtained before her marriage could take place. In the absence of parents, Julian would have to sanction her marriage with himself and receive the bride—from his own hands.

The more he considered it the more did it seem that an element of unfairness had entered the situation. Was Elisabeth acting solely from her own choice when she accepted her benefactor as her husband? Was she not limited by her isolation and dependency to a much narrower choice than should fall to the lot of a young, pretty, well-educated girl? Lastly, in marrying an attractive young woman "for her own good,"—so Julian now sarcastically phrased it—was he not guilty of hypocrisy when he assumed that her welfare was his only consideration? Was he not taking advantage of her inexperience and deceiving himself while deceiving her? He forgot that he had treated her with coldness in their last interview; he could hardly analyze his sensations of those last few moments at the office.

It now seemed clear to him that it was unnecessary to have insisted on Elisabeth's marrying him in order to save her from the spiteful tongue of slander. Such a desperate remedy might be the only alternative for one who sat enthroned on the high chair of conventionality in the glaring publicity of American social life, but for this obscure little fledgling, the simpler—nay, the more manly and considerate—course, would have been to have removed her quietly beyond the reach and knowledge of the female dragons and let her marry whom she pleased. It was as easy to change her environment—poor little roofless, rootless outcast that she was—as for a bird to hop from the dark retreat of one leafy bush into the inviting black mystery of another.

It was significant that the idea of self-sacrifice did not enter in the least into Julian's calculations for Elisabeth's future. The sacrificial altar had in fact retreated again to a safe distance, and now loomed indistinctly on the horizon as a fiery pillar enveloped in the black smoke of war.

His disagreeable doubts pressed more heavily as the hours went by. Meanwhile the wraith of his unhappy first love had again been exorcised, and for the present ceased to trouble him.

The door opened during his meditations to admit Denning, who wanted to borrow twine. He expressed no surprise at the nature of Julian's task, but threw his door open wide as he returned to his room, revealing a pile of shirts, underwear, vests and trousers, toppling uncertainly in the middle of an army blanket that was spread upon the floor. The two men looked at each other. Neither had spoken a word on the subject before.

"You surprise me," said Julian as he tugged vigorously to get his bundle into shape. "Often I've heard you say that you did not believe in going to war to help another people—and you hate the Cubans."

"A war for humanity is nonsense," answered Denning with contempt. "I am not going for the sake of those yellow Cubans,—or to avenge the Maine. The Navy can avenge its own wrongs, I fancy, without the assistance of citizen volunteers, who don't know which end of a gun the bullet is going to come out of. I'm not going, either, I can tell you, to oblige a set of rascally politicians who call themselves 'the government' and who get up a war to further their own ends and fill their own pockets——"

"I don't see why on earth you don't stay at home," observed Julian, energetically.

"I could stay honorably enough, for I've never been a member of any military organization,—the one I always wanted to join permanently is too expensive,—too many balls and dress uniforms,—and you have to keep your own horse, too."

"There seems to be no obligation of any kind."

"There is an obligation," said Denning, slowly, "but one you probably cannot understand. The troop I am going with contains nearly all the men I know and constantly meet. I don't mean that they are all my personal friends—but they go where I go, they visit the houses that I visit; we dance with the same girls, eat at the same tables and belong to the same club—whatever befalls them is going to befall me. Of course most of the fellows are young and crazy with the excitement of the thing. They look upon it as a jolly lark. I'm an older man and I have a long head on me when I choose to give it a show. I may keep some of the crazy heads out of mischief or help them out afterwards. At any rate, I'm going because they're going. That's all there is in it that's explainable. You can call it by any fine name you want—patriotism, for example."

Julian laughed. "I never heard it dissected so frankly before. If you believe in the principles of popular government isn't there some inspiration in helping a weak, oppressed neighbor to throw off the yoke that we threw off and bidding her follow in our footsteps?"

"Popular government be d—d! I never believed in it,—help me screw up this package, won't you?" was Denning's retort. He apologized goodnaturedly for his profanity by saying that he was practicing what military graces he could call his own,—"I don't know how to climb a horse, and I never shot anything off in my life, except fire-crackers, toy pistols, pop-guns and the like, when I was a boy." He stood a moment in anxious meditation, pulling a very slight mustache, which he had lately been cultivating.

"I guess I can manage a rifle, but I hope—I do hope I may find a brute that I can have confidence in. Whoa,—Rozinante!" He sat astride a chair, and looked with a troubled countenance at Julian, while he pulled imaginary reins. "I say—wouldn't it be a bad business for the beast to bolt from the field with me on its back—just as the fellows were about to charge the enemy! But there seems to be an unwritten law that gentlemen's sons must be troopers,—queer isn't it?"

"I never heard it before," said Julian, ingenuously, "but I suppose they do look more dignified on horseback—as if they were a little above the vulgar herd—even if they have to use the same old common earth to ride over."

"As long as they keep together, it's all right—so it doesn't matter much where they ride or what they ride over—they're all gentlemen together, and it's a regular jolly club life—the swellest one in America."

"Are they all such men of culture?" asked Julian, with respect.

"Bless you—no—many of them never open a book, and it was

all some of the fellows could do to get through college. No—I cannot say that they sparkle with culture—though there are a few book worms among them—but we have managed to keep out the vulgar herd."

"Well, then, why such exclusiveness? I don't understand exactly what your aristocracy is based on."

"How can I explain these subtle distinctions? They are inherent—hereditary very often—and absolutely vital to the preservation of the best society, but you are determined to deny their existence, so what is the use of discussing them?" Denning spoke with irritation.

"I am not denying their existence, I am only trying to investigate the nature of mysteries that I seem to be constantly running up against. You say culture or learning is not the basis—then it must be delicacy of feeling, refinement—something of that sort?

"Well—you know, some of the fellows do make most shocking beasts of themselves—it's a pity there's so much drinking,—tho' it's not always a question of drinking, only."

"Of course you put them out?" Julian looked up quickly.

"If they break the rules—yes—sometimes—of course it rarely happens."

"I mean out of this—not the troop, but your higher social fellowship of gentlemen's sons? Of course you cease to associate with them when they sink to such a level?"

"Now, my dear young friend, an aristocracy does not exist to exploit any vulgar Sunday School morality. That is the one thing I insist upon,—that a gentleman cannot by his actions cease to be what he is by birth, by nature,—he cannot put himself outside the pale if he tries! Why, if you look at it in any other way, where are you? Any cad can conduct himself 'like a gentleman,' and claim admission on the score of his virtues or his learning, or his acquired good manners! Or a chambermaid might go to school and pick up knowledge and good breeding that might be a very good imitation of the real thing. Oh, no, we have to draw the line very strictly indeed—and it is better to have it an invisible line—visible of course to ourselves."

"Denning, you are a most irrational being! You are denying the very premises you started out with,—actually leveling the walls that make your aristocracy possible!" cried Julian in astonishment.

"Not at all!" said Denning quickly. "I admit nothing of the kind. But you can never understand this thing from the outside. If you got inside you would understand it as I do."

"How could I possibly get 'inside' of social lines that are hereditary and inherent—and absolutely vital?" laughed Julian.

"Those are the standards, of course—but in this country, they

have to be modified to suit our preposterous democratic conditions. We have to recruit from the outside, but I don't know that it's any worse than the British way of conferring titles for merit or selling them outright,—(one being as bad as the other in my opinion and equally lowering to the ideal of an hereditary aristocracy). Of course, we all assume that society is composed of men and women who are born ladies and gentlemen,—not made—this is our assumption to start with, but the real fact is that we do recruit from the outside."

"Well, then,—another contradiction?"

"A paradox, rather," answered Denning, smiling with pleasure over the word. "Society, you see, is composed of paradoxes of all kinds, which answer the useful purpose of baffling idle curiosity and defying the unholy zeal of sociological investigators like yourself. Many would not admit it, but I have lived long enough in this world to see things as they are, and I am perfectly aware that social recruits can and do acquire by contact and association all—or nearly all—that the first comers possess by a higher right; that is, they can do this after they're inside, but never, while they remain as strangers outside the gates—never—remember that!"

He seemed to be throwing out a gracious warning to Julian, who sat staring at him in a kind of stupefaction.

"I have offered," continued Denning in a tone of gentle reproach, "to take you with me and get you really inside, but you never seemed exactly to appreciate what I was planning for you. But there is no reason why you shouldn't have been 'well in' by this time—like the two little girls who lived at the bottom of the treacle well—you know."

"And hauled treacle out of it, living both in it and out of it,—a good comparison is this for your paradoxical society. Thanks, but have you forgotten that I am only a farmer's son, and may go back to farming myself?"

"When you are once 'in it,'" said Denning with his most reassuring smile, "all the little differences that now distinguish you from the very 'best butter' will soon disappear, if you give yourself up wholly to mastering the fine arts of social expression. But the essential thing, my dear boy, is to cultivate the right spirit! It's a mental attitude, more than anything else, I really believe. Some are born with this correct mental attitude,—but as I said before, it can be acquired—a sort of new birth unto righteousness. The chief thing is to have a deep underlying consciousness"——he stopped and looked severely at Julian, who, looking at him earnestly in return, mechanically repeated his words,—"a deep underlying consciousness?"

"A deep underlying consciousness that you are different from the outsiders! You must let yourself be thoroughly saturated

with this idea. It must permeate your whole being. It will thus influence everything you do, say and think. Then all you have to do next is to observe carefully and follow the example of those around you—and there you are!"

He was entirely serious—so much so that Julian felt compelled to restrain his laughter, as he rose to his feet.

"You mean the whole thing is a make-believe—a gigantic hoax—this paradoxical castle of yours that you're inviting me to enter? Don't you see the absurdity of it all?"

Denning rose also with an air of sadness.

"I knew I couldn't make you understand—I was a fool to try to explain things that are better not talked about. We never do talk about them as a rule—it's horribly bad form, but you are such a paradox yourself——"

"That you thought I might be made over and fitted into your castle of lying assumptions? Excuse the term—I'm a thousand times obliged to you. And have you forgotten that we're both going to be killed and that I've joined a regiment that is going on foot and has no 'paradoxes' in it? But I can tell you one thing, Denning—when I found a superior social order,—a ruling class—it's going to have a sounder basis for its existence that yours!"

Denning laughed as he withdrew to his room. He shouted back his reply:

"You may found it on the most sublime ideals that the human race has ever yet conceived, but you will find that what I call the 'mental attitude' is the only thing in it that will outlast a generation—it's the only thing that counts, after all."

"I suppose he really thinks,—confound it—that he has the best of the argument!" groaned Julian, as he banged his empty bureau drawers shut one after another.

By evening, Julian had attended to all the various little matters that have to be arranged before one can take unto one's self a wife, or fight the glorious battles of the republic, but it was then too late for him to visit Elisabeth at her boardinghouse. He did not see her again until he entered his office the next morning.

Having examined and dissected his quixotic impulses in the cold light of reason, Julian now felt prepared to act with absolute justice toward his defenceless ward. He was conscious of having himself triumphantly well in hand as his eyes rested calmly on Elisabeth's face. Her deep blush was followed by a delicate pallor; again he was aware that she did not lack the mysterious gift of beauty. Certainly she was worthy to be wooed as other girls are wooed,—and won through the perfect freedom of her own choice! This thought turned the young idealist cold with disgust of himself. As she rose from her chair to greet him, he turned his eyes away so hastily that it gave the effect of displeasure. He spoke to her frigidly—his frigidity and displeasure being all for himself. He failed to note the appeal that was in her glance, and the meaning of her subsequent pallor was lost on him.

When Elisabeth reseated herself, she was trembling from head to foot. A keen disappointment benumbed her heart; she was conscious of a desperate sense of shame in which the glittering prospects of a new and perfect happiness withered and fell to the ground like the pasteboard scenes of a theater on fire. Her young soul bowed itself to the earth in distressing self-humiliation. Julian had determined to marry her from an exalted sense of duty in keeping with his god-like character,—but Julian did not love her; alas! alas! he was already shrinking from the sacrifice!

The young Russian could hardly breathe; to conceal her agitation she bent over her work, but found herself unable to write evenly. Julian moved in and out of the room several times during the morning; when he passed by her desk she turned cold and sick; she was unable to look at him, or to speak to him.

Julian had been waiting for the lunch hour for an opportunity to speak to her alone, but when the moment came, Elisabeth disappeared so quickly that he was obliged to postpone the interview.

He was much disconcerted that she failed to return at the expiration of the lunch hour. As she did not reappear during the afternoon, he went to her boarding house to open a frank discussion of the situation as it now appeared to him. He would confess that he had taken too much for granted in his interview with her of the day before. It must have seemed to Elisabeth that he felt very secure of her love. Moreover, while he had not actually repulsed her, when she had clung to him in such agitation, he now began to realize that his manner had been anything but loverlike; he had detached himself from her embrace with a haste that must have seemed extraordinary. While there was much to explain in his conduct, there was also much that would have to appear inexplicable—for the present. The best he could hope for was the establishment of a more natural relationship in place of the artificial tie of waif and benefactor which had none of the dignity of a legal guardianship. What a ridiculous, degrading mockery of a tie it was, to be sure!

Julian reached Elisabeth's boardinghouse only to learn that the young girl had gone out an hour before. He repeated his visit twice during the evening; he waited in a much upholstered parlor until eleven o'clock that night without seeing her. Where was Elisabeth? He went home with a chill in his heart.

The next morning he received a letter. It was from the Rus-

sian. It began with expressions of gratitude for his long continued kindness. The closing paragraph said:

"There is a limit to self-sacrifice, and I cannot accept from you what you have just offered. You do not need to marry me for my protection. I am able to care for myself, and I am going where I shall not be known as a waif. It is not right for you to marry one of the waifs of the Association—a charity girl—especially when you do not love her. But as for me, I shall never forget you; I shall remember your goodness always, and I will pray that you may return safely. I hope you will not try to find me. You must never think again of Elisabeth Powtowska."

Never think of her again? She became instantly the one woman in the world—the only woman in the world—that he would ever think of again! The image of Marian was blotted out on the spot as if it had never existed. He would discover immediately Elisabeth's whereabouts and then—then, he would make known to her the place she was to hold in his life—his hopes—his heart—forever!

SOCIALISM ABROAD

Professor E. Untermann.

Germany.

The Luebeck congress of the German social democratic party has once again shown that the political organizations of the working class are corps of fighting comrades, not of sentimental brothers. Children of the class struggle, a product of capitalist evolution, they are welded together by the necessity of standing together against their common enemy, capitalism. From beginning to end, the discussions were carried on with an outspoken frankness and directness that might have delighted the heart of an ancient hero. A divine gruffness and a pointed verve flavored every speech, so that Comrade Adler, a guest delegated by the Austrian comrades, exclaimed at the end of the congress: "Such a method of discussion can only be borne by a great and strong party." He has not yet heard Chicago socialists laying down the law and the prophets to one another.

The congress marked the tenth anniversary of the Erfurt program, which the Vorwaerts celebrated in these words: "We admit that the Erfurt program is only the work of human minds. It may contain this or that ambiguous or unclear wording. It may not fully answer the requirements of short, snappy agitation. But it just as surely represents the iron structure of a scientific conception of the world, a trusty leader in our fight preventing our deviating into petty considerations of the moment and pointing toward the grand goal. At the same time it opens up an abundance of possibilities for present work which we shall have to perform on the road toward our world." The program will undoubtedly be revised and brought up to date by the next congress.

The following principal points were discussed by the congress: Organization and distribution of the party press, the housing problem, the dispute about piece work among the Hamburg bricklayers, the question of voting on the government budget and, last not least, the Bernstein question.

The matter relating to organization and distribution of the party press was discussed in secret session. Incidentally, the relations of the Polish press and the Polish comrades toward the German party elicited the following resolution: "The congress hopes that an effective co-operation of the party with the organization of the Polish social democracy in Germany will soon be re-established." The resolution on the budget question speaks for itself: "Whereas the individual states as well as the empire are class states and do not concede full equality to the laboring class, but must be regarded as organizations of the

ruling class for the purpose of maintaining their supremacy, the congress expects that the social democratic representatives in the legislative bodies of the individual states will not bring themselves into contradiction with the party program and the principles of the proletarian class struggle, and will under normal conditions vote against the government budget. They should give their consent to the budget only exceptionally from pressing considerations dictated by special conditions." The moot point in the bricklayers' dispute is brought out by the following clipping from the "Neue Zeit:" "No doubt was left in Luebeck that the sympathies of the entire social democracy were on the side of the central federation of bricklayers and that it was considered the duty of the party, when appealed to in a conflict, to bring its full influence to bear in order to induce the autonomists to recognize the discipline of the federation and settle the conflicts in the unions. * * * But there is not the slightest reason for bringing the party into any close material relation to the conflicts in the unions and for laying the foundations of new conflicts by making it obligatory for the party to club down the minority in such disputes by its disciplinary power."

The position of the party in the housing problem was well defined in Comrade Dr. Suedekum's report: "The housing question is not a wage question, but a question of strength. As soon as we are strong enough, we can improve the conditions. * * * A systematical taxation of land aiming to appropriate the unearned increment of real estate for the benefit of the community may limit speculation in land to some extent. But it cannot be denied that the chances of great capitalist speculators and corporations of speculators are thereby improved. All real estate taxes are, as a rule, shifted by the landowners to the tenants. The communes must counteract the effect of this shifting of taxes on the laboring class by building houses from public funds. * * * The housing problem cannot be fully solved, until capitalism is abolished."

The Bernstein debate formed the clou of the congress. Several locals in different parts of the empire had "got the ax out" and deposited strenuous protests against "the mode of agitation chosen by Comrade Bernstein." The fun started, when Bebel, in criticising the attitude of the "Vorwaerts" against Bernstein's lecture on scientific socialism, remarked: "The lecture has been exploited in the meanest manner against the party. Nothing is so detrimental to the party as to question its scientific foundation." The following quotations may serve to illustrate the positions of the speakers:

Quark (Frankfort): "The great mass of the comrades do not share Bebel's nervousness over this philosophical question, they do not care to enter any further into this matter." Hoffman (Berlin): "Dear Eddy, now go to work with us and stop your kicking. It only interferes with our agitation and brings us backward instead of forward." Kautsky: "We were always forced to tell our antagonists that our conception of the "Verelendungs Theory" (theory of continued retrogression in the condition of the laborers) differed from theirs, and Bernstein has made it more difficult for us to keep the issue clear. * * * If Bernstein

would only turn once against our adversaries, against the false friends who wish to exploit the labor movement for their purpose; if he would dispel all suspicions and solve all ambiguities, then he would be welcome to do as much self-criticising as he pleases." Gradnauer: "Bernstein has worked together with other comrades in his own ward and in others." Bernstein: "I have been scored for self-criticism. * * * But I have repeatedly declared that the time for writing a new program is not come, until the majority of the party wants a new program. * * * If I did not accept our general principles then I should leave the party.* * * A writer in the 'Neue Zeit' has said, 'The name scientific socialism does not mean that we are already in possession of the last truths. It is simply a modest self-limitation implying that we wish to find the truth.' That is entirely my standpoint. * * * Stick to the principle of free criticism and do not allow the bourgeois to bluff you.* * * In the conclusion of my lecture I have said, Still there is an intimate connection between socialism, as represented by the social democracy, and science. Socialism derives more and more of its arguments from the armory of science. Of all social parties it stands next to science." Heine (Berlin, who was present at the lecture): "I understood Bernstein to mean that the socialist theory is not a science and cannot be so. Bernstein has now shown that he has maintained the claim of socialism to science in his conclusion. * * * But that is just the trouble that such an essential thought is hidden at the end where it is so easily overlooked." The congress adopted the following resolution: "The congress recognizes without restriction the necessity of self-criticism for the intellectual development of the party. But the one-sided way in which Comrade Bernstein has carried on his criticisms during the last years, has placed him in an ambiguous light in the eyes of many comrades and created much resentment, especially as his criticisms were misrepresented and exploited by our adversaries. On the other hand it cannot be denied that Comrade Bernstein was forced into this position by no less one-sided countercriticisms of other comrades."

In the "Neue Zeit," Kautsky, Bernstein's lifelong friend and greatest antagonist, comments on the resolution in these words: "The congress has not solved the Bernstein question, but it has extracted the embittering and poisonous sting from it. Nothing is more unreasonable than to assume that the tendency connected with Bernstein's name is now extinct. But we may well hope, that after the decision of the congress and its loyal and manly acceptance by Comrade Bernstein this tendency will carefully guard itself against the obtrusive peddlerdom of the bourgeois friends of labor, by giving up that contemptibly negligent, yet misleading silence, which it has so long observed against that checkered crowd of hangers on, and which poisoned the life within the party."

Recent elections in Baden have again brought an increase of 1,500 socialist votes in Karlsruhe and 600 votes in Pforzheim. Nevertheless, two socialist seats were lost in Karlsruhe and one in Pforzheim, owing to the fusion of all reactionary parties against the socialists. The county of Pforzheim, however, was carried by the socialists for the

first time. The second Chamber will therefore be composed of 25 national liberals, 22 clericals, 6 socalists, 5 democrats, 2 liberals, 2 conservatives, 1 antisemite, 1 populist.

In Berlin, Emperor William is doing his utmost to add another fifth to the already existing three-fifths of the population of his capital who are socialists. He refused to sanction the election of the second mayor Kauffmann, who had been a radical in his young years; of course Kauffmann was at once re-elected with a greater majority than ever. And now Billy has another guess coming. In revenge he refuses to endorse several schemes of the city council for electric railways crossing "Under den Linden," criticises the models of proposed municipal monuments and treats the loyal liberals in such haughty manner that they would gladly join the socialists—if they did not have middle class interests of their own. The great land owners also threaten to become disloyal, if the government does not favor a high protective tariff for agricultural products. The Vorwarts smilingly remarks: "With a 7.50 mark tariff they are enthusiastic monarchists, with 5 mark they become indifferent and with 3.50 mark they clamor for the republic and join the socialists." The "vaterlandslose Rotte" (mob without a country) adds some more poison to Billy's bitter cup by denouncing his pet social reform measure, the compulsory insurance against sickness, old age and permanent infirmity. After 15 years' of experience with this scheme, the Vorwarts brings the following cheering message to all reformers, opportunists, me-too and step-at-the-time socialists:

"A really efficient insurance, that actually protects a sick workingman and his family against want and suffering and at the same time enables the physicians to live, cannot be created by the present system."

France.

At the congress of the Parti Ouvrier Francais, held in Roubaix Sept. 15, the following resolution was adopted: "The Parti Ouvrier Francais, in congress assembled, extends greeting to the Russian proletariat and social democracy; declares its solidarity with them in their heroic struggles, and shouts with them into the face of the second and last Nicholas: 'Down with Tsarism.' The Parti Ouvrier Francais denounces to the workers and socialists of the whole globe such republicans as Waldeck-Rousseau, such radicals as Lanessan and Baudin, and such socialists as Millerand, who in supporting with their acclamations and with our money the Russian despot, lay bare and commit treason on the present and future of humanity."

Recent reports of the capitalistic press state that Waldeck-Rosseau has refused his support to the general strike of the miners. If this is true, then Millerand is in a trap indeed. Either he must take issue with Waldeck-Rousseau and resign, or the socialists must demand his resignation or exclusion from the party. Resignation or exclusion, that seems a cheerless alternative. Whether the reports are true or not, the possibility of such occurrences plainly shows the untenability of the position of a socialist minister who does not owe his office to the vote of his party.

THE WORLD OF LABOR

By Max S. Hayes.

The tobacco trust is gaining strength and power at a rapid rate, so much so that the small manufacturers and even retail dealers are becoming panic-stricken. The trust has lately absorbed three big warehouses in Louisville, a number of the large cigar factories in Tampa, as well as important properties in Virginia. The combine controlling the manufacture of plug and smoking tobacco and cigarettes almost wholly, is gradually conquering the cigar branch of the industry, and, besides absorbing well-established concerns in various parts of the country, is erecting large factories, equipped with the most modern labor-saving machinery operated by women and at important points. Another branch of the tobacco business that is being reached for by the trust is the stogie trade, half a dozen of the leading plants in Wheeling and a number in Pittsburg having been approached for options. The combine has also absorbed a $2,500,000 cigarette plant in London, a big firm in Belfast and established factories in Japan, thus setting out to conquer the foreign market. Mr. Duke, who is now in Europe, claims he will conquer the British business in three years, and it is reported has made an agreement with jobbers that will give him the power to dictate prices to tobacco raisers. Thus the organization of industry to enable the inauguration of socialism is nearing completion.

Our esteemed comrades, Chas Schwab, Seth Low, H. H. Rogers, E. M. Harriman, Alexander E. Orr and other New York plutes, are going to start a "school of political economy" in New Jersey for the workingman. A continuous performance of "How to Get Rich by Working the Workingman" will be produced.

The iron and steel workers of Chicago, who refused to go on strike when called, have had their wages cut from $1.25 to $1.40 a ton for rollers and other workers in proportion. Schwab considers the mill nonunion and the anti-strikers are demurring quite strenuously, but all to no purpose. They made their bed and must sleep in it. Meanwhile the unionists are standing together pretty well despite their defeat.

Nearly all the state organizations formed previously to the unity convention of socialists, controlled by the different factions, have now been chartered by the new national committee with headquarters in St. Louis, and of which Leon Greenbaum is secretary. Independent organizations in Waterbury, Conn., New Castle, Pa., and other places have also joined the united party, and new locals have been organized in the following places during the past month: Denver, Col.; Omaha, Neb.; Kansas City, Kan.; Springfield, Mo.; Mystic, Ia.; Winfield, Kan.; South Omaha,

Neb.; Dover, N. H.; Bessemer, Ala.; Lamar, Mo.; Birmingham, Ala.; Carbondale, Pa.; Spring Church, Pa.; Kingman, Kan.; Charrelyn, Col.; Bath, Me.; Wilmington, Del.; Skowhegan, Me.; Mansfield, Mo.; Newport News, Va.; Portland, Ore.; Webb City, Mo.; Boulder, Col.; Columbus, Ind.; Ruth, Mo.; Colorado Springs, Col.; Huntington, Ind.; Cheyenne, Wyo.; Kokomo, Ind.; Indianapolis, Ind.; Portland, Me.; Harrington, Kan.; Ruth, Mo.; Geuda Springs, Kan.; Exeter, N. H.; Manchester, N. H. This new party is a movement that moves!

Interstate Commerce Commission's latest report, for the year ending June 30, 1901, shows that the number of accidents on railways is steadily increasing. In 1898 there were 1,958 employes killed and 31,761 injured. In 1899 the figures rose to 2,210 killed and 34,923 injured. During the last year, the report says, the total was 2,550 killed and 39,643 injured. While it is true that the number of employes has also increased, that fact does not explain the frightful slaughter. Including the increase of employes, the figures can be reduced to this plain result: In 1898 out of every 28 employes one was injured and one was killed out of every 447. In 1899 one was injured in every 27 employes, and one killed in every 420. Last year one employe in every 26 was injured, and the ratio of killed was one in every 339. These ghastly figures tell a fearful tale or human slaughter—greater than the losses during the Cuban war—they tell a dismal story of sorrow and suffering in the homes of laborers and of coupon-clipping among the criminal rich who are too greedy to introduce safety devices, but drive the wage-workers to the extremes of recklessness and despair to pile up millions.

Bicycle trust magnates recently held a meeting and their managers showed that while the combine started with 28 plants about two years ago, all but 10 had been closed; that all general agencies except the ones in San Francisco, Chicago and New York had been abolished, and that while bad weather had effected the business to some extent the profits were nevertheless $850,000, or about the same as last year. This showing ought to be pleasing to the thousands of mechanics who were thrown out of work by the closing of plants and to the purchaser of wheels as well. It proves that the magnates are in business for the "people's benefit"—nit!

The Standard Oil magnates sprung a squeeze in copper, smashed a number of strong competitors and strengthened their grip on that industry. They also drove an opposition salt combine from the field, absorbed principal plants in this country and Canada, and will launch their reorganized $30,000,000 trust the first of the year. The lead trust will also be reorganized with $150,000,000 capital, and be almost a complete monopoly for the Standard interests, the Wetherills, of Philadelphia, having surrendered. The same influences are behind the brick trust that is absorbing all the yards of New England and New York. The U. S. Steel Corporation has launched its $49,000,000 bituminuous coal trust, the capital of which will be gradually increased by the absorption of other important coal fields in Ohio, West Virginia, Indiana and other States. Plow manufacturers are said to have at last started their $100,000,000 combine. Oil cloth firms formed $10,000,000 trust.

Pennsylvania lime concerns trustified at $6,000,000. A $32,000,000 salmon trust is announced on the Pacific Coast. A $6,000,000 fertilizer trust was formed by Kentucky and Tennessee concerns. The four big rubber combines are dickering to amalgamate their interests. Another $3,000,000 theatrical trust has been formed. Morgan is forming a huge shipping trust to handle the immense iron, steel, coal and other products in which he is interested. The Northern Pacific, Great Northern and C., B. & Q. railways are being combined, and it is stated that gradually other lines will be included that will place the control of 55,000 miles of railway in one company. Those who still imagine that "socialism is a dream" have another guess coming.

Cigarmakers' International Union reports that the organization is to-day in better condition financially and numerically than ever before in its history. It is also demonstrated by elaborate vital statistics that longevity has been increased six years during the past decade, owing to the shortening of the working time to eight hours a day and the introduction of beneficial features.

Three hundred new trade unions were formed in Ohio last year, according to official report.

A. F. of L. will meet in annual convention in Scranton, Pa., Thursday, Dec. 5.

Supreme Court of Pennsylvania has decided that injunctions against trade unions are legal.

The big water front strike in San Francisco, which has been waged for many weeks, is at an end. The struggle was begun by the teamsters, who demanded recognition of their union, and soon the seamen, 'longshoremen and other crafts were drawn into the controversy. The authorities resorted to the most brutal methods to drive the workers back, a number of men were killed and many injured. The terms of the settlement indicate that the compromise favors the employers' combine, as they are not only not required to recognize the union, but they are conceded the right to keep the scabs who took strikers' places in their service. They agree, however, to pay the same rate of wages that was in force before the strike. Like the steel strike, this was one of the important class struggles of the year, and both contests have shown the tremendous disadvantage in which the workers are placed when they measure strength with organized employers and possess no political power. One would think that these repeated object lessons ought to serve to educate some of the high officials to the fact that the rank and file must be awakened to a knowledge of their political responsibilities, but so far but few of the former have given any sign that they are really leaders instead of followers.

The electrical workers express the fear that their employers are combining to smash their unions. Many strikes have been forced by the bosses lately in different parts of the country.

The railway brotherhoods are evidently in for trouble. The Lehigh Valley road has followed the example of the Reading Company and filed

notice on its employes to leave the unions or its employ. It is stated that the Delaware, Lackawanna and Western will make a similar move along about the first of the year. Only a few weeks ago Chief P. M. Arthur, of the engineers, once more delivered himself of the ridiculous assertion that the interests of the railway employes and the corporations are identical.

The steel strike didn't bother Morgan so very much from a financial point of view. His billion-dollar octopus cleaned up about $55,000,000 profits for the first six months of its existence, and the "earnings" were as great during the strike period as before.

Harry Thompson, the Socialist party candidate for governor of Ohio, has been forced to resign his position with the Union Mutual Life Insurance Company because he is a socialist. The company so stated boldly. The company understands its interests better than the average workingman.

Fram, an influential Norwegian paper of the Northwest, published at Fargo, N. D., has come out for the Socialist party.

The decrepit old S. L. P. was ruled off the ballot in Nebraska and could not raise enough signatures to secure official recognition in San Francisco.

The New York Herald says there are 3,828 millionaires in this country who own $16,000,000,000. That's all the active capital of the nation, really, and so less than four thousand men are the real bosses of the United States. They in turn are bossed by Rockefeller, Morgan and a few others.

St. Louis Trades' and Labor Union, for the second time, has ousted its chairman for compromising union labor with capitalistic politics.

The Philadelphia New Era, a trade union paper, has come out in support of the Socialist party, and the Socialist Spirit, of Chicago, and the Comrade, of New York, are new publications.

The Brewery Workers' National Union, in convention assembled, endorsed the platform of the Socialist party by an overwhelming majority.

The Michigan Federation of Labor adopted strong resolutions in favor of socialism. A resolution was also adopted to the effect that officials of the organization are prohibited from making speeches for either of the old capitalistic parties.

President Shaffer, of the steel workers, and Presidents Gompers, of the A. F. of L., and Mitchell, of the miners, have been indulging in a war of words as to who is responsible for the loss of the iron and steel strike, and at this writing pretty nearly everybody in union circles is talking at the same time and choosing sides. The matter will probably be threshed out at the coming A. F. of L. convention in Scranton. It would require several magazines the size of the Review to reprint all the remarks that have been hurled back and forth.

Labor Review, Williamsport, Pa., has come out in support of the Socialist party candidates in its bailiwick.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Passing of Capitalism. Isador Ladoff. Debs Publishing Co., 160 pp. Cloth, 50 cents; paper, 25 cents.

The thirty-five essays of which this book is made up treat of a great variety of subjects, and but little attempt is made to follow any connected line of thought throughout the book. The writer has a clear and forcible style, marred somewhat by a multiplicity of quotations from foreign languages. The essays vary much in their quality and value to the social student. Some chapters that are specially worthy of notice are "Anarchism from the Socialistic Point of View," "Economic and Sociological Aspects of Capitalism," "Social Evolution and the Reformers," "The Single Tax vs. Socialism," "Individualism and Crime," "Suicide and Industrial Anarchy," "The Rights of Children," "The Social Evil and Commercialism," "The Capitalist Press," and "Popular Education as Influenced by Capitalism."

Many of these would be of great value as tracts as they are full of strong condensed statements that contain in clearly expressed language large amounts of truth. Some quotations from these chapters will give an idea of the author's style. "Capitalism is one of the many phases of social life through which humanity had to pass on its triumphant advance to higher culture and civilization. There was a time when capitalism was progressive and useful, being instrumental in training the proletariat in the noble art of socialized production. The day, however, is fast approaching when the proletariat will be ready to take possession of all the economic functions of society and operate them in the interest of society at large and eliminate the capitalistic class —an entirely useless and superfluous element." The following brings out an excellent and new point against the Single Tax: "About fifteen years have passed since the time when I first became acquainted with the gospel of the Single Tax, and since then the theory has not deepened, broadened or advanced the fraction of an inch. In our time of mediocre scribbling and indiscriminate printing, even the Single Tax can boast of having a literature of its own. But great Gods—what a literature! It consists of nothing but a dull chewing over and over of the stale old cud contained in the once famous book of its originator. Such is the fate of all pseudo-reformatory schemes conceived in half-knowledge, born in mental narrowness and reared by political incapacity." But with all its merits the book is marred by several glaring defects. The author seems to think it necessary to construct a straw man labelled the "Marxian socialist" at whom he hurls such choice epithets as "fanatical and deluvian," "pseudo socialistic jingos," "howling dervishes," etc. Then in what has much the appearance of a straining after something peculiar that shall give him a literary trade-mark among social-

ists he introduces a phrase borrowed from the vocabulary of Kidd and Drummond called "race consciousness," which he would substitute for "class consciousness." He seems to be blissfully unconscious of the fact that the two ideas are by no means identical and that class consciousness is simply the means by which the proletarian achieves "race consciousness" and by which also the capitalist is prevented from achieving it. The book is full of strange contradictions. On one page he is more materialistic than the materialists and a little later he is pleading for some sort of a religion for socialism. He is emphatic in his position that socialism must be agnostic and anti-clerical, but is certain that it has no essential connection with philosophic materialism. He makes strenuous attempts to show that socialism is not a class movement, but does not succeed in adding anything to the idea plainly and clearly stated in the Communist Manifesto that the interests of the proletariat of capitalism are identical with the progress of the race. After emphatically declaring himself a monist and materialist he speaks of the "inherent power of a new idea * * * growing and blossoming into beauty in spite of all unfavorable circumstances," and then making another about face, introduces an excellent analysis of Tolstoi and Nietsche from the materialistic point of view with a half page of abuse of the Marxians, who more than anyone else taught the author how to use that philosophy. While seeming to accept Marxian economics he talks about farmers being expropriated by Boards of Trade and Stock Exchanges. After a half page of invectives at "Simon pure socialists" (he does not state what he wishes to use as an adulterant), because they have not solved the farmer problem, he writes a chapter on farmers without a single positive suggestion. While profuse in his denunciation of "old school socialists" because they have accomplished so little immediately he forgets to state where the opportunists have accomplished anything. Had he attempted to do this he would have discovered that it was the Guesdists of France who were doing most in the municipal field, the Parti Ouvrier of Belgium who lead in co-operation and that everywhere it has been the "narrow class-conscious" socialists who have really been doing things for the immediate relief of the workers, while the opportunists, whether they be Bernsteinians in Germany, Fabians in England, or Ministerialists in France, have never done anything but talk and criticise. But in spite of all these defects the book is one which is needed. It will break up the ice of customary socialist thought, start new ideas and compel discussion.

Books Received.

Set of "The Citizens' Library of Economics and Politics" from The Macmillan Co., consisting of the following books:

Monopolies and Trusts. Richard T. Ely.

The Economics of Distribution. John A. Hobson.

World Politics. Paul S. Reinsch.

Economic Crises. Edward D. Jones.

Outline of Economics. Richard T. Ely.

Government in Switzerland. John Martin Vincent.

The Monetary History of the United States. Charles J. Bullock.

History of Political Parties in the United States. Jesse Macy.

This is an extremely valuable set of works for the student of economic and political affairs. It is edited by Prof. Richard T. Ely and is designed to cover the entire field indicated by a series of monographs by various writers. The volumes are attractively bound in half leather of a convenient size and retail at $1.25 each. Those numbers not already reviewed in these columns will be noticed later.

The Doom of Dogma and the Dawn of Truth. Henry Frank. G. P. Putnam's Sons. Cloth, 398 pp.

Contemporary Socialism. John Rae. Charles Scribner's Sons. Cloth, 555 pp., $2.50 net.

The Octopus. Frank Norris. Doubleday, Page & Co.

Among the Periodicals.

The October number of The World's Work is a more than ordinarily interesting number to the social student. The description of "The Philadelphia Commercial Museum" gives something of an idea of the extensive organization and unification which has taken place in the forces of capitalism. "The museum does not enter into trade of any kind. * * * Its sole purpose is to foster American commerce. It points out to the manufacturer where, in any part of the world, a market may exist for his products; it gives him detailed reports on the conditions of such markets and the requirements for trade there; it shows him what competition he may expect, and how to prepare for it; it supplies him with information as to facilities, transportation, freight costs, and packing and shipping to advantageous markets; it tells him what local prejudices and peculiarities exist; it supplies lists of desirable firms in all parts of the world; and it submits to the exporter, manufacturer and importer samples of raw materials and manufactured goods from every country."

"Last year American manufacturers asked for and received 27,000 reports on possible trade opening abroad; 2,224 special inquiries from American producers were investigated and answered; 78,000 replies to inquiries regarding American goods were sent to foreign countries; and for firms throughout the United States over 1,000,000 words of business correspondence, embracing sixteen languages were translated." Foreign governments have joined with the merchants and government of the United States in supporting the institution. "The Blooming of a Sahara" is one of Wm. E. Smythe's interesting descriptions of the great irrigation movement of the West. "Russia as a Great Power," is a study of the great land-locked empire of the Czars. "The deadliest foe that such a system of government as prevails in Russia can have is an educated working class. Such a class is now by way of being born. When it reaches maturity and begins to realize its power, it will, unless all human experience goes for nothing, innoculate the very atmosphere with what the Russians would call revolutionism, with what we know under the name of Liberty." "In a few decades Russia will be

known and recognized as the most tempting field, outside of South America, for moneyed enterprise in the world, and American millionaires, by the time they have completed the financial conquest of England, will find in the long-derelict Empire of the Czars yet more profitable scope for their energies." * * * "Two mighty forces are at work upon the Mujik—education and imperialism—and the future of religious and political Russia depends largely on the manner of his evolutions under their influence. Already it is noted that once settled in the towns he takes with enthusiasm to socialism; and the fact is pregnant with possibilities." Irene M. Ashby gives the result of her personal investigation as an agent of the American Federation of Labor into "Child Labor in Southern Cotton Mills." "Come with me into an Alabama town, where there is a large cheerful-looking factory. Walking up the long, orderly building, deafened by the racket, yet fascinated by the ingenious machinery, you become suddenly aware of a little grey shadow flitting restlessly up and down the aisles—a small girl with bare feet and pale face. She has a worn and anxious aspect, as if a weight of care and responsibility rested already on her baby shoulders. She either does not look at you at all or she turns her eyes but for a moment, unchildlike in their lack of interest, looking back immediately to the spinning frame. A thread breaks first at one end of the long frame, then at the other. The tiny fingers repair the damage at the first place and she walks listlessly to the other. Something goes wrong above, and the child pushes forward a box that she may reach it. With a great shock it dawns on you that this child is working. * * * I was prepared to find child-labor, for wherever easily manipulated machinery takes the place of human muscles the child is inevitably drawn into the labor market, unless there are laws to protect it. But one could hardly be prepared to find in America to-day white children, six and seven years of age, working for twelve hours a day—aroused before daybreak and toiling until long after sun-down in winter, with only half an hour for rest and refreshment. * * * One evening in December I stumbled through a totally unlighted mill village, falling on the way into ditches and deep ruts, and knocked at the door of one of the wooden huts where I saw a light. I asked the woman who opened it if I might come in. Assenting she ushered me in. She was surrounded by a brood of very small boys, and her consumptive husband sat beside the fire. The smallest child, a poor little fellow that looked to be about six years old, nestled up to me as I talked to them. All worked in the mill except the mother, they told me. 'Not this one!' I exclaimed, looking down at the wee, thin boy beside me. 'Why, yes.' He had worked for about a year; last year he worked forty nights; he was nearly eight years old now. * * * This problem is not a new one. It has had to be faced in every place where textile trades have been established. But the southern states now enjoy the unenviable position of being the only civilized country in the world which does not by enlightened legislation protect the children of its working people from this inevitable consequence of unregulated industrial development. * * * 'What do you do when you are very tired?' I asked a little girl, putting my mouth close to her ear to make myself heard. 'I cry,' she said, shyly. She would make no reply when I asked her what happened then, but another child, who had literally poked her head into the conversation, put in tersely, 'The boss tells her to go on with her work.' "

Hugo Munsterberg, of Harvard University, discusses American Democracy" in The International Monthly and rudely attacks some of the idols of our complacent bourgeoise. He boldly takes up the cudgels in favor of German absolutism against American democracy. "The party rule in America, with its methods of nomination, deprives the individual of his political powers more completely than any aristocratic system, and the despotism of the boss easily turns into the tyranny of a 'group of capitalists.' " What he really succeeds in demonstrating is something very different from what he claims to prove. His array of arguments go not so much to show the disadvantage of democracy in comparison with monarchy as to show that plutocracy is much the same the world over under whatever outward political forms it may disguise itself.

"The Comrade," an artistic and literary socialist monthly made its appearance in October. Typographically and every other way it is something of which the socialists should be proud of. Among the contributors to the first number are: Edwin Markham, Geo. D. Herron, Ernest Crosby and Jack London.

We believe that the present number of the International Socialist Review is one of the best yet issued. Succeeding numbers will be still better. For various reasons the article by C. S. Darrow on "The Courts of the Poor" has been reserved for a later number—probably January or February. If those who, in response to an advertisement, sent 10 cents for the copy containing that article will notify us by postal the number containing the article will be sent them in addition to the current number, which they have already received. Among the MSS. which are now on hand and which will appear soon are several of great interest. W. H. Noyes, who has been living in the South for some time writes upon "Some Proposed Solutions of the Negro Problem," approaching the subject much more nearly from the Southern point of view than has been done by any previous socialist writer on this subject. Bolton Hall discusses the points in common between socialism and single tax in a way that is certain to arouse interest. Marcus Hitch makes an important contribution to the technical side of socialist economics with some "Observations on Economic and Political Determinism." Numerous others equally good of which space prevents mention will make the future numbers of greatest value to every one interested in social and economic problems.

EDITORIAL

Press Censorship in America.

Recent actions of the Post Master General in regard to the second class mail have aroused a suspicion, that is rapidly becoming a certainty, that the periodical press of the United States is now subject to one of the most arbitrary and irresponsible press censorships in the world. A short time ago the post office officials announced their intention of abolishing the deficit which has always existed in the postal finances. There have always been two notorious leaks in these finances and it would naturally be supposed that any move toward economy would give these first attention. But up to the present time nothing has been said about the fact that the railroads are receiving from five to ten times as much for carrying the mails as they are receiving for similar service from the express companies. Neither has there been any suggestion of limiting the franking privilege by which tons of campaign documents are annually sent out at the expense of the postal revenues and for the benefit of the capitalist parties. It was announced that the proposed economy would be effected by restricting the amount of mail which would be carried as second class at the rate of one cent per pound. One of the special objects against which it was stated the post office would proceed was the great "mail order monthlies." These papers have immense circulations, reaching into the hundreds of thousands and even millions of copies of each issue. Their main source of income is their advertising and hence they send out large numbers of sample copies to lists of probable buyers of goods such as are advertised. This was declared to be a terrible "abuse of the second class privilege" and it was claimed that these papers would be the first point of attack. But if economy is to be the motive this method looks a little suspicious for the main source of profitable post office income is the revenue derived from the "mail order business" which it is the special work of these publications to develop. Notorious wastes are thus overlooked and the economies proposed are apt to prove losing investments rather than lines of retrenchment.

This suspicion grows still stronger when it is rumored that there are good reasons to believe that with the increase of business in the mail together with the settling up of the West, which abolishes the most expensive "long hauls" of mail, it is probable that it will take but a few years for normal development to wipe out the deficit, and the main excuse for economy disappears.

The first impression gained on an examination of the rulings and regulations which have been promulgated concerning the second class matter is one of wonder at their intricacy and contradictory character. The popular and universal idea of a periodical is fairly well summed up in the general definition of the original law on the subject, which reads as follows: "Mailable matter of the second class shall embrace all newspaper and other periodical publications which are issued at stated intervals, and as frequently as four times a year."

Soon the post office began to explain and define the terms used in this definition. First, a limit was placed upon the number of sample copies that could be mailed. Then the publisher was forbidden to print, for any purpose whatever, more than twice as many copies as he had actual subscribers. This instantly created a dilemma. Every prominent daily in the country would have been shut out of the mails on a strict application of this rule. So there began to be a series of fearfully and wonderfully made definitions of what constitutes a subscriber. The following quotation is taken from a recent document of the Chicago post office, which says: "In making up the 'legitimate list of subscribers,' the following may be included: Direct subscriptions to publishers, copies regularly sold by newsboys, copies regularly sold over the publisher's counter to purchasers of individual copies, regular sales of copies of consecutive issues by news agencies, bona fide bulk purchases of consecutive issues by news agencies for sale in the usual way without the return privilege. One copy to each advertiser to prove advertisement, bona fide exchanges (one copy for another) with existing second class publications within reasonable limits." The contradictory character of these regulations is apparant at first sight. Copies regularly sold by newsboys are to count but not those purchased by newsdealers with the return privilege. This notwithstanding the fact that the return privilege is almost universally extended to newsboys. Incidentally it might be mentioned that when application was made for the entry of a socialist publication at this same Chicago office it was specifically stated by the man in charge of the second class entry (who undoubtedly compiled this very circular) that copies "sold regularly over the publisher's counter" or by socialist sections "without the return privilege" must not be counted "in making up the 'legitimate list of subscribers.' "

The confusion grows constantly worse. It is announced that subscriptions must not be secured by premiums, prizes, etc. But it is well known that many prominent dailies give their solicitors practically the entire sum received for a first subscription and not infrequently include merchandise to an almost equal amount. Lest these dear dailies might be affected the order was again modified so as to apply only to those papers publicly advertising such offers. This enabled the post office to be conveniently blind to the work of the dailies while those whom it wished to suppress could be easily reached. Incidentally, while such a howl is being made against periodicals with a nominal subscription, it might be well to call attention to the fact that the great dailies of Chicago announced on raising the retail price to two cents that the one cent which they had been charging for single copies was often less than the cost of the white paper.

Again, the post office ruled that any subscription for a period of less than three months is no subscription at all and the publishers of "The Workers' Call," the organ of the Chicago socialists, were informed that not only could subscriptions for a shorter time not be counted in making up the "legitimate list of subscribers" but that the acceptance of such subscriptions in any manner whatever would cause the paper to be excluded from the mails. But a large proportion of the metropolitan dailies carry at the head of their editorial columns rates for one month and not infrequently for even a single week, and it is safe to say that fifty per cent of all the "subscriptions" they ever have are for such periods of time. To all this again the post office is conveniently blind. By this time it should be evident that it is simply proposed to exclude those publications that happen to displease the postal officials. But these officials, like those of every other department of our present government, are but organs of the present capitalist class. Therefore the above statement is simply another way of saying that all publications should be suppressed that displease the ruling class of to-day.

Everything was now ready for the next step in "economy." The post office began to make rules concerning the contents of the publication. Knowing the sort of work done in other lines we are not surprised to find a most elastic confusion resulting. Restrictions and regulations concerning the amount and character of permissable advertising began to appear. It was ruled that only those publications devoted to either "news" or "literature" would be mailable. The postal officials thus became judges of "literature" along with their other duties.

In the midst of all this confusion almost anything could be done and defended as being in accord with some previously promulgated rule. But when, after months of talk some action was actually taken, the first paper of any importance to be proceeded against was not even one of the much denounced "mail order journals" with their sham subscription list. On the contrary it was the "Appeal to Reason" which was notified that bundles of papers sent to the same address were not mailable at pound rates even if paid for in advance. This, notwithstanding the fact that a large percentage of every issue of the great metropolitan dailies are mailed in this way. Then came a notice that the publications issued by societies must contain no advertisements aside from those of the organizations publishing them. Incidentally this was directly contrary to a previous order intended to suppress "house organs" which provided that any publication not accepting the advertisements of others than the publishers would be forbidden the mails. The first ones against whom this new ruling was enforced were the trade-union organs. Very many unions publish papers as a means of communication between their members and as a means of propagating the doctrines of unionism. Lately many of these have begun to realize that the interests of unionism leads to socialism. One of the main sources of income of all such papers has always been their advertising and the promulgation of this order denying to trades unions what is the privilege of every individual means practically the suppression of many of these publications.

Then came the announcement that all "libraries" or periodicals, each number of which was made up of a single article so as to constitute a

book or pamphlet, should be denied second class entry. This was enforced immediately against several "libraries" consisting of socialist pamphlets, although already a rumor is running through the trade papers of the news companies stating that there is a "string" on the law and that it will not be enforced against all "libraries."

But the most striking instance of this new censorship was the suppression of "The Challenge." This socialist paper had attained a circulation of about 30,000 in a little over nine months. During this time, whatever criticism captious critics may have made on its style of presenting the subject, it had attracted more attention to socialism than any previous effort had been able to do. The somewhat peculiar methods of the paper and its owner had succeeded in forcing more notice from the defenders of capitalism than all the other socialist papers in the country combined. Suddenly a notice was served on the publishers that "The Challenge" was refused access to the second class mails. The excuse given was that the paper was published mainly to "advertise Wilshire's ideas." Now exactly what a publication, not a news organ, is for save to "advertise" the ideas of the editors and contributors is something which the post office litterateurs did not attempt to explain. Indeed no man with a grain of sense can consider the reason offered seriously. It is a plain case of the suppression of a paper whose ideas did not suit the Third Assistant Post Master General, who, God save the mark, received his present position as a sop to the labor vote, he having previously been a locomotive engineer.

It thus appears that a definite policy of press censorship has been the ultimate outcome of the cry for "economy." Nevertheless we are not among those who believe that this policy will be greatly extended. The suppression of "The Challenge" has been the greatest of all the many free advertisements that it, together with its editor and his "ideas," have received. Notwithstanding the fact that any attack upon the post office is liable, under the present arbitrary management, to endanger the existence of the protesting publications, the socialist papers with a few conspicuous exceptions, have taken up the battle against this press censorship. If this is done effectively it will become quickly evident to those who actually control the strings that move the post office puppets, that any such methods will but hasten the spread of socialism and the downfall of exploitation. Forcible suppression has never permanently checked any movement that was in accord with economic progress. Especially if, as is the case at present with socialism in the United States, the movement had sufficient strength to take advantage of the sympathy and indignation which would be aroused, any attempt at arbitrary suppression serves but to emphasize the arguments at which the suppression is aimed.

PUBLISHERS' DEPARTMENT

THE STANDARD SOCIALIST SERIES.

This name has been given to a new library of cloth-bound books of about 200 pages each, intended to meet the rapidly increasing demand for standard socialist literature in permanent form at low prices. The books are neatly and substantially bound in cloth and embossed with a tasteful design in two colors of ink. The retail price has been fixed at 50 cents a volume, while the net price to stockholders in our co-operative publishing company is 30 cents, if sent by mail, or 25 cents if sent by express at the purchaser's expense.

Liebknecht's Life of Marx.

The first volume in this series is "Karl Marx: Biographical Memoirs." By Wilhelm Liebknecht. This unique book was published in Germany shortly before Liebknecht's death, and our translation by Professor Untermann is the first edition that has appeared in English. This book has been received with general approval not only by the socialist press but also by many of the leading capitalist periodicals. For example the Review of Reviews says: "Liebknecht's 'Biographical Memoirs of Karl Marx' are the most authentic sources of our knowledge of the great socialist's life." And the Chicago Tribune says: "This first English translation preserves the spirit of the original admirably and keeps the flavor of the many anecdotes scattered throughout the Memoirs."

Vandervelde's Collectivism.

As a full description of this book has already appeared in the pages of the International Socialist Review we cannot do better in this place than to quote the opinion of the Chicago Evening Post, a journal which certainly cannot be accused of undue sympathy with socialism. The Post says editorially:

"The countless number of works which nineteenth century socialism has inspired are of two classes—propaganda for the masses in extremely simple and didactic style and deeply scientific studies. In the work called "Collectivism and Industrial Evolution" Emile Vandervelde a member of the Belgian chamber of deputies gives a complete exposition of the collectivist theories aiming to strike the happy medium between

the two classes of work just mentioned. The book, translated by Charles H. Kerr, is in clear and interesting style."

These two books are already printed and will be mailed to any address promptly on receipt of price.

We also solicit orders for the following books which are now ready for the printer:

The American Farmer.

In no other country is the "farmer question" of such paramount importance as in America and nowhere else are the farmers so powerful industrially and politically; nowhere else are they so intelligent alert and fully initiated. But the problem of the American farmer bears little resemblance to the "agrarian" question of Europe. It has its own peculiarities and a great variety of complications

The co-operation of the farmers is absolutely essential to the success of socialism. The success of socialism is the only hope of the farmer.

Bearing these facts in view A. M. Simons, the editor of the International Socialist Review, has written a book entitled "The American Farmer," intended to bring socialism to the farmer and the farmer to the socialists. It is a work which every socialist student must have if he would understand the industrial life of America as a whole. It is a book which every farmer must read if he would know the solution and the outcome of the economic and social problems which are forced upon him. The following table of contents will give some idea of the scope of the book:

Book I.—Historical.
Chap. I.—Introduction—Statement of the Problem.
Chap. II.—The New England States.
Chap. III.—The South.
Chap. IV.—The Middle West.
Chap. V.—The Great Plains.
Chap. VI.—The Far West.
Chap. VII.—The Arid Belt.
Book II.—Agricultural Economics.
Chap. I.—The Movement Toward the City.
Chap. II.—The Transformation of Agriculture.
Chap. III.—Concentration in Agriculture.
Chap. IV.—The Modern Farmer.
Chap. V.—The Farmer and the Industrial Wage-Worker.
Book III.—The Coming Change.
Chap. I.—The Line of Future Evolution.
Chap. II.—The Socialist Movement.
Chap. III.—Socialism and the Farmer.
Chap. IV.—Steps Toward Realization.

Last Days of the Ruskin Co-operative Association.

The varied career and the final failure of the Ruskin colony are full of interesting lessons for the socialists of America. It is a matter of

no small importance that the real facts relating to this colony be generally known, and this for two reasons.

First. In the absence of such knowledge some may imagine that the failure of this colony throws a doubt on the practicability of socialism.

Second. There is still a danger that ill-informed sympathizers with socialism may waste their efforts on similar schemes in the near future.

In view of all this we are glad to announce for publication in the Standard Socialist Series a book by Prof. Isaac Broome, who was a resident member of the colony for four years preceding its dissolution, entitled "Last Days of the Ruskin Co-Operative Association." It will be illustrated with sixteen half-tone engravings from photographs showing scenes at Ruskin colony.

The Origin of the Family, the State and Private Property.

This monumental work by Frederick Engels has never yet been accessible to English readers. It is a work that is really indispensable to any one who wishes to examine the historic foundations of the socialist philosophy. We are therefore glad to announce that Professor Untermann has completed a translation of this book, which will be published in the Standard Socialist Series as soon as the printing can be completed. A fuller description of the work will be published later.

It will thus be seen that the Standard Socialist Series now comprises five volumes, of which two are already published, and three are ready for publication. The outlay necessary before the first copy of each book can be placed in the hands of our readers is something over $200 for each volume of the series, or $600 for the three that are now ready for the printer.

The publication of these books is something which is of vital interest to every socialist. We therefore call upon each of our readers to help at once in one of the following ways:

1. Send $10.00 for share of stock in our co-operative company. A booklet containing full details of our plan of organization will be mailed upon request. The company is organized under the laws of Illinois, so that no liability whatever attaches to any one who has paid for a share of stock. By subscribing for a share you will be entitled to purchase all our socialist literature at special prices.

2. If this is not possible, send $2.00 and we will send you by return mail the two volumes of the series already published, Karl Marx and Collectivism, and will mail you the other three volumes as soon as each is published. We expect to have at least two of them ready in December and the fifth early in 1902.

3. Send $1.00 for the two numbers already out, which will be sent you by return mail, and write us that we may count upon receiving your 50 cents for each new volume as soon as ready. By acting promptly you will enable us to proceed at once with the publication of these valuable books.

We also announce for immediate publication a revised up-to-date

edition of **American Communities. By William Alfred Hinds, Ph.B.,** enlarged to include histories of many additional communistic, semi-communistic and co-operative experiments, and the fullest record of them yet published. It will contain, not only descriptions of the old religious communistic societies, but of the associations, phalanxes, co-operative colonies, brotherhoods and other like settlements of the last century and a half. It will describe:

The Ephrata Community of Pennsylvania, founded 169 years ago and still existing;

Jemimah Wilkinson and her Jerusalem;

The Shakers and their 15 Celibate Societies;

The Harmonists of Pennsylvania, founded in 1805;

The Separatists of Zoar, and the causes of their recent dissolution;

Robert Owen, the "Father of English Socialism," and his American Communities;

The Perfectionists and their Putney Community;

The Oneida Community, its radical Religious and Social Principles, its Pecuniary Success and its change to a Joint-Stock basis;

The Fourieristic Associations and Phalanxes in different States, particularly the Brook Farm Association of Massachusetts;

Fruitlands, the most Transcedental of Communities;

The Inspirationists and their Seven Amana Communities in Iowa, all prosperous;

Dr. Wm. Keil and his Communities in Missouri and Oregon, and why they dissolved;

Janson's Community of Swedes in Illinois, with its hundreds of members, thousands of acres, its Hardships, Success and Failure;

The Icarians and their typical experiment in Democratic Communism, their Hardships, Success, Divisions, Decadence and Death;

Two Second-Adventist Communities, Celesta and Adonai-Shomo, both warning signals to future experimenters;

The Societies of the Brotherhood-of-the-New-Life;

Shalam or the Children's Land, and its failure in 1901, after 17 years;

The Woodcliff Community in New Jersey;

The Commonwealth of Israel in Texas;

The Koreshans and their three Communities, and the astounding Messianic Claims of their founder;

Twenty other Colonies in practical operation or projected;

The work is largely based on the personal observations of the author, who for half a century was a member of one of the described Societies.

All in one octavo illustrated volume of about 350 pages; in cloth binding, $1.00; to stockholders by mail, 60 cents; by express, 50 cents. Advance orders solicited and will be filled as soon as book is published; probably some time in December.

CHARLES H. KERR & COMPANY, PUBLISHERS,
56 Fifth Avenue, Chicago

The International School of Social Economy

WALTER THOMAS MILLS, A. M., Principal.

BOARD OF EXAMINERS:—Geo. D. Herron, J. A. Wayland, Charles H. Vail, James B. Smiley, A. M. Simons, Peter Sissman.

THE TRAINING SCHOOL.

The Training School for Socialist Workers holds three terms of three months each, each year. This year the fall term is now in session at Girard, Kans. The winter term will be held in California and the summer term in some of the Eastern States. This Training School work attempts to prepare the students, by daily practice in speaking and in the study of Socialism, and how to explain it to others, for campaign workers, canvassers and organizers.

THE CORRESPONDENCE SCHOOL.

A course of twenty lessons in the study of Socialism is given by correspondence. These lessons give in the plainest English the facts of history and the truths of science as related to the question of Socialism. The lessons are printed and each lesson contains from twelve to sixteen pages of printed matter. The student studies the lessons and makes a written report on each lesson studied. These reports are carefully examined and corrections and suggestions added and returned to the student. On the topics studied the living teacher could hardly do the work better than this plan succeeds in doing it.

There are now nine hundred and thirty-four students studying these correspondence lessons. They come from every State, from Mexico, and from all the Provinces of Canada.

TOPICS.

Following are the topics for the lessons in the Correspondence School:

1. The Earth as the home of our race—its making and its adaptation.
2. Industrial life of primitive man—before the appearance of slavery.
3. Slavery and serfdom as forms of production.
4. The development of the wage system and that science of political economy evolved to expound and defend the wage system.
5. An inquiry into the fundamental assumptions of the economists and of the Socialists.
6. The economic defense of rent, profit, interest and wages.
7. The economic theories of money and its uses.
8. The economic law of diminishing returns and theories of population.
9. The ancient trade guilds, the modern trade unions and Socialism.
10. The farmer and Socialism.
11. Charity organizations and the poor laws.
12. Socialism and the fine arts.
13. The monopoly and debasement of religion and education.
14. Utopias, co-operative societies and colonies, in all of which a few people are obliged to assume the functions of the whole body of society.
15. Modern science and Socialism.
16. The era of invention and the rise of modern industry.
17. The world market, the international trust and imperialism.
18. The growth of the sense of solidarity of the race.
19. The rise of Socialism: the class struggle for profits on the one hand and for existence on the other becomes a struggle for the control of the state itself.
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Some Proposed Solutions of the Negro Problem.

WHAT shall we do with the negro? "Kill him." "The only way to elevate the negro is with a rope." "Ship him off to Africa." "Send him up North." "Anything to get rid of him." That such sentiments as these are common in the South and indicate the almost universal hatred of the negro is not to be doubted. The germs of any disease sure to kill negroes but leave whites immune would—to say little—be looked upon with equanimity by most Southerners. The practice of lynching confirms this view, for lynching, whatever else it may mean, does mean anger and hatred rather than deliberate punishment. The fact that the proportion of negroes lynched is about 80 per cent of the whole would seem to show an especial antipathy toward negroes and disregard of their life.

There are many superficial indications of the same thing. Dangerous occupations in the South are commonly in the hands of negroes. It is astonishing to see the sang froid with which otherwise gentle-hearted, cultivated men will affirm the uselessness of the negro, and that the sooner they are rid of the better. I once tried to discuss the question of castration of rapers with a Southern physician. "Humph," he replied, "too much trouble. I'd kill 'em all off and be done with it. They are a black blight on the South, a mill-stone about its neck."

The intensity with which the negro is hated in the South is only equalled by the frankness with which this hatred is acknowledged. Its causes are not far to seek when one sees the negroes en masse. Tolstoi has said that the cause of anger is the sense of superiority, that we do not lose our tempers except against those whom, at least for the time being, we despise. Now, if hatred is to anger what climate is to weather—weather lasting only a short time, while climate lasts all the time—we may easily understand the hatred of the Southern white man for the negro.

But it is not hard to find more specific causes. Physically the negroes are as a race repulsive to us. Their features are the

opposite of what we consider beautiful. This includes, not their facial features alone, but the shape of their heads and hands and feet, and general slovenliness of carriage. The odor, even of the cleanest of them, differs perceptibly from ours. In a word, the negro seems like a caricature and mockery of our ideal of the "human form divine." All this may not be obtrusively apparent in the North, where full-blooded negroes are not common, and where one easily learns to admire the rich brown color, fine physique and noble bearing of many half-breeds, but let any one who carries in his breast the aesthetic race instincts that centuries of sexual selection have developed, spend a few months in the "black belt," and he will banish forever any sentimentality about the human body being made in "the image of God." Our images of God are of Caucasian type, that is, our ideal of physical beauty is racial, not human. Whatever we think of the mental and moral traits of the negro, there is always the hope that these can be changed by a sufficiently long and severe course of discipline, but we have no hope that the Ethiopian can change his skin. The only hope, then, of his becoming attractive to the Caucasian is for the Caucasion to enlarge his circle of ideals of physical beauty. This, let us confess, we are loth to do.

This matter of physical aversion assumes a paradoxical and almost ludicrous form when considered from the point of view of the social standing of the negro. When, after a sufficient residence in the South, a Northerner begins to share the common dislike for the negro, it becomes a matter of wonder to him how Southern white people allow such intimate relations as they do between themselves and the negroes. He hears of gentlewomen being shampooed and otherwise physically touched by negresses, he sees their children fondled and kissed by negro nurses, he sees the fact of miscegenation if not of marriage, he sees white folks' food cooked and served by negroes (no Hindoo Brahmin touches food cooked by one of an inferior caste); in fact, every sort of personal want of the most sensitive white people ministered to by negro attendants, and yet these negroes are "social lepers." Queer sort of lepers, he thinks, that can live so near one. But in time he learns that this is one of the paradoxes of the association of dominant and subject races, and after all pretty much the same thing that obtains in a more subtle way in the North. People in the North do not treat their cooks, valets and coachmen as social equals, however much they may prate about social equality.

But the great difference lies in this, that in the North a man can escape from a servile occupation and become socially acceptable, while a negro in the South can never escape. This shows, if it shows anything, that race prejudice is deeper in the

blood than economic standing. Race pride is a primary force, and even when physical aversion is overcome for the sake of economic advantage or sexual desire, race hatred does not disappear, but reasserts itself in social and political life. So we find it is not quite true, as is sometimes said that the Southerner hates the negro because of his physical aversion to him, for we see that his physical aversion is often subordinated to his need of servile attendance; but none the less he does hate him, even if he puts up with him.

Personally I dislike dogs. Their odor and habits and manners are repulsive. Having no need to exploit them either as hunters or watchers (I possess neither weapons nor property), I am not obliged to overcome my natural dislike, while those who have property to guard or game to shoot come to have a great fondness for dogs. Possibly therein can be found a fable.

An intimate knowledge of negroes still further enables one to sympathize with the common dislike for them. The qualities that we despise are well-developed, while those that we honor are singularly lacking. His servility, obtuseness, showiness, superficiality, improvidence, laziness, excessive individuality, grossness, sensuality are everywhere obtrusive, while the opposite virtues of defiance, cleverness, taste, foresight, energy, temperateness are rare enough to cause comment. "As soon find a white crow as an honest nigger," is a common saying. All this is explicable enough. As we know, honesty is a virtue grown out of the institution of private property. How shall we expect to find it then among a propertyless people, and still less among those who were themselves property? In like manner, chastity as a virtue is the result of the institution of marriage, or, in other words, of the personal ownership of women by men. What shall we expect, then, of a race who—to say nothing of their previous savagery—have been bred like cattle for 250 years? There was no home life in slavery. Little wonder, then, that domestic virtues are lacking. But, however much our analysis of the causes of the negro's weaknesses may enable us to be generous in our judgment of him, the fact that he is weak in character makes him hated all through the South.

Still more potent reasons for this hatred are to be found in the actual historical and local causes of his present status. During slavery he was loved as a dog is loved, for his serviceability and servility. Then, when with a stroke of the pen, his cash value was destroyed, and when again he was arbitrarily and by force of arms given the ballot, and when, furthermore, his purchaseable vote put into office unsympathetic aliens, it is not to be wondered at that the southern white man hates the negro.

Add to this the constant fear of insult or assault upon white

women, and the cheapness of the negro women's virtue, and we have a large cause of the white woman's hatred of the negro.

Another potent cause of irritation is the impression,—whether true or not,—that the negroes consume more than they produce; that is, that they are an economic drain upon the whites. This is undoubtedly true in many individual cases, as e. g., where the services of a cook require the support by her employer of her entire family, husband and all.

But the liveliest hatred of all is that of the southern workingman for the negro, for his hatred is based on very real economic grounds. As elsewhere in this country of boundless resources, there is not work enough to go around and hence the white workman hates the negro for out-competing him with a lower standard of living. Bearing all these facts in mind one can appreciate if not sympathize with the sentiment in favor of extermination. If we could only be rid of the negro, the southerner says, we could move forward with a light heart.

A modified form of this sentiment is that held in favor by many humane and serious minds, viz., the desire for wholesale deportation. When this method of solving the negro problem is analyzed it is doubtful if it rests on a very real economic demand. It is quite beside the mark to calculate how much it would cost in dollars to send the negro to Africa; for example, that it would cost less than the abolition of slavery with its attendant war, or less than the sum of a few years' pension rolls. Very good, but who wants to deport the negroes to Africa enough to pay for it? The workingmen of California, with all their hatred of the Chinese, do not hate him quite enough to pay his fare home or to elect their own representatives in Congress to appropriate public funds for this purpose. And the workingmen of the South, on whom the negro presses with the greatest weight, are not ready to lift the load by such a costly wrench as deportation. And after all, do the white people of the South want to be rid of the negroes? That depends on who are meant by the white people. It is commonly assumed that the whites are all of one mind, that their interests are common, and that all would be relieved if the "black blight" were removed. But ask the Southern house mistress how she would like to do her own housework or else depend on proud, self-assertive Irish "help." Ask the contractor how he would build his works without servile black labor. Ask the many little farmers how they would fare without the negro "hands," cheaper than slaves. Ask the manufacturer, even though he chiefly depends on white child labor to keep down wages, how he would like to dispense with the cheap negro labor used in all the more menial departments of his establishment. Once let white labor unions get obstreperous, and negro mills are a possibility, for it is proverbial that the negro is not given to strikes, and from the capitalist's point of view this increases his value. Ask the "traveling public how they would like to do without the obsequious attention of porters, hackmen, runners, waiters, etc. In short, ask the general public—class-conscious workingmen not included—if they want to do their own drudgery and they will honestly acknowledge, "We cannot get along without the negro."

In fact the negro is to the South what the cheap foreigner is to the North, and the same ignorant prejudice that supposes that we should be rid of our social ills by being rid of the cheap foreign labor is identical with the prejudice that exclaims, "The nigger must go."

Whether American workingmen will ever be intelligent and conscious enough of their own interests to act politically, whether for the exclusion of dirty and ignorant foreigners from the North or of "low down niggers" from the South, certain it is that they are not yet intelligent enough to do so, and much less are they, both North and South, wise enough to see that it is not the exclusion of particular races that is essential, but the prevention of economic conditions that make ignorance and brutality possible and dangerous.

If half the foreigners of Boston could be exchanged for half the negroes of Atlanta, that would be a sort of deportation that would set the people of both cities thinking. This suggests another opinion current in the South, that the North ought to share the burden of the negro problem by receiving a large proportion of them.

But who wants the negroes to move North in large numbers? Certainly not Northern workingmen. Labor organizations are more tightly closed to the negro in the North than in the South, and it is consequently next to impossible for a negro to find skill-requiring labor in the North. While there are great differences in this respect in different cities in the South, in many places in the South the Central Federation of Labor is composed of both white and black delegates. This is the more remarkable as white women are also delegates. Here again economic necessity overcomes race prejudice.

If the negroes should go North in any numbers, all the bitterness which Northern workingmen feel toward foreigners would be multiplied toward the negroes whom they saw taking their jobs. Side by side with this ill-feeling there would be of course the gratification of the Northern capitalist at the lowering of the standard of wages by the immigration of negroes for mining and other disagreeable sorts of labor. On the whole, this scheme for the South getting rid of the negroes is as chimerical as the plan

to ship them to Africa. Northern workingmen, however stupid they are in looking out for their interests in other respects, are too intelligent and well organized to allow an invasion by a horde of negroes.

Another plan for the disposal of the negro and the very antithesis of the riddance method is to absorb them by intermarriage. But consider! It is a fact that if a person have so much as one per cent of negro blood in his veins, that person is not white, but a negro. It is evident then that we cannot absorb the negro for the simple reason that since a single drop of negro blood makes a negro, instead of our absorbing them, they would absorb us, and in time we would all be negroes!

Moreover, this proposal, so far as it is suggested by actual miscegenation, hardly takes full account of the origin of most half-breeds, i. e., the incontinence of white men and the poverty of black women. Chastity is not yet such an antiquated virtue that we are ready for race mixture according to its present method, and as for seriously proposing intermarriage as a solution of the race problem, this raises some large questions. E. g., would a mixed race be superior to a pure one? There is no question that the negro race is improved by an intermixture of white blood, so that there is a common saying, "No full-blooded negro ever did anything." But few white men would be willing to exchange a pure white lineage for a mixed one. Futile enough then is it to ask whites to mix with blacks for the benefit of the blacks. The theory of evolution knows no example of one species sacrificing itself for the sake of another species, and the white variety of genus homo, whatever the propensities of individuals may do, is not yet altruistic enough to give itself away by race mixture.

Moreover, how is any such method to be made effectual? Certainly not by legislative inducements. That would be paternalism gone mad. And what class in the community has any interest in such a result? Legislation is only the expression of class desires. If any class has any such interest as this, it is the negroes themselves, and it is simply ludicrous in view of present conditions and sentiments to suppose such a demand on the part of negroes to be effective.

It is evident that in any attempt to work out the solution of the negro problem, whether by extermination, deportation, diffusion or absorption, full weight must be given to the desires of the different classes interested. There is no typical Southern white man, but there are several classes of white men, each having its own interests, and its attitude to the negro is determined by these interests.

The South is at the beginning of a new industrial era. The introduction of large plants of steam and electric driven machinery is fast changing her industrial complexion. Will this not inevitably intensify the difficulties of the "negro problem?" As the white laborer is ground down more and more severely by his economic masters, so that he will be unable to make use of the negro, but will only look at him as a rival, his antipathy to him will inevitably become greater and greater, unless, as I hope to show later, common misery will open the door for a solution of both their problems, by securing economic freedom for both.

Still another plan for settling the negro problem, and the only one that has met with any measure of unanimity is negro disenfranchisement. Why do not the whites want the negroes to vote? The reason seems to be rather an instinctive than a reasoned one. Government is a tool of the economically dominant class, and when that dominant class sees political power arbitrarily put into the hands both of an alien class and of a hitherto subject class—negroes were but the tools of Northern politicians—the economically dominant class is sure to rebel. A false ideal, that of political power and preferment was set before the negro at the outset. The whole story of his enfranchisement and present disenfranchisement is an illustration of the folly of putting a class into a political position that did not correspond to its economic position. This process, enforced at the point of the bayonet, produced a hatred of the negro race, as a race, which quite overlooked the value and power of individuals within the race. This movement for disenfranchisement becomes still more intelligible in view of the industrial revolution taking place in the South. This means eventually great political changes, signs of which are already apparent. The traditional democratic ideals are giving place to practical republican prospects of prosperity. Capitalistic interests, North and South, are becoming one. Republicanism is in the ascendant. Now republicanism, as such, cares nothing for the negro. Whatever its origin, the Republican party is the party of special privilege. Hence, even the most staunch Republicans of the North look on with indifference while the so-called Democrats of the South proceed to disenfranchise the negro. When he is disenfranchised, then the board will be cleared for the coming issues between the party of privilege and its opponents. These opponents, mostly Democrats, do not want to be handicapped by a horde of purchaseable negroes, traditionally Republican, while those heading toward the Republican camp are as content to have the negro element eliminated as their Republican brethren in the North are to put a property qualification on Northern voters.

In a word, the necessity for political issues conforming to economic issues accounts for the disenfranchisement of the negro. Economically a drag, he becomes a political hindrance, and so both parties agree to shut him out. To put it more plainly—

since the negro is a menace in economic and social life, he must be eliminated from political life.

That this solution of the negro problem is no solution at all must soon be apparent. He is here still, even if he cannot vote. Women must still live in hourly fear of him, workingmen must still dread his competition, property owners must still support him, so that the question, "What shall we do with the negro?" rears its head as real and lively as ever. If then we cannot absorb the negro, nor get rid of him, what shall we do with him to save ourselves, for our very perplexity in knowing what to do with him shows our fear of what he will do with us. It is not concern for him but concern for ourselves that underlies our anxiety.

Another plan is to "elevate" him. Numerous and persistent efforts to do this by religious propaganda and academic education have been tried and found wanting, until it is gradually coming to be recognized that his nature cannot be changed without changing his conditions, or, in other and classical language, the economic basis of his life must be altered before his habits and character will be modified.

A notable effort in this direction is under the guidance of Booker Washington at Tuskegee, Ala. Mr. Washington's plan is to educate the negro, not in any superficial way, but industrially, so that the superstructure of culture may rest on a firm foundation of economic efficiency. The motto of his book, "The Future of the American Negro," may be said to be a quotation from Fred. Douglass, quoted with approval. It reads:

"We are to prove that we can better our own condition. One way to do this is to accumulate property. This may sound to you like a new gospel. You have been accustomed to hear that money is the root of all evil, etc. On the other hand property—money, if you please—will purchase for us the only condition by which any people can rise to the dignity of genuine manhood, etc." (p. 229). Says Mr. Washington (p. 85): "There is an unmistakable influence that comes over a white man when he sees a black man living in a stwo-story brick house that has been paid for." Again (p. 93): "The white man respects the vote of a colored man who does ten thousand dollars' worth of business." Again (p. 176): "The negro will be on a different footing in this country when it becomes common to associate the possession of wealth with a black skin." Again (p. 85): "Suppose there was a black man who had business for the railroads to the amount of ten thousand dollars a year. Do you suppose that when that black man takes his family aboard the train, they are going to put him into a Jim Crow car, and run the risk of losing that $10,000 a year? No, they will put on a Pullman palace car for him."

(One might ask Mr. Washington parenthetically if he knows of the non-reception of rich Jews at hotels in the North.)

Then Mr. Washington tells a story of a negro who "owns two or three houses and lots, has a good education and a comfortable bank account." One white man speaking to another of this negro exclaimed: "By gosh! It's all I can do to keep from calling that nigger 'Mister.'" "That is the point we want to get to," is Booker Washington's comment.

Of course he does not overlook the necessity of acquiring habits of thrift, neatness, dispatch, honesty and the whole circle of virtues that cluster around property possession, and he sees that these, like property itself, are means to an end. "If we make ourselves," he says on page 195, "intelligent, industrious, economical and virtuous, of value to the community in which we live, we can and will work out our salvation right here in the South," and by "salvation" he means, as he says later, "safety and happiness."

Now let us analyze this plan of "elevation by industrial education" for solving the negro problem. That this is an immense advance over the quick and ready plan of giving him "culture" and "religion," there can be little doubt. Mr. Washington grasps clearly the idea that it is only upon the foundations of economic well being that the negro can be elevated. "Until there is industrial independence it is hardly possible to have good living and a pure ballot in the country districts. In these (Gulf) States it is safe to say that not more than one black man in twenty owns the land he cultivates. Where so large a proportion of the people are dependent, live in other people's houses, eat other people's food, and wear clothes they have not paid for, it is pretty hard to expect them to live fairly and vote honestly" (p. 38). That the negro must be well off before he will be good, Mr. Washington sees, and his institution and his book are his answer to the question how to make him well off. His answer is: Give him intelligence and skill in the production of wealth, so that he may grasp the opportunities that lie before him. "When he has done this, I believe that * * * he will be treated with justice, will be given the protection of the law, and will be given the recognition in a large measure which his usefulness and ability warrant" (p. 232).

Let us grant freely that this is true. But what is the assumption upon which this whole argument and method rest. In a word, this: that opportunity is open and that there is only lack of ability on the part of the individual negro to seize it. The fact that this is so largely true gives a potency to the argument which is wanting in many communities, where it is evident that no matter what skill a man possesses, he cannot by the severest economy and most diligent thrift and intelligent effort honestly become well-

to-do. The reason is because the stream of wealth, whether at its sources or at its narrows, is under the control of other agents than himself, so that no matter how much the worker produces, all but a bare living is diverted into the pockets of these other agents. It may go in the form of taxes, it may pass into tribute to patent rights or to legislative combinations of capital, or it may be swallowed up in rent.

But the negro is so palpably ignorant and thriftless and immoral, that the inference is easy that if he were skillful and economical and honest and temperate, vast opportunities would be open to him that are not open now. Within strict limits this is true. Supposing that one negro in ten could become what a few have become under Mr. Washington's direction. They would be vastly better off than they are now. But let us suppose all the negroes to be intelligent and thrifty and honest, and that the possession of resources, agricultural, mining, transportation, distribution, exchange, land sites, etc., to be still under the control of idle profit-reapers, would the negro problem be eliminated? Only the rashest of optimists can think so. An educated proletariat is a noble spectacle for gods and men, but "safety and happiness" are no more surely their lot than of an ignorant proletariat. Increasing sensitiveness of wants, without the means to supply those wants, but adds to the burden of life.

Not one word of this criticism is meant in derogation or discouragement of the education of the negro. There is no other solution of the negro problem than education. He cannot be killed off or carried off. He cannot be absorbed by miscegenation. He cannot be left alone, because he will not leave us alone. In his present condition he hangs as a heavy weight holding back the South from material and cultural progress. He must be educated. But this education must not be one-sided. As it has erred on the side of being too emotional or academic, so now it may be one-sided in being too mechanical and industrial. Herbert Spencer has said that to prepare us for complete living is the function which education has to discharge. Now what does this involve? "Complete living" depends upon the production and consumption of wealth. So long as this was a simple individual or domestic matter, preparation for it might excusably be limited. But when, as now, the production of wealth has become a social matter, and its distribution has become a matter of universal importance, no man, white or black, is educated in any sense of the word whatsoever who does not understand his economic relation to the social body. To make the negro skillful, thrifty, honest, prudent, chaste, is good as far as it goes, but to leave him there ignorant of the fact that the more he produces the greater tribute he must pay to the social pests, the parasites

who control the resources of wealth, is but to damn him to a more exacting slavery than he has yet endured. Worse than that, it enables him to press with more crushing weight on his white fellow workmen. Fine a thing as it is to "educate" in Booker Washington's sense, all the workers of the South, the "poor white trash," as well as the negroes, unless that education will enable them to overthrow the power of their economic masters, they are not yet free. It may or may not pay their masters to treat them well, but be it plainly recognized that their fuller education of hand, head and heart, recommended by Mr. Washington, is a contribution not so much to their own well being as to their serviceability to the possessors of the means of production.

It may well be granted that until the negro gains intelligence and self-control enough to make the most of present opportunities, he will in no degree be able to grasp the momentous fact that he is still a slave and must free himself from his bondage, and therefore we may well wish success to every effort to enlarge his powers of perception, reflection and creation. At the same time we refuse to say, "Peace, peace, when there is no peace." Whatever industrial schools may be able to do for individuals, making a higher grade of producers out of them whose especial ability enables them to rise above their fellows, these individuals are still slaves, producing first for others. So long as special privilege remains, so long as the financial, industrial and political institutions are in the hands of irresponsible owners of the means of production, it is simply playing into their hands to increase the efficiency of the workers. Germany's experience in this matter, writ in U. S. official educational reports, so plain that he who runs may read, may well calm our enthusiasm for industrial education as a panacea. German industrial education, so thoroughly carried out as to make the term "made in Germany" a terror to the capitalists of other lands, has succeeded most marvellously in making skillful and careful slaves out of rude and ignorant boors. With what result? Truly not the workers' "safety and happiness." Supposing that there have been left to them some gleanings of the advantages of Germany's industrial prosperity. It is their industrial masters who have reaped the bulk of the harvest of wealth. The only consolation is that the general rise of intelligence involved in industrial education is making possible the comprehension by German workmen of the fact of their exploitation.

So Tuskegee Industrial School, while it contributes directly to the advantage of the exploiters of skilled negro labor, indirectly makes it possible for these skilled blacks to recognize the fact of their exploitation, and encourages them to put an end to it.

But supposing that along with all sorts of creative and artistic

methods of education, the blacks were given thorough courses in economics and civics, not the falsehoods and twaddle published by a book trust, but fearless expositions of modern wage slavery, then we might look with hope on the future of the American negro and American white man. When the negro is taught to vote for his own interests regardless of his Republican "friends" and Democratic "masters," then his future will become hopeful.

But Mr. Washington says (p. 139 : "When the negro votes, he should try to consult the interests of his employer, just as the Pennsylvania employe tries to vote for the interests of his employer." Little wonder that this book is commended by far-sighted defenders of private capitalism, and that it is sent out with the compliments of the directors of a bequest left by a millionaire philanthropist. It is a "safe" book.

No, no, cordially as we approve of industrial education, we cannot trust the wisdom of one who advises the members of his race to blindly vote in the interests of their employers.

How then can the negro problem be solved? Riddance of them is not a solution. It is cutting the Gordian knot. Absorption is chimerical. Disenfranchisement is only a makeshift. Industrial education is only indirectly helpful. That the problem is complicated, no one who has looked at it first hand can doubt. But amid all the tangle of racial prejudice, sexual fear and industrial dread, one fact looms large, viz., that the problem is essentially an economic problem, and as such it does not differ essentially from the Chinese problem on the Pacific coast nor the ignorant foreigner problem in the North. It is quite beside the mark to discuss the question of social amenities between the races. It is almost as futile to countenance or discountenance sexual relations between them. To approve or disapprove their political equality is out of court. These questions all involve adjustments that will and must be made on the basis of some economic status. All these other features present problems because the making of a living both by whites and blacks is unsatisfactory. When the white man settles that problem satisfactorily for himself, it will be settled for the black man too, and with its solution will come a procession of solutions of the attendant problems.

When the negro is economically free, he will not trench upon the white man's industrial rights. There will be work enough, or rather enough reward for work, for both when natural and social resources are made available to all. When the black man receives, not simply all that he produces himself, but his share of what all produce together, he will cease to be a parasite. With leisure and wealth to spend on "the higher life" his coarseness and intemperance will be refined away and he will cease to be a sexual

menace. Finally when workingmen have sense enough to vote for their own interests and substitute an industrial democracy for an oligarchical plutocracy, their interests will be and will be seen to be identical with the interests of all wealth producers, black, yellow, red, brown and white, and in the triumph of labor will be gone forever the fear of negro domination.

William Noyes.

Our Common Aims.

THE Pulpit and the Press gush about the wonderful "progress" of the past and the expectation in the future. This "progress," so far, has resulted in making for our selves and for our fellows the most perfect of hells. With our labor-saving and man-destroying machines, with our devices for intensifying fierce and unnatural competition, we have made it practically impossible for anyone to be happy. We have only to look in the faces of our fellows and see how we are feeding each other with fire.

Therefore "all such as are religiously and devoutly disposed" set themselves—to allay suffering and to relieve want. I do not. While we live as we do, we ought to thank God that we and our brethren do suffer so, for only so can we learn that our lives are wrong. We are in want and misery or in affluence and deeper want, and we ought to be in want—every one of us—for we are of one flesh and together, as a community, we disregard the natural law, which we call the law of God, by which our wants might be supplied.

To me the most encouraging feature of the beginning of the New Century is; not the hospitals and the charities, the civil service and the absence of war in our borders; not the increased production and the better education; no, it is the manifest misery and sickness and pauperism, the dishonesty of government, the industrial war, the "over production" and the ignorance, that threaten to overwhelm us. These are the voices of our brother's blood that still cry from the ground until we recognize our sin. The promise of the New Century is that in it we may sweep away all this progress toward perdition and all the evil conditions that we create.

Our hope of the coming century is that it will see a peaceful but tremendous revolution. A total doing away with things as they are and the introduction of the Economic Kingdom of Heaven upon Earth. We say, as Jesus said two thousand years ago, "Behold the Kingdom of Heaven is at hand." As Herron says (Introduction to "Things as They Are").

"Subjectively—that is, as regards our own minds—the kingdom of Heaven is a state in which man loves all his kind, and lives in communion with the love that is the substance of all things, without regard to reward or return. Self is eliminated from the horizon of thought and purpose. The affections enter that region of boundless selflessness in which one bestows all there is of himself upon the evil and the good, the loving and the

unloving, the farthest and the nearest, without estimating the worth of one above the other. He does not value his personal existence. He has no "interests." He lives in a universal communism of love. He dwells in a realm in which there is neither "mine" nor "thine," a realm beyond the reach of weights and measures, morals and laws. All there is of God's is his, and all there is of himself is his brethren's. Nothing can happen to him, for he has nothing to do with happenings. From his point of view nothing is evil. Beneath the shadows and the appearances of things, he abides in eternal love and life. Where he is, there is only good, love, and liberty."

"Objectively—that is, as regards the universe—the kingdom of heaven is a society in which all men work for the common good, and each receives according to his needs or power to use; a society in which no man calls anything his own because all belongs to every one; a society in which there is neither wage nor interest, neither price nor bargain; a society in which there is no more question about how much one shall have over and above another than there is question about a division of the air for individual breathing. The coming kingdom of heaven on earth will realize, in all economic facts, the highest inward aspirations of the soul."

We believe that this kingdom of heaven is to be reached by the broad way of Liberty and, as the fundamental of man's life is the land, we believe that this liberty must begin, but not end, with the liberation of the land.

The single tax on land values then is a means toward equal freedom; it is not an end in itself but a way of working out righteousness.

Let me say in a few words about what it is. We believe, as all Socialists believe, that men have equal rights, and that no man is more entitled than his brother to the use of the resources of the earth, which were here before he came and will be here equally after he is gone. Nor is he more entitled than the rest to what value the general growth and improvement of the community creates. Therefore, we hold that everyone should pay all the rest for any special advantage of situation on the earth, and we should accordingly take, in taxes for the community, the entire value of land.

We believe that each man is entitled to all that his labor produces, and that therefore no tax should be levied on the products of labor. For further particulars we refer to the single tax platform in that admirable little book, "The Shortest Road to the Single Tax."

Most of us have so much understanding of what the single

tax is, but few even of the most advanced realize how much it means.

I think it is clear that the taxation of land up to its full annual value would abolish interest.

Socialists have done a great work by abundantly showing that if the wastes of business were done away with, two or three hours' work per day each man would produce all the wealth we now produce; and also that the fierce competition, born of monopoly, is responsible for most of these wastes. But the revolution will not stop at mere economies, however vast.

Not only would the freeing of the land, by taxing it to its full value, and taxing nothing else, destroy speculation in land and therefore destroy the monopolies of natural resources which breed this fierce competition with its attendant waste, but it would open to all labor the very best opportunities to work, thereby incredibly increasing production.

This would make wealth so abundant that instead of men getting a price or premium for the use of it, they would be willing to give a part of it for its mere safe keeping.

Mr. George, in "Progress and Poverty," destroyed the theory of the basis of interest and then painfully built interest up again on a false foundation, thereby destroying the common ground, almost the starting point, from which reformers might work together for the destruction of our present system of organized iniquity.

We may leave to the imagination the far-reaching efforts of the abolition of speculation in land and the discontinuance of interest. No man to-day knows the changes that it will make.

Bolton Hall.

20 East 65th Street, New York.

The Accomplishments of Opportunism.

From the Neue Zeit.

THE idea of the supremacy of the proletariat, which forms the climax of the revolutionary policy of the social democracy, may be summed up in these essential outlines: the proletariat, having become the majority of the nation, takes possession of the political powers. The political and military institutions of the state will be reorganized on the basis of the most far-reaching democracy. The abuse of the coercive power of the state will be forestalled so that it can no longer enforce the will of an economically ruling minority on the masses. One department of production after another passes into the hands of the state. Under these circumstances the state is transformed from a machine for the oppression of the people into an administrative organism. The proletariat will promote the development of communal property, of communal plants and co-operatives with all the political and economic power at its disposal. Private property in the means of production disappears and capitalist production makes room for socialism.

Now it is precisely the supremacy of the proletariat that is most criticized by opportunists. Not that they absolutely deny the possibility of this supremacy, but they question it, remove it into the far distance and want to eliminate it above all from the considerations of the present. According to them, the conditions are still so immature that the proletariat would only blunder in its legislation if it assumed control of the machinery of state. And its advent to power would end in a colossal defeat of the working class. For the present, therefore, they say, we must leave the control of the state in the hands of those who are now holding it, the landed aristocracy, the bankers, the captains of industry. We should view every electoral victory with evil forebodings because it brings us a step nearer to our—defeat. But with his characteristic inconsistency, the opportunist avoids as a matter of course to draw the logical conclusion from his premises. What has opportunism to offer instead of the supremacy of the proletariat, which it refuses to consider? If not by the conquest of the political powers, how should the proletariat abolish capitalist exploitation? What is to be done, how must the working class begin in order to realize this aim? In short, what is the essence of the much vaunted practical policy of opportunism? Let us try to obtain an answer to these questions from practical opportunism.

It is natural that opportunism, in giving up the hope of a

proletarian supremacy in politics, should try to mediate between proletariat and bourgeoisie. Where socialism has hitherto exposed the sharpest class antagonisms, there opportunism is looking for points of compromise. It strives to smooth the sharp edges, to harmonize the contrasts. In this way those theories of adaptation, of gradually growing into another state of society, etc., are born, by which opportunism tries to hide the hopelessness of its position from itself and from the world. Let us observe what results opportunism has to show when it attempts to apply its theories in practice.

One should think that opportunism would first of all consider nationalization. That would be a way in which nothing could be done without the consent of the capitalist class, and yet production could be withdrawn from the hands of private property. This is also the basis on which dogmatic socialism is founded. But it is just this idea of nationalization from which the opportunists keep farthest away. Why? The reason is clear: they are afraid of the state. They repeat over and over again that the state is continuously and spontaneously becoming more and more democratic, but in practice they themselves recoil from the consequences of their theoretical reasoning.

If not nationalization, then perhaps communalization? Opportunism dwells at great length on this topic, but one vainly seeks to discover what new, practical ideas opportunism has to offer on this subject. The socialist party has developed its communal policy without violating its revolutionary principles in the least. On the contrary, its activity in the communes only brings new proofs of the necessity of changing the organizations of the capitalist state and of capitalist property. Whether it is a question of homes, of electrical plants, of street cleaning, of placing a few more street lamps in the laboring quarters, or of similar matters, everywhere in communal affairs we finally strike the question of ground rent. The property owners use all progress, all improvements, for the purpose of raising the rent. If we tax them, they shift the taxes to the tenants. But while the revolutionary socialist strives to emphasize those points that bring the policy of the communes into contradiction with the capitalist form of ownership, the opportunist considers them as so much ballast weighing on his movements like lead and as so many obstacles to his positive activity. The opportunist cannot solve the contradiction, therefore he seeks to escape from it by undertaking insignificant tasks that do not show such sharp contradictions. But the less practical value his activity has, the more daring are the theoretical speculations which he founds on it. The revolutionist as a local politician does not find any satisfaction in anything. He has a sharp eye for all defects and

shortcomings and for this reason becomes an active force in the commune. The opportunist as a communal politician always has his hands full of "positive" work. He is as busy as a mole, and like this little animal remains in a narrow tunnel. He raises every trifle to a matter of utmost importance and thinks he has laid the fundament of socialism when he has erected public shower baths and public closets.

The opportunist believes that he can transform capitalism by municipal reform measures. In reality municipal reform is wrecked on the capitalist system and remains mere patch work. It is not only prevented by capitalist conditions, but transformed so that its results are often the reverse of what was intended. For instance, water-pipes and a sewer system are extended into a suburb, a street railway is built, etc., for the purpose of benefiting the working population by such improvements, and the consequence is that the workingmen are driven out of their houses, because officials, teachers, small capitalists and others move to the suburb, driving the rents higher.

Proletarian reforms in the municipalities cannot give an equivalent for the national policy of the proletariat. They rather require a fundamental transformation of the economic structure of society that cannot be carried out without the supremacy of the proletariat. In neglecting to take this factor into account, opportunism also undermines the basis of all practical activity that tends to pass beyond the horizon of the well-known social reform mayors.

Another pet topic of the opportunists is that of the co-operatives, especially of co-operatives of consumption. Again one is greatly embarrassed to find out what special suggestions opportunism can make in practice. True, the standpoint of the party in this matter was for a long time one-sided and narrow, but it has not only never interfered with the development of the consumers' co-operatives, but actually furthered it. The party rejoices over the progress of these co-operatives, but that is no reason for indulging in any illusions about the economic influence and the social value of these institutions and other co-operatives. Against the attempts of the middle class politicians to strangle the co-operatives by state legislation, the party has always taken a determined stand—not so much because the co-operatives are socialistic institutions, but because the question of indirect taxation of consumers is involved. Beyond that, the party can do little more for the benefit of the co-operatives than general propaganda work. The opportunists themselves are far from inviting the party to go in for a general foundation of consumers' clubs, for that would indeed lead very quickly to a "colossal defeat."

This sums up all those measures that aim with more or less success at a transformation of the economic structure of society or of the conditions underlying exploitation. It is an extremely meager harvest which opportunism yields: no transformation of private property by political measures, no nationalization, a municipal reform doomed to being patchwork and, finally, consumers' clubs. Nothing that has not already been considered by the party without becoming opportunistic, nothing that would advance the party in these fields, only utopian phantasmagorias and illusions. That is what they call "practical" politics! There is only one difference. The party does one thing without neglecting the other, e. g., it carries on an energetic municipal reform without discarding the principle of the conquest of the political powers, a conquest that would make it possible to change the general conditions in a state and open up entirely new possibilities in the municipalities. But opportunism uses municipal reform as a screen to cover the lack of a revolutionary principle and thereby dissolves municipal politics into shallow bourgeois reform activity.

However much opportunists may assert that they are socialists or even revolutionaries, the fact remains that in their practice any fundamental transformation of the economic structure of society recedes far into the background. For them socialism is at best an article of faith which they recite automatically without seriously thinking of realizing it in actual life. For this reason the opportunists are so willing to leave the field of propaganda to socialism. Talk of socialism as much as you like, but that has nothing to do with practice, there you must use practical politics. Touch the principle? By no means. Only the principle is one thing, and tactics another, which is directly opposite to the principle!

The farther opportunists remove socialism to the dim distance, to the realm of imagination, the more they learn to submit to capitalist conditions. That is quite different from adapting yourself to circumstances in order to exploit them for preconceived purposes. This difference is best seen in the labor legislation.

In formulating its demands for the protection of laborers, the social democracy takes into account the general conditions of capitalist production. So far as the restriction of exploitation is thereby involved, factory legislation stands and falls with capitalism. The social democracy goes still further and considers the general industrial conditions of the country in formulating its demands. But all this does not satisfy the "practical" opportunists. As this is a question of legislation, the opportunist first of all inquires after the parliamentary constellation. What will the

bourgeois parties say? What attitude will the government assume? And the opportunist reduces his demands, although he is convinced of their practicability, simply in order to get the required number of votes in parliament and the consent of the government. Thus that sham legislation is made of which the normal working day and the arbitration bill of Millerand are the most glaring examples. Instead of bringing pressure to bear on the parliamentary parties, instead of influencing the composition of the parliament; in short, instead of adapting the parliament to their own will, the opportunists from the outset submit to the bourgeois majority in parliament.

When this opportunistic tactic in labor legislation takes the place of a policy that drives the political contrasts to extremes, it may, perhaps, score a few points for a short while. The bourgeois parties are then glad that the tension relaxes and, therefore, make a few concessions on their part. Also opportunism does not owe those successes to itself, but it merely accepts an inheritance, it exchanges the capital stored up by long years of revolutionary agitation for small coin. It is easy to understand that opportunists having no prospects, no political hopes, no final aim, making of socialism a vague utopian ideal the revolutionary element of which surpasses their horizon, strive for immediate "positive" results, for the sake of which they sacrifice the past and the future. But this political squandering ends still more rapidly and more ignominiously than any other form of wasting. The bourgeoisie, that first welcomes the willingness of the social democracy to compromise, becomes more and more reserved the more its antagonist tries to meet it. The bourgeois is too good a business man to leave any advantage unexploited. The less energetically the social democracy behaves, the less it is respected. In the same measure grows the urbanity with which it is treated. "Laws of exception against socialists? For goodness sake, no! You only stamp their leaders as martyrs and incite the masses! Why do that? They are quite nice, approachable fellows who are willing to listen to reason. Reform politics? Why, yes, of course, just demands of laborers! Only, one thing at the time. The state, the government, is overburdened with work anyway. Just think how much worry the conditions in the far East give them! The support of our kinsmen in South Africa, the Boers, and the agreements with the cousin across the English Channel. Now something happens in Central America, now in Turkey. We must go into world politics. Then there is the army and navy. By the way—the building of armored vessels gives employment to laborers. That is also social reform politics! Therefore, patience! By and by, some future time—why not, indeed? We are modern thinkers. You say yourself

that evolution proceeds of itself—slowly, slowly. We shall also go into reform politics occasionally, only just at present we must raise the revenue taxes on food products!"

No man will long for a return of the time when the party was under the bane of that shameful law. But let us not forget, that the German social democracy did not defeat the laws of exception by licking the hand that swung the lash over it, but by an iron obstinacy. It was not because the social democracy had effected a reconciliation with the capitalist state, but because it had become an awe-inspiring power under the laws of exception that these laws were repealed. And this wholesome dread of the social democracy is also the main active force in labor legislation. The classical testimony of Bismarck proves that: "If it were not for the dread of the social democracy, we should not have even what little social reform we possess." Therefore revolutionary agitation and social reform go hand in hand. When the proletariat prepares to lift the whole capitalist order of society out of its hinges, then the bourgeoisie passes labor laws in order to pacify them. When the proletarians leave the economic bases of society undisturbed and modestly demand the ten-hour day, then the latter is not granted, but they are merely consoled with the prospect of the eleven-hour day, so as not to make them too grasping!

Leaving aside the open antagonism dictated by exploitation, even the hostile indifference of the capitalist class in all matters benefiting the working class can only be broken by the pressure of the masses. The opportunist may demonstrate ever so learnedly and eloquently to the capitalist that a shortening of hours would not decrease the daily output of the laborers, still the employer will stick to his old working time, unless he is forced to change it. But by adapting his labor bills to the bourgeois majority in parliament, the opportunist lessens their attraction for the laboring class. He demands, e. g., not the eight-hour day, but the ten or eleven-hour day, because he hopes to force the latter through parliament so much easier. Thereby he eliminates the most advanced class of industrial laborers who already have the nine-hour day and who have no longer any practical interest in the ten-hour day. The lessened interest of the masses is naturally felt in public. Parliament finds itself less pressed from without. In consequence it does not grant even the eleven-hour day. The argument employed by the opportunist for defending the short normal working day, this most essential demand of modern labor legislation, is also very characteristic. He wishes to prove above all, that the reduction in the hours of labor will not result in losses, but in a gain for the employers. Now, it is assuredly an important matter to expose the capitalist exaggerations of the disturbing influence of labor legislation. But we just as surely are not supposed to demand only such factory legislation as does not attack the capitalist interests. In that case we could never obtain a prohibition of child labor, of night work, etc. The consideration of capitalist interests lessens the agitatory value of labor legislation for the laborers, whose interests can never be consistently defended without interfering with the interests of the exploiters.

So we see that also in labor legislation the attempt of opportunism to come to an understanding by leaving out the class struggle leads simply to a paralyzation of the political activity of the proletariat. Capital, which represents the ruling class and has only to defend the existing conditions, is simply the gainer, if the severity of the class struggle is tempered, if the opposition against its ruling attitude relaxes. This explains the longing of the capitalists for "social peace."

The trade-unions! The bourgeois press, way up into the ranks of the haute bourgeoisie, regards the trade unions as labor organizations that make themselves at home on the ground of capitalist society and take care of certain interests without touching the foundations of capitalism. Opportunism, however, declares that the development of the trade unions leads to strangling the capitalist class, to gradually eliminating capitalist property. This thought is by no means original. It is the old gag which the capitalist loves to circulate during strikes for the purpose of inciting public opinion against the working men: the trade union wants to be boss instead of the employer. Both of these views are exaggerations. The trade unions are by no means harmless, they are proletarian fighting organizations that direct their point against capitalist exploitation.

But although they are fighting organizations, they are nevertheless incapable of overturning by themselves the ecomonic structure of capitalist society. Their activity is only another proof of the necessity of those political and economic changes that are to be inaugurated by the supremacy of the proletariat. No one thinks any longer of denying the connection between the activity of the trade unions and labor legislation. But it was also shown above that opportunism obstructs the development of labor legislation. The opportunist standpoint is a hindrance to practical trade unionism. The trade unions must take into account the industrial situation, competition and other capitalist conditions, because all these factors greatly influence the result of the fight. But when the situation is favorable, then the trade unions risk an attack on capital, even if industrial evolution and competition suffer in consequence. The more extensive and lasting a strike is, the greater will be the damage done to industry

and the more difficult it will be to repair the damage, unless, indeed, the employers themselves provoke a strike. But all these arguments of the employers are met by the trade unions with the declaration: "We want conditions that enable us to live like human beings!" In other words: "If we were to consider capitalist interests, we should never get out of our misery. Therefore we oppose human interests to the interests of capitalist accumulation, of competition. If capitalist society cannot satisfy our demands, then down with this society." The commodity, "labor power," lifts its human voice and protests against this transformation of men into economic puppets, protests against the whole economic structure the indispensable factor of which is the commodity "man." But opportunism pays heed most to capitalist shortcomings. It is anxiously solicitous of industrial interests, and therefore it is first in lending a hand to hinder a strike in the interest of industrial development, first to condemn a trade union that goes into action. I only need to recall Bernstein's attitude in the great machinist's strike in England. The opportunist tries to conciliate here also, and attributes great importance to wage scales, boards of arbitration, etc. By restraining and dulling the trade unions' fight more than necessary, he imagines that he is exterminating capitalism.

No matter what opportunism undertakes, it always plays the same game. Not taking any actual account of the possibility of proletarian supremacy or of a social revolution, opportunism supposes an indefinite duration of capitalist production. Consequently it remains helpless, does not look for escape when in taking care of labor interests it meets obstacles that are the result of the innate essence of capitalist production, the element of exploitation. And the "practical" policy of opportunism is nothing but a constant turning on of the brake, a restraining of the proletarian class struggle in all its manifestations.

Whoever places himself on the ground of capitalist production, must also accept the capitalist state. Opportunism testifies to its surrender to capitalist production by theoretically blurring the line of demarcation between capitalism and socialism. In like manner it tries to conceal its surrender to the capitalist state by pointing to the continually increasing democratization of the state. But the democratic form does not abolish the class character of the state. Opportunism must learn this lesson at every step. The more it restricts its labor legislation, the more it is forced to practice capitalist politics.

How can the opportunist, e. g., fight the colonial policy on principle, when he knows only too well from his study of Marx that the capitalist state must adopt expansion, if it is not to be crushed by the weight of its overproduction? Hence he confines his critique to superficialities and finally lives only by the grace of those colonial bandits and personal rascals who keep the column of "colonial outrages" filled and thereby facilitate his opposition. As for the rest—why should not Germany occupy Kiaotchou? Why should the Russians and Englishmen have everything? Why should not "we" have our share as well as others? Whoever cannot dispose of these thoughts, will soon recite the whole colonial liturgy. And though he may continue to protest against individual scandals, he will soon learn to close his eyes to this blood and iron policy as a whole. For what is expansion? The attempt to force capitalist exploitation on other nations that live in natural surroundings and resist with body and soul against the yoke of capital. And expansion is better accomplished by guns and lashes than by parliamentarian speeches.

While a certain freedom of choice may still exist in deciding for or against colonial expansion, there is none whatever in militarism. Strip a modern capitalist state of its army, and it ceases to exist? The militia? But a militia formed by the mass of the workers will never be granted by the capitalist class. The only reason is that capitalists need the army against internal foes, and this throws the whole opportunistic vaporing about harmony into confusion. The fact is, the transformation of standing armies into militia cannot be brought about in the modern industrial states, until the proletariat seizes the political power. As the opportunist does not reckon with the political supremacy of the proletariat, his "practical" policy is confined to becoming reconciled to the standing army. And so we see him preparing to vote for the military budget. True, he does not dare to be consistent even here. He would not be averse to granting new and improved arms and accoutrements, but he distinguishes between bills relating to armaments and purely military bills that demand an increase of numbers. The distinction does not hold good. In modern warfare not only the arms, but also the number of soldiers decide. If we venture on the field of military expediency, we soon become convinced that a small, though well-equipped, army will be crushed just as surely as a strong, but poorly equipped, army. First the arms for the soldiers, then the soldiers for the arms, if you wish to be logical.

But if you give your consent to militarism, you must also give your consent to taxation. Opportunism, then, does not stop at labor legislation; it continues in democracy, it leads to a complete adaptation to capitalist state politics. And that is quite natural. The farmer and the tradesman oppose capitalism from the standpoint of certain forms of production that are ruined by it. They do not care what becomes of capitalism itself. Not so the proletarian. He does not fight for the present, but for the

future. He fights capitalism only from the standpoint of a social revolution. If he sacrifices this point of vantage, he has no other choice but to accommodate himself to the structure of capitalist society. It is not his aim to recall to life a declining order of society, as the craftsman does. The proletariat can either be the gravedigger or the subject of capitalism. But after a century of revolutionary struggle, it is not likely that the proletariat will meekly remain in capitalist slavery. The conclusion as to opportunism follows of itself.

Opportunism means a relaxation of political energy in all fields, a general retreat, a confusion and helplessness. It passes even beyond the limits implied in a renunciation of the revolutionary principle. This became especially plain in the tariff question. Here we could not only observe during the last years that the capitalist influence obscured the revolutionary aim, but also that the clamoring for a protective tariff, a hindrance to the capitalist development of Germany, found an echo in the socialist literature.

Opportunism in the ranks of the social democracy is merely a liberalism adapted to the special conditions of a parliamentarian labor party.

Parvus.

(Translated by E. Untermann.)

The Co-operative Movement in Belgium.

IN bringing this sketch to a close it remains for us to show by examples and figures the results accomplished by the Co-operative movement and the influence which this movement had upon the organization and instruction in socialism of the masses of the workingmen of Belgium.

The present writer entered the socialist party about thirty years ago. The International Workingmen's Association was then a great force, although its strength has been much exaggerated.

The workingmen organized themselves into trade unions with a view to improving their condition in the way of increasing wages and reducing hours of labor.

The International had equally a political aim, the conquest of power through universal suffrage. Its members also organized Co-operatives of consumption and production in order to live more cheaply.

But the propaganda of that time took on a character rather theoretical than practical. Its chief concern was with the reorganization of the future society, the regulation of property, inheritance, the family, etc.

Next came the events of the Commune of 1871 and the reaction which followed this defeat of the proletariat of Paris.

Then at the Congress of the Hague in 1872 came the schism of the International, followed by hostile legislation, and soon the socialist movement was in a badly disorganized state. The unions were deserted by the workingmen and it was much the same with the circles for study and propaganda.

The leaders, like major-generals without soldiers, continued their theoretical discussion and predicted the explosion of the social revolution at a fixed date.

At this time the masses were becoming more and more indifferent. They had been told that the International was coming to save them, that the strikes were going to succeed, thanks to the millions that the General Council at London had in its treasury, and not one of those hopes had been realized.

In the place of the International, the National Socialist parties were gradually constituted, and in 1889 at Paris these reestablished the great International by their federal union.

We trust we may not be misunderstood. The International Workingmen's Association, in propagating the truth that the interests of the workingmen of all races and all generations are

identical and that they ought to join hands, accomplished a great work. Likewise its Congresses, discussing the foundations of modern society and suggesting what the society of tomorrow ought to be, rendered a signal service to our ideas of social transformation.

But since the socialist parties in the various countries have been established, some of them have manifestly had tremendous difficulties in converting the masses of the people to the new ideas; while in Belgium, at the end of only a few years, the progress realized has been substantial.

We believe that this situation is due to the method employed by the socialists of our country, which consists in establishing everywhere co-operative societies, and in grafting upon these their ideas of future welfare and of class consciousness.

The common people as a matter of fact are very practical. They may have need of an ideal, but they are quick to grasp immediate advantages. They may desire to have some day a society better, more just and more brotherly for the benefit of all. They seek also to have as soon as possible a little more well-being or less wretchedness for themselves.

The weak side of religions is that they promise all kinds of happiness after death, whereas the believers would be very glad to have their share of paradise on earth. The weakness of the socialist party would consist in speaking of nothing but justice and the well being which the collectivist society will give. This course would attract a chosen few, but the masses would turn their backs on us.

We must not, on the other hand, be too practical; that is to say, recognize no value except in immediate tangible results. That would be giving full sway to egoism. What we need is to unite the ideal to be pursued with the good that can be realized in our present situation.

It is impossible to accomplish great things with people who are hungry, who are subjected to physical and moral misery. For the people to become happier they must be better morally and intellectually, and to that end improvements in their material condition are necessary. These improvements are possible through practical co-operation. The co-operative has an advantage that cannot be over-estimated in that it interests the workingman day in and day out, and with him his wife and his children.

Moreover, organized as the socialists would have it, the co-operative society provides resources for the party, to be used for establishing newspapers, distributing pamphlets, organizing meetings, building structures which serve us for our churches or temples, assisting strikes, taking part in election contests, etc.

It also develops the spirit of foresight in the working class

and makes it thus understood that man must make personal efforts if he wishes to improve his condition. Finally, co-operation shows by what it does the power of association. It is thus an excellent object lesson.

Let us see now what are the principal results obtained by the co-operative movement in Belgium. The Maison du Peuple of Brussels, a co-operative society of which the principal branch is a bakery, numbered about 400 members in 1885, after three years of activity, with 36,000 francs of annual receipts and a profit to distribute of 6,000 francs. In 1900, at the end of the year, the same co-operative numbers 18,000 members, each the head of a family. The total receipts for the year just closed amount to the sum of 4,225,000 francs. The balance sheet for the six months ending June 30, 1900, figures in detail the receipts of the socialist co-operative of Brussels. Here they are in round numbers:

Bakery receipts	1,273,000 francs
Coal	192,600 francs
Dry goods and novelties	204,500 francs
Restaurant	74,100 francs
Groceries	124,700 francs
Butter	60,000 francs
Milk	40,000 francs
Meats	113,000 francs
Miscellaneous receipts	31,500 francs
Total	2,113,400 francs

Let us examine the same half-yearly balance sheet in its details. For the half year ending December 31, 1899, the total profit amounted to 275,000 francs. The last balance sheet shows a profit of 298,537 francs, or about 25,000 increase. It is the bakery which gives the largest portion of the surplus, 226,000 francs.

Out of the total profit the sum of 83,000 francs is devoted to the re-payment of loans for the construction of the Maison du Peuple and the new coal warehouse. A sum of 7,463 francs, representing 2½ per cent of the profit, is dividing among the employes. The medical-pharmical service for the families has occasioned an expense of 16,707 francs. The contributions, propaganda, advertising and extraordinary relief cost during the half year 14,822 francs.

There were sold 5,065,623 loaves during the half yearly period, representing a production of over 440,000 pounds of bread a week.

We subjoin also the complete balance sheet with the account of profit and loss, and the disposal of the profits.

Balance sheet for six months ending June 30, 1900:

Assets.

Cash on hand	5,393.39	francs
Amounts due on stock subscriptions	104,165.32	francs
Shares of various co-operative societies	76,600.00	francs
Loans to groups and guarantees deposited	102,796.09	francs
Real estate, fixtures, material and equipment	1,990,449.78	francs
Accounts receivable	32,227.42	francs
Flour in storehouse	72,380.00	francs
Bread, yeast, salt, etc	3,585.11	francs
Wine, beer, cigars	35,800.95	francs
Do, Cafe Molenbeck	620.61	francs
Beer-cellar	1,919.34	francs
Meats at markets	620.61	francs
Dry goods, cloth, and novelties	136,802.60	francs
Coal and feed	34,143.00	francs
Miscellaneous goods, including butter	74,342.78	francs
Total	2,671,739.24	francs

Liabilities.

Capital, 22,483 shares put out	224,830.00	francs
Reserve	100,000.00	francs
Sinking fund	503,950.00	francs
Bread checks in circulation	1,542.45	francs
Deposits of groups, personal guarantees, etc.	172,449.92	francs
Funded debt	885,000.00	francs
Accounts payable	485,429.40	francs
Profits realized	298,537.47	francs
Total	2,671.739.34	francs

ANALYSIS OF THE PROFITS REALIZED.

The total of the profits is made up thus:

Net profits on miscellaneous goods	13,036.38	francs
Net profits on bakeries	226,374.41	francs
Net profit on coal	14,894.35	francs
Net profit on dry goods and novelties	21,007.81	francs
Net profit on Maison du Peuple restaurant	18,695.34	francs
Net profits on meats	654.09	francs
Profit on butter	2,284.32	francs
Net profit on Maison du Peuple Molenbeek	10.72	francs
Net profit on milk account	1,580.05	francs
Total profits	298,537.47	francs

DISPOSITION OF THE PROFITS.

	Francs.
Appropriation to sinking fund	43,050.00
Appropriation for re-payment of loans and interest on the new Maison du Peuple and the new coal warehouse	40,000.00
Appropriation to the reserve fund	25,000.00
Free medical attendance and medicines for co-operators (heads of families)	14,822.03
Propaganda, advertising, contributions to the party and relief to needy members	14,822.03
2½ per cent to the employes	7,463.43
2½ per cent to the co-operators on their purchases in the meat market, estimated at	1,000.00
To be distributed on 5,016,489 loaves at the ratio of 3 centimes per loaf	150,494.67
Total equal to the profits	298,537.47

The balance sheet contains, following the report of the council of administration numerous details which are very interesting. We think it worth while to reproduce those relating to the bakery.

BAKERY RECEIPTS.

	Francs.
Sale of 5,065,623 loaves	1,265,996.66
Miscellaneous receipts and inventory	7,612.86
Total	1,273,606.52

EXPENDITURES.

	Francs.
Inventory and merchandise (flour, etc)	807,384.23
Wages of employes	137,176.11
Fuel	16,770.85
Feed for horses and dogs, and repairs	11,184.57
Water, gas, taxes and insurance	6,144.03
General miscellaneous expenses	62,079.07
25,973 loaves distributed to the sick co-operators	6,493.25
Profits realized	226,273.41
Total	1,273,606.52

Cost of a Loaf.

	Francs.
Flour	0.1537
Yeast, salt, currants	0.0081
Fuel	0.0034

Miscellaneous expenses	0.0274
Sinking and benefit funds	0.0073
Propaganda, advertising, etc.	0.0059
Various general expenses	0.0142
Profit per loaf	0.0300
Total	0.2500

There were consumed 37,673 sacks of flour, valued at 768,625.09 francs, or about 20.40 francs, on an average, per sack. The ratio of product was 134.4 pounds of bread for 100 pounds of flour. The bakery department gave the largest profit, to the amount of 3 centimes for each kilogramme loaf, even though the bread check was paid for at the rate of only 25 centimes; that fixes the net price of the kilogramme of bread of the first quality at 22 centimes net.*

From the profit of the last half year there was deducted 43,000 francs to liquidate the cost of the equipment and the real estate of the co-operative. Then 40,000 francs on account of the capital borrowed to construct stores and other buildings. Then 25,000 francs carried to the reserve. The medicines and medical treatment given gratuitously to the sick co-operators cost nearly 15,000 francs in six months. The propaganda, appropriations to the party, and relief fund absorbed another 15,000 francs, and finally an expenditure of 6,500 francs was devoted to buying 25,973 loaves distributed to sick members.

In other words, each year, out of the profits realized by the Maison du Peuple of Brussels, there is deducted, independently of the rebate made to the members, 125,000 francs to increase the collective property of the members; 40,000 francs for relief and medical care to the sick; 30,000 francs for propaganda, and 15,000 francs for the employes under the form of profit sharing.

It need hardly be said that the employes are very well paid in comparison with the average wages at Brussels. The bakers earn about 6 francs each for an 8-hour day. There are three shifts, each working 8 hours out of the 24. The carriers earn 5 francs each and are provided with a suit of clothes.

It should also be noted that the socialist groups of Brussels, the unions, benefit societies, political leagues, study and propaganda circles are provided, free of charge, with numerous meeting places, libraries, etc.

We have thus seen the results obtained by the co-operative in the capital. Let us now see what is the condition of the

*A kilogramme is a trifle over 2.2 lbs. and a centime a trifle less than ½ of one cent., so that the price of bread at the Maison du Peuple is a little less than 2 cents a pound.—Translator.)

VOORUIT, situated in the manufacturing city of Ghent. The VOORUIT in 1881 counted 400 members and its total receipts (it sold nothing but bread) amounted to 70,000 francs.

Ten years later the number of its members had risen to 4,600 and its total receipts to 1,532,000 francs, of which 826,000 came from the bakery. In 1899, the VOORUIT numbers 6,600 members and its total receipts for the year were 2,324,000 francs, of which 1,066,000 francs came from the sale of bread.

The Socialist Co-operative of Ghent is the most complete type that we have in Belgium. It still sells its bread checks, as a matter of fact, at a very high price, 35 centimes, which enables it to return a profit of from 13 to 15 centimes per loaf. These profits, as in the other co-operatives, are not paid in money, but in credit checks. These credit checks are received in all the sales rooms of the Society the same as specie. A co-operator, for example, who receives profits to the amount of 50 or 60 francs, takes his credit checks, buys with them bread checks or clothing, or shoes, in the spacious salesrooms of the VOORUIT.

Next in importance is the sale of coal. The VOORUIT possesses numerous coal yards and delivers the coal at the homes of its customers. Next come the grocery stores, located in the principal quarters of the city. Then, again, come drug stores, the success of which is enormous and which render great service to all the population.

The VOORUIT also has a great department store handling dry goods, shoes, notions, etc., etc.

Thus from a commercial point of view the VOORUIT is one of the most perfect organizations and there are no goods of popular consumption that this socialist co-operative does not sell.

Especially noteworthy also are the allied institutions which it controls and which are so essential to its members. First comes the BOND MOYSON or mutual sick benefit association. In consideration of a weekly payment of 5 centimes each member of the VOORUIT, in case of sickness, is entitled to six loaves of bread a week.

Other benefit funds have grown out of the Co-operative: assistance to mothers of infants, life insurance, etc. In addition to all these the VOORUIT is establishing a pension fund for the benefit of its members above 60 years of age. To be entitled to a pension one must have the requisite age and must have bought for at least twenty years an average of 150 francs a year of goods in the stores of the Co-operative, bread not included. The higher the amount of purchases has been, the higher the pension to be drawn.

It hardly need be added that the VOORUIT devotes, more-

over, a considerable part of its resources to socialist propaganda, moral education and intellectual development.

For fifteen years it has maintained a daily newspaper, has voted appropriations for the building up of its libraries, its singing societies, music, etc.

The Co-operative of Ghent has a number of places where its members make themselves at home, assembling with their families to listen to addresses and concerts.

The VOORUIT has also undertaken, as we have already described, the conquest of the country districts of Flanders, which have been kept in bigotry by an intolerant clergy. It is by founding co-operatives in the villages suffering from clericalism that they will succeed in emancipating these backward populations.

Louis Bertrand.

Socialist Deputy from Brussels.

(Translated by Charles H. Kerr.)

(To be continued.)

Paganism vs. Christianity.

Rongotea, N. Z., Sept. 14, 1901.

Dear Comrade Simons:

I HAVE been greatly interested in and somewhat amused by the series of papers on Paganism vs. Christianity, etc., in the Review. How does it happen that none of these three Socialists, writing for a Socialist Review, approaches the subject from the Socialist standpoint? It is one more proof of the truth of the saying that it is the unexpected that always happens.

I hope that some comrade who has the leisure will yet discuss it from the sole Socialistic viewpoint, viz., Economic Determinism. I have not the time to say naught of the ability, but surely it would be easy to show how Christianity, like all other religions that ever have existed, is the natural outgrowth of the economic conditions. As Comrade Stitt Wilson showed, Christianity has not been a crystallized, unchanging thing, but a fluid, living thing, acted upon and modified by external influences. But while Comrade Wilson sees this, he does not see that the dominant modifying influence has been the economic environment. Here is the key to the whole problem, and yet none of these three Socialists, not even the scientific Julian, hints at it. For these blind leaders of the blind, Marx and Loria and Ferri have lived and written in vain.

For the teeming millions of the East, with its rigid caste system, where personal hope for the betterment of one's condition has been ruthlessly crushed out for ages, Buddhism holding out the prospect of annihilation of the Ego—of Nirvana—after death, is the natural religion. Natural, in that it is the inevitable outcome of economic and social conditions.

Primitive Christianity, with its condemnation of the rich and its crude Communism, was the natural religion for the persecuted Jews and Roman slaves who formed the bulk of the early church. Any Socialist, who will read Eugene Sue's Silver Cross, can not but sympathize with this primitive Christianity, which, as Professor Ferri points out, has much in common with Modern Socialism.

Roman Catholicism—paganized Christianity, if you will—was in the same way the natural religion of Feudalism.

Protestantism in England and America is par excellence the natural religion of the industrial, commercial, profit-mongering bourgeoisie. How could a political economist of the Birmingham school turned theologian, formulate a religion differently?

It lays all its emphasis on the doctrine of the Atonement and personal conversion. The atonement doctrine portrays an angry God demanding a price. Jesus pays the price. But Jesus lays down certain conditions that must be complied with before he will assume the debt of the individual sinner. And as commercialism must have penalties to compel respect for property rights and enforce the collection of debts, the sinner who does not comply with the conditions must everlastingly burn. This commercial Christianity is supremely selfish and individualistic. It is simply a question of saving one's own soul. As I see it around me, here in this orthodox colony, it is simply an elaborate scheme of soul insurance against hell fire.

But Christianity is still fluid and capable of change. Since the middle of the last century the sentiment of human brotherhood has been permeating the world, and we find the great Christian singer Tennyson voicing the revolt against the current bargain counter theology in such lines as these (I quote from memory):

"But the God of Love and of Hell—together they cannot be thought;
If there be such a God, may the Great God damn him and bring him to naught."

Under Socialism, with equal conditions and the dominant sense of human solidarity, brotherhood, fellowship, must be the keynote of the Religion of the Future.

This was the chief message of Jesus and it is by no means impossible that Christianity may grow into the Religion of Socialism. Is it a mere fanciful dream to look forward to the day when the most solemn rite of Christianity, the Holy Communion, shall be transformed into a banquet of brothers, ringing the globe in its embrace, joyously marking their sense of human oneness by this catholic feast of fellowship in honor of Him who first taught and lived the life of Fellowship?

It must be borne in mind, however, that organized Christianity, the Church of to-day, is a capitalist institution and agency, just as the State is. It draws its revenues from the capitalist class and must do their bidding. As an institution it is and will be against us, but none the less in Christianity itself, it may be, there is lying dormant the germ of the Religion that is to be.

I have not touched upon how the doctrine of immortality has been and is likely to be affected by economic conditions, and can only take time to point out how this doctrine did not exist in pre-Christian Judaism, which by its year of Jubilee and other social regulations made the attainment of comfort and happiness on

earth a possibility for the great majority. Under slavery and Roman rule, earthly comfort and happiness became impossible and there sprang up the belief in future bliss. This belief has been of the utmost service to the ruling classes, as it has had a narcotic influence on the exploited and oppressed. The slave, the serf, or the wage-slave could well bear patiently a few hardships in this transitory life.

But I think it is risking little to predict that when earthly comfort shall be assured to all in the good days that are to be, mankind will lose its interest in mythical tales of joy beyond the grave, and the belief in immortality will die of atrophy.

Just a word more. Here in New Zealand I have been impressed anew with the persistency of orthodox Christianity. Bibliolatry is rampant. At times I fancy I have been caught in one of time's ebb currents and drifted back into the seventeenth century England of Cromwell and Milton.

The same state of mind is to a large extent characteristic of rural America. In propaganda work among such peoples it appears to me suicidal to attack or flout Christianity. Surely it is wiser as well as easier to point out the impossibility of realizing Christian ideals under capitalism, and to demonstrate that Socialism is the necessary economic foundation for the ethics of the Christianity of Jesus. Hastily and fraternally,

Robert Rives LaMonte.

Letter from Manila.

THE following extracts are taken from a personal letter from a Manila correspondent. For reasons which are obvious to the reader he is not able to permit the use of his name:

"Numerous strikes have occurred on the island since my short sojourn here, and two of these have been at the United States arsenal. The first was by the Chinese laborers, who were receiving 80 cents Mexican and 40 cents American, and they asked for 50 cents a day (a 10-cent raise). Being refused they quit work. The next morning their places were filled by Filipinos at the old price of 40 cents per day. The second strike was by eighteen men (natives) employed in the saddlery shop to oil and clean army equipments. They were also receiving the magnificent salary of 40 cents per day. However, they did not strike for a 'raise,' but they refused to do a dirtier piece of work for which they had not been hired. The commanding officer told them to 'vamose' (get out), and they 'got.' Next morning, when the 7 o'clock whistle blew, more than twenty applicants appeared, asking for the positions, and before noon many others had made their appearance for the same purpose. Most of the men last employed have worked steadily and faithfully, showing that it had been no fault of theirs that they were out of work. 'Uncle Sam' has been giving Judge Taft a yearly salary of $10,000, allowing him $15 per day for expenses. Of course it is expected that the Judge will 'set a pace,' but how in the world the natives can keep 'in the race' on 40 cents per day is more than I can figure out. A day laborer in the States is a 'nobody,' but here he is less than a nobody. The churches own about everything in sight. I have been having some experience in evening school as teacher. The class I have been teaching consists of boys whose ages range from 9 to 14 years, and for brightness I will put them against any like crowd of American boys. I have always held to the idea that we are the product of but two factors, 'heredity' and 'environment," and have been inclined to place a goodly share of the credit to heredity, but must now confess it was a mistake. Environment does the work nearly. One evening, just before the close of school, two policemen came into my room to wait for the dismissal. They told me they had been sent there to protect the girls from insult as they left the school. I asked who had been insulting the girls, and his reply was, 'The Americans, of course.'"

THE CHARITY GIRL.

By Caroline H. Pemberton, Author of "Stephen the Black," "Your Little Brother James," Etc.

CHAPTER XVIII.

A week later, Julian clad in the uniform of the United States soldier, was seated in a crowded train that was bearing his regiment to its temporary quarters within the State. Painfully he reviewed on the way all the steps he had taken in his desperate and determined search for Elisabeth. It had not seemed possible at first that she could vanish out of his life as instantaneously as a snowflake melts out of sight in a muddy street. He had looked for her first in the Russian and Jewish quarter of the city, remembering that she had once expressed a longing to return to her own people. He had haunted sweat-shops and tenement houses only to be convinced that Elisabeth was not likely to have found a resting place in such rookeries. Their poverty and squalor would disgust her; she could not speak any of the numerous dialects of the strange people who knew so many languages and knew so little else—nor could she speak Hebrew. Individually she had no claim on them; as a class they could do nothing for her.

Whither had she flown? In God's name—what had she done with herself? He tried to consider with judicial calmness the awful possibility of her self-destruction. His heart nearly stopped beating at the thought, but he came back to it again and again because this theory had been thrust at him at every turn. In his despair he had finally sought advice from a Detective Bureau before which he laid the facts of the mysterious disappearance of a young woman, whose name he withheld.

He recalled the cross questioning of the Chief on the subject of Elisabeth's associates. It was of vital importance to this official that he should know if she had a lover. Julian believed himself to have been Elisabeth's only lover,—wretched hypocrite and bungler as he must have appeared when he condescended to make her an offer of marriage—it could hardly have been called making love; but could he be absolutely sure that Elisabeth had no other lover? Was he sure that she loved no one else? He was sure of nothing.

The Chief had demanded next if there were reason to believe that any one of Elisabeth's supposititious lovers had slighted her. Had Julian slighter her? Or had Elisabeth slighted Julian? The young man in heaviness of spirit had been asking himself these

distracting questions ever since. He believed himself to be the one keen sufferer and solitary mourner in Elisabeth's highly successful performance of the "disappearance act,"—but might there not be ground for wounded feeling on her side? Had he not shown her only too plainly that he regarded her as classified—imprisoned—within the iron-boundaries of caste? Had he not made her feel that it was an outcast he was offering to marry?

Before answering the Chief, Julian had tried to view his behavior from an impartial standpoint, and particularly from the standpoint of a young, sensitive girl who might have had other and more attractive lovers, if she had not been planted in the dreary deserts of waifdom by an impracticable guardian representing a Board of Managers and two thousand "regular subscribers!" The result of his reflections was the opinion, which he had attempted with awkwardness to express, that there had been no intentional slight so far as he knew on the part of any lover, but there might have been an appearance of neglect or—indifference—that might have been construed—

"They're great on construing," the Chief had interrupted, dryly, "that's what drives 'em to it—construing what he meant and what he didn't mean—but most of 'em do it for cause; they have cause enough, I guess, when it comes to the real thing,—jumping right in you know—not pretending. But they generally leave some word behind,—a note or something. Now, young man, if you have a letter or anything of that kind it's your business to produce it, and not waste my valuable time talking about a case and holding back the evidence."

Julian remembered that he had felt not only reproached for his lack of candor, but actually laid open and illumined by an eagle-like glance to the depths of his inside coat pocket, where the note lay concealed. Reluctantly he had produced it, and the Chief after glancing over it hastily had tossed it back to him with a contemptuous expression.

"That's no suicide. There's not a word in it to harrow up the feelings—which is the only object of a left-behind note. Now if she had said she was going to drown herself sure and you would never see her again alive,—she might or she mightn't be going to do it,—there'd be something to reckon on both ways. But no suicide ever left a letter with nothing in it of a harrowing nature. It's unhuman."

Although Julian had disputed this view with the detective on the ground that the missing Elisabeth was different from the average love-lorn young woman (a plea that had caused the official to smile superciliously at his finger nails as if he were reading Julian's words inscribed thereon in ancient hieroglyphics) he was now glad to take refuge in the universal application

which the detective claimed for his theory. In his bewilderment he could no longer trust his own insight into Elisabeth's character and motives; he clung with all his might to this cold, rocky rule of general human probability, because it offered the only argument on which to base the hope that Elisabeth still lived.

If Elisabeth were still alive, he could in time forgive himself for his stupid, cruel creatment of her; he could forgive her for the swift, terrible punishment she had inflicted on him; for if she were alive, Julian believed firmly that some day he would find her. But fate was as cruel to him as was Elisabeth in compelling him at this crisis to forsake his search through the city and become a part of the machinery of war with no power to guide his actions or control his time.

The shock of Elisabeth's disappearance was already dimming the first fresh ardor of his patriotism. On reaching the State camp he found himself occasionally annoyed by the restraints of army life and again sharply disgusted by its vulgar excesses. But these were pin-pricks compared to the chafing of his spirit because he was obliged to leave to strangers the indefatigable search which he believed might result in the discovery of Elisabeth's hiding-place.

To cool his heated emotions and the patriotism of the whole army, the rain began to pour steadily down; the tents were pitched in acres of mud and the soldiers wallowed in mud. They were soon soaked to their skins; the next day and for many days afterwards the water poured down their faces and made water spouts of their shoulders and elbows in the same unconcerned way that it gushes over the bronze and marble heroes that adorn landscape gardening. It was the first test of heroism and it was bravely borne with rough jokes, playful groans, shrugs and curses. An Irish stone-cutter who with three other men, shared Julian's small tent, observed that never again would he l'ave a stone monument out in the rain if it had as much as half a face carved on it—without it might be the face of his enemy. He turned with a wink to a dignified young Cuban patriot.

"When it comes the turn of the Imerald Isle, my compatriots will be in no sich haste to shove forward their job lot o' wet an' dry saisons to present with left-handed compliments to this fool av a nation!"

The Cuban who disliked jokes on serious subjects, muttered gloomily:

"This worse than Koo-bah," and glared angrily at the sodden sky. His mind's eye could see nothing but a long, straggling, adorable, pink and yellow island in the middle of a white page dotted with smaller islands. A very wet map of it was in his pocket, and a very much more correct one was burned into the

tissues of his brain. He spent his days in correcting the one, and his nights in climbing the mountains of the other in ceaseless pursuit of jeering Spaniards who fled in droves from a Springfield rifle.

Every few days Julian received from the Detective Bureau photographs of females under arrest as runaway tramps or pickpockets, whose identity with Elisabeth he hastened distressfully to disclaim. The Bureau had developed a facile ingenuity for running down clues which were hopelessly wrong and which often led into absurd entanglements with other people's lives, with highway robberies and murder mysteries. After it had traced Elisabeth to Chicago, Liverpool and Quebec, had married her successively to an old pork merchant, and a traveling acrobat, besides causing her to elope with an attendant from a private lunatic asylum, Julian claimed the right to direct its search into more probable channels.

By looking up the addresses given in newspaper advertisements of "Help wanted," on the date of Elisabeth's disappearance and for several days subsequently, it was at length ascertained that a young woman answering to her description even down to several minute details of dress, had been engaged for general housework in a certain household in an obscure street and had remained there for a week under the name of "Betty." But unfortunately, Betty had left without telling whither she was going, and her employer could remember only that she had said something about hoping to be a child's nurse. Persistent following up of "Nurses wanted" and other vacancies in domestic service failed to reveal "Betty" in any household that the detective visited. It was like following tracks in a wilderness that led to the water's edge and stopped there. Had Elisabeth's feet led also to the water's edge, and did they stop there, in a city half surrounded by water that was arched by dark bridges with twinkling lights? Those lights and those dark curves so inviting to the feet of the heavy-hearted and the sorrowful—had they persuaded Elisabeth to give up the struggle?

But when the rain ceased falling, as it did in the course of time, and the stiff-jointed volunteers shook themselves, wrung themselves and laid themselves out in the spring sunshine to dry—to talk jubilantly of how Dewey took Manila before breakfast, of the battles they expected to fight in the near future on the Island of Cuba, and the good times they were going to have partaking of the fruits that grew on that tropical island,—it was not possible to escape the general hopefulness that was in the atmosphere. Julian recovered his cheerfulness and made himself believe for two whole days that Elisabeth was safe. At the end of that time he received another message from the detectives

amounting to elaborate variations of "nothing further,"—to which was added a bill of such stupendous size that it took half of his savings to pay it. He then dismissed the detectives, which meant giving up the search.

That night Julian lay on his blanket outside of his tent; it was close and uncomfortable within, and he was following the example of many who desired to live up to the popular ideal of the uncomplaining soldier. His clothes were dry and his body comparatively comfortable, except for a vague gnawing at his stomach, which refused ungratefully to be satisfied with bacon and hard tack. He struck a match, lit a pipe to keep off mosquitoes, and drawing forth Elisabeth's crumpled note, he read for the hundredth time the sentence: "But as for me, I shall never forget you; I shall remember your goodness always, and I will pray that you may return safely."

He felt comforted by the thought that Elisabeth undoubtedly intended to insure his safe return through her prayers; could she afford then to pass a single night without offering up her petition to Heaven? The picture of Elisabeth kneeling to pray for his return became tenderly and powerfully reassuring, seeming as it did to keep her alive for his sole benefit. He closed his eyes in an ecstacy of conviction that Elisabeth lived,—ay, that Elisabeth loved him.

After that, at the hour when she would naturally be preparing for her night's rest,—however impossible it might be to imagine her career during the day or even the nature of her surroundings—it was always possible for the young volunteer to reproduce this holy vision of Elisabeth on her knees—praying for him. He would fling his arms restlessly over his head, and then fold them with a sigh across his breast; he prayed with all his heart for Elisabeth's safe keeping; and so night after night he fell asleep.

CHAPTER XIX.

After their wretched experience in being soaked and flooded for so many days in the State camp, the still jubilant volunteers looked with satisfaction on the order for their removal to the warm, sunny camping fields of the South. So far, they had not enjoyed to the full many of the heroic sensations ascribed to soldiers in time of war, except the one of extreme discomfort.

Julian's regiment had not yet received rifles or arms of any description. The act of drilling with canes and sticks had become a shame-famed performance, over which the volunteers blushed in the privacy of their tents, and fervently prayed that the standing armies of Europe might not learn of their degradation. One of Julian's comrades—a tall, thin fellow, who had

been a clerk in a retail dry-goods store, and whose colorless social experiences had revolved round a small Baptist Sunday School—uttered a cry of loyal rage when he read in a daily paper a ludicrous account of the overpowering of a brace of sentinels by a trio of tramps who were armed and who knew that the volunteers were not.

"Hound them out of the country—the traitors!" he exclaimed. "They would betray the secrets of their government for half a column's pay!" He meant the reporters—not the tramps—and the whole regiment echoed the sentiment.

There was still a glorious uncertainty in the matter of food, which was sometimes abundant and on other occasions exceedingly scarce, but these hitches in the commissary department served only to demonstrate the immense size of the American army. They were proud to belong to a nation that could call out in a single day an army too large to be fed on a day's or a week's or even a month's notice!

Breaking camp was a labor of love hilariously performed. The Southern railroads were soon carrying the precious freight of American manhood, and breaking the bones of not a few individuals in collisions—accidentally, of course—or was it conscientiously done to accustom them to the spilling of blood? They looked so young—these warriors—they were much too light-hearted to be bearing on their shoulders the destinies of nations. Nothing could dampen their spirits. The mysterious lethargy of the railroads in producing the breakfast of the great American army—"regularly the day after to-morrow by the clock"—as the German Undertaker's Son, who also shared Julian's tent, expressed it—served only to elicit jokes and sarcasms and was therefore useful in sharpening the wits of America's most loyal sons.

"We need to be hardened," sighed the Dry Goods Clerk, looking down at his long white fingers which had never done anything heretofore but fold up ribbons and children's underclothing. He expounded a theory that the Government in its superhuman wisdom was secretly ordering all these hardships to occur that the flower of American youth might learn to endure the vicissitudes of war before the shock of battle should descend upon it. This theory was pleasing to many because, like witchcraft, it explained what otherwise was inexplicable. A few grumblers arose to mutter that the Government had better leave pedagogy alone in dealing with the American people, but nobody paid much attention to these fellows, who were sadly out of tune, and were generally regarded as cranks who liked to play at being traitors.

There was in the ranks a singular individual who from

the first had aroused a mild curiosity. This was a fair-haired youth of some twenty-three summers—he did not appear to have experienced many winters—who was observed to adopt, in the fulfillment of his duties, a lonely, languid pose, which suggested some heavy disquietude of mind. It was variously attributed to haughtiness, homesickness, a deep-seated grief, a lover's melancholy—an indisposition to conform to the military ideal. It excited sympathy to see a man so out of touch with his fellows for no reason that could be understood, and numerous overtures were made to bring the inaccessible being into the familiar intercourse which they all enjoyed. But these overtures were declined with an air of patient tolerance—a sort of hasty gathering together of the inner man as though the refusal to accept dainties, or the loan of books and newspapers, were a test of moral character which he had determined to bear bravely. His faint, forced smile on such occasions conveyed more accurately than his chary speech, a distinct impression of secret grief.

What ailed the fellow? Was he in love? He sat apart, but his attitude was not sentimental. His gentleness of manner now and again disarmed criticism. It was generally agreed that he was a man of unusual reserve. Thus he could not change his nature, and such a manner—many said— often indicated extraordinary force of character. He was accordingly treated with more than usual respect and a long-continued show of kindliness—some of the men even going so far as to take upon themselves certain of his daily chores, which it was observed he performed with unusual awkwardness. These kindly offices he accepted with a weary graciousness of manner, which was at first impressive but afterward seemed to lack spontaneity. It was a stale kind of graciousness and seemed finally to imply that his burden of gratitude was a mere figure of speech, however strenuously it might be expressed in words. He was evidently a weakling in physical strength, but this fact was regarded indifferently and inspired no disrespect.

Finally, one day, it was noticed that the reserved one had a visitor—a jaunty young fellow whose shining full-dress uniform was that of a trooper. The two strolled about together smoking cigarettes, and sat down to drink wine and play cards. And now some of the older men feared that the tempter had taken possession of their silent comrade. They watched him with concern as he arose from the table. No longer was he silent, for even before the wine had been brought his loquacity was strikingly in evidence; but his bearing was erect enough, as, with his arm on the trooper's shoulder, he clung to him like a loving brother. Thus they passed and repassed the Undertaker's Son, who was standing on guard that day on the parade ground. The

youth was not drunk; he was merely talking earnestly, passionately, his words rushing forth like a dammed-up stream broken loose; the wine he had taken served only to give color to his cheek and a thrill of righteous indignation to his voice. He seemed not to care who heard the tale of woe which he was pouring into the trooper's sympathetic ear. After he had somewhat exhausted his passion, he became plaintively appealing. Constantly he repeated the phrase, "And I am the only one—the only one in the regiment!" with moving effect. It evidently stirred his friend profoundly, for he muttered always in reply: "An outrage—a brutal outrage!"

"Now what 'outrage' is being perpetrated on our forlorn comrade?" queried the Undertaker's Son, "that all of us do not share in the way of privations and general discomfort?"

But again the trooper and the unhappy lad were coming that way, and their voices plainly indicated that they were lost to the outside world. For now they were painfully explicit. Quoth the youth with the sorrowful countenance :

"It's just as I have described—I can stand it no longer. I have made the most careful observations and I assure you I do not exaggerate in the least when I say that I am the only gentleman in the regiment—the only one, damn it!"

His voice broke into a sob. It was such a distinct wail of grief mingled with rage, and caused such concern to the listening trooper that he stopped abruptly in his walk and dug his spurred heel hard into the sand.

"A damned beastly shame! I declare, it's awful! But how did it ever happen that you got here?"

The other winked away a tear, took out his handkerchief and blew his nose violently.

"I was in a great hurry and I'd had a drink or two that morning—and fellows told me I was certain of being promoted, so I just rushed ahead—and now they won't let me resign any more than if I really belonged to the herd! But it's not the best way out, even if I could get discharged on the plea of ill-health. Fellows might say things—afterward, you know."

"Yes—they might. You must get promoted—that's the thing to do—get promoted at once."

"I know that well enough," cried the Solitary One, brightening and smiling, "but how can I? It takes outside influence—a tremendous damned lot of it! But if I were an officer, you know I could associate with officers outside, and there are several I know."

"Whatever it takes, I'll guarantee to get it for you. I understand something of politics, and I know a man who can pull more wires than you ever dreamed of, so just bear up for the present. I'll explain the situation to the troop and we'll pull together and get you out of this—trough!"

He was deeply in earnest as he shook the hand of his friend and sealed his promise with another splendid oath. After he had taken his departure the gentle youth looked visibly cheered and retired to his tent with elastic step and beaming eye.

But the mystery of his solitary habits was now revealed to the Undertaker's Son, who explained it to his comrades without loss of time. Some were dense of comprehension. They could not make out why the gentility of the fair-haired youth should cause him acute suffering. Might he not have found in the whole regiment at least one of sufficiently elevated tastes to be worthy of his companionship? Had not several of their best educated comrades—really gifted and intellectual men—offered to lend him rare books which he had invariably declined? What did he want, anyway? Couldn't they all play cards and drink wine, if they wanted to, and swear prodigious oaths, if they wanted to, just as well at that trooper? Why, then, this voluntary isolation—why this shrinking from all of them as if they had the plague?

"He's a gentleman's son, I tell you—the only real one among us," replied the Undertaker's Son, smiling grimly.

"I refer you to Julian, who has had long experience with the ways of fashionable exclusives. The only specimens I've had a chance to examine were dead ones—perhaps they change after death, for I could not discover that they were differently constructed from the rest of us. But of course they must be! Strange isn't it, that the Lord made us so different? Perhaps Julian can explain why this was necessary for the economic good of all."

Julian said he had given up trying to define the spirit of class egotism. He had been told that it was a mental attitude. "Seems like the attitude of the tortoise, doesn't it? Standing on nothing and supporting an elephant with a world of impenetrable conceit on his back—but it's such a very little world!" It was a religion of intolerance, he explained, requiring no basis of fact—none whatever.

"If humanity," he added with sudden enthusiasm, "if humanity be an ocean with bays, inlets and rivers sharing its tidal forces, then I call pride of caste the wave that throws itself far up on the beach—lying there a shallow, shrinking pool, evaporating day by day. And it dares to imagine itself superior to the great ocean from which it came—this miserable, stagnant little puddle whose day will soon be done! The winds and the sunlight of God's truth will soon make short work of it!"

"That's capital!" cried the Undertaker's Son, clapping his hands with satisfaction. "Bellamy himself could not have put it

better. It's a true picture—a serviceable simile that will stand thinking about. Don't envy that pool, don't try to copy it or to live up to its morbid standards. Just let it alone, and some bright day in the future it will evaporate entirely from our American life. We belong to the ocean, hey, Julian? We still feel the force of its waves and currents; they make our destiny great and glorious, and the winds of God are blowing through our hearts. Thanks be to Him forever for having made us as we are—just common folks!"

"Amen," said Julian, and they all cheered lustily and felt quite happy and very superior for a few moments, during which they were able to look with a sublime pity on the denizens of the "stagnant pool."

"But I want you to understand that I am no believer in your Utopian theories," said Julian afterward, with great earnestness, to the Undertaker's Son, whom he had chosen to class as a "theorist" from several long talks they had had together. "Humanity interests me and I love it, and I want to serve it, but I have no use for 'Patton's Priceless, Painless Panacea'—either in philosophy or medicine."

"Names count for little," rejoined the young German, smiling with a superior air, "but I have a book that will interest you by one of your own countrymen; wait a moment and I'll get it for you, for I think you'll find it about covers your case, and I'd like your opinion on its merits." He disappeared into his tent and came out with several volumes under his arms. He handed one to Julian, who opened it gingerly. "Oh, Howells!" he exclaimed, in a tone of relief. "Yes, I like his stories, and I've not seen this one before, 'A Traveler from Altruria.'"

"Here's another, as that is very short—also by William D.—'A Hazard of New Fortunes;' take them both and don't be in a hurry to return them. I offered them to the 'Lonely One' ('the Only One', I think we shall have to call him), but he said he did not care for Howells' novels, and he thanked me very kindly."

They both laughed at the well-worn expression.

Henceforth the disconsolate youth was known as the 'Only One,' and studiously avoided as becomes a person of rank thrown into forced association with his inferiors. He was carefully watched, however, in consequence of his ambition to be advanced beyond his just deserts, and it was soon evident that some outside power was already acting as a lever to his fortunes, for not many days later he was made clerk of the company and soon after that he was promoted to the position of sergeant.

The question of breakfast was again shoved into the background when reports of the appearance of a Spanish fleet began to multiply. "Spook ships" kept both the army and the navy

guessing for several weeks in a frenzy of excitement, until the discovery of Cervera's fleet led to the spreading of the news from camp to camp that the great American army was at last to embark for Cuba.

The grand scale of preparation that followed this announcement was enough to silence not only the noisest of grumblers, but the hungriest of volunteers. They forgot their empty stomachs—or, rather, they did not forget them, but they argued that to be hungry in the enemy's country after a battle in which they had completely routed the Spaniards would prove the necessity of enduring the same hardships in the home camps with a Spartan calmness of mien—unfortunately not as yet successfully achieved by a large majority. Some of the toughest of the grumblers accepted this view.

Having now received their weapons and uniforms, they hugged Springfield rifles to their hearts with a lofty indifference to tales of Mauser rifles and smokeless powder in the hands of the enemy. Orders and rumors of orders for this regiment and that to prepare for embarkation were flying thick and fast between Tampa, Chickamauga and Washington. Julian's regiment was scheduled to sail on a certain transport on a certain Wednesday, and found itself after vexatious delays at last in readiness to depart. Wagons, mules, guns, ammunition, clothing and rations were piled in promiscuous and inextricable confusion on the vessel, and it looked as if nothing but a few miles of salt water lay between that regiment and glory.

Something, however, intervened in the shape of a countermanding order from Washington. Like a thunderbolt it fell upon the regiment, and every man felt struck in the breast by the hand of his government, and personally accused of cowardice and military unworthiness to fight the battles of the Republic. The transport sailed without them.

It was in vain that the officers explained to the men the many plausible theories advanced for the shelving of their regiment. It was useless to point out that other regiments had received their arms at an earlier date, and were consequently better drilled and in better fighting condition. The men sullenly asked whose fault it was that they had not received their weapons sooner? Was not the government aware of the length of time they had practised with sticks and rifles when it issued the order for their embarkation? Had some friend maligned them and whispered lies into the ear of the war department after the order was issued? Their angry murmurs grew so loud that on the Sunday following the chaplain preached a special sermon on the subject. He pointed out that several cases of drunkenness and theft occurring recently might have injured the standing of the

regiment, and the immediate adoption of a higher moral standard would perhaps cause them to be sent to the front at the earliest possible moment.

This argument availed little because, as the men stated to each other in bitter comment afterward, their reputation for sobriety and good behavior was the best in the brigade, while the regiment which had taken the place of their own on the transport was notorious for its disorderly conduct.

It was not long before they understood that political influence was at the bottom of the matter; they learned that their Colonel, a gallant, painstaking gentleman, was without the political backing which would have assured him a chance to serve his country as he was fitted to do. He was too good to be removed, and too unimportant—politically—to be sent to the front; shelving was best for him. This summary of the facts checked the murmurs for the time being, the average American being accustomed to regard the evil deeds of politicians with the same silent tolerance with which loyal subjects behold the wild revels of disreputable monarchs. It caused the Colonel, however, to be regarded with a pitying, brotherly affection, as one whom lack of appreciation —or worse—had reduced to their own level of despised excellence.

The excitement occasioned by the destruction of Cervera's fleet produced a temporary reaction, during which the regiment forgot its grievances in the general rejoicing over the brilliancy of American valor. This was quickly followed by the news of battles fought on Cuban soil; of heroism displayed by black and white Americans—regulars and volunteers—of loss of life, suffering, starvation, and all the attendant horrors of a campaign in the enemy's country.

Julian read the name of Cooper Denning among the list of killed and learned that he had been struck by a bullet of a Spanish sharpshooter, just as he was in the act of dragging from the field a wounded comrade. To the last he had been faithful; he was loyalty itself to the obligations that he understood. His social dogmas had limited his sympathies to the fellowship of which he had formed so significant a part, but had not loyal souls in the early days of heroism always limited their allegiance to the narrowest of patriarchal or feudal obligations? Perhaps the spirit of exclusiveness in his class was after all nothing worse than a retrogression to more primitive instincts—a lapsing into a prehistoric stage of barbarism? Denning's social instincts had always seemed to him to be purely tribal.

"Humanity moves in a circle; when a man tries to get away from his brother, he finds that he has only moved round to the other side of him—to a more ancient type of himself. He is just

a little nearer a savage perhaps than he was ever before," thought Julian. Denning's heroic death awed him; he mourned for him as one whom the world could ill afford to lose—he generously composed apologetic epitaphs on the caste spirit.

Meanwhile, the slighted regiment was being sent hither and thither on delusive expeditions, the object of which has not been revealed to this day. Three times it was packed on trains and sent a distance of one hundred miles to another camp, where it waited patiently for its breakfast, which twice passed it on the road back. Once it lay side-tracked for many days by a way station in the blistering glare of a Southern summer sun, apparently forgotten by the authorities at Washington. Some newspapers reported facetiously in startling headlines that it was lost; this recalled to the absent-minded War Department the fact of its existence, and the order came at last for its return to headquarters.

But on their return the men found their old camping ground occupied by another regiment which was enjoying the clear spring water which Julian and some of his comrades had carefully walled in and decorated with an improvised filter designed by the Undertaker's Son. Another place was assigned to them, a low piece of ground which had just been deserted by troopers. Their Colonel expressed his indignation to the authorities, who promised amiably to restore them to their former camping ground. Nothing was done about it, however; in a few weeks they beheld it reduced to the condition of a pig sty. They were forced to conclude that they would do better to stay where they were.

Their new camp was supplied with water by a stream which, skirting the entire army on its right for several miles, was little better than a sewer. To drink from it was suicidal, nevertheless men were drinking from it, contrary to the Colonel's orders, every day. Cases of fever were rapidly developing; many of these were of a persistent malarial type. An attempt was made to dig for pure water, but the ground was low and bordered on a marsh.

It was unfortunate that the Captain of Julian's company fell ill also, for the "Only One" was now being shoved forward with such rapidity that in a short time he was appointed to fill the vacancy caused by the other's resignation. This appointment the Colonel sternly resented. It caused much ill-disguised friction between them. The "Only One's" ignorance of both military and sanitary matters was so great that he was obliged to rely on his subordinates in issuing orders. His Lieutenants guessed often enough what orders he meant to give, but sometimes they guessed wrong and were reprimanded, with the result

that when the order was repeated every volunteer guessed for himself what was meant, and obeyed accordingly. An attack of chills and fever at last laid the yellow-haired laddie on his back for three weeks, and when he returned to his duties he had forgotten all that he ever knew or had learned of military matters, and it seemed impossible to recuperate his memory. He began to drink heavily. To make matters worse, the Colonel next fell seriously ill, and during his absence the unhappy regiment floundered indeed.

By midsummer it represented a ragged, hollow-eyed, hungry set of men, who had not one grievance, but many. Sickness had depleted their ranks. Improper food had starved out their patriotism and greatly reduced the weight of every man in the regiment. Their rations were plentiful but unsuitable. It was a common saying that they threw away enough to feed another regiment. Occasionally the meat was tainted for days at a time, and the biscuits mouldy; there was no water fit to drink except that which was brought from a distance by men who staggered after it in the merciless glare of a sunshine which had become to the American volunteer an expression of the wrath of God. The condition of the regiment was alarming. The strongest and bravest of its members gathered one night around Julian's tent to discuss the situation.

Julian made a short address. It was vain he told them to look to Washington for help; their Colonel had already done all in his power in that line, and his appeals received either no response or promises of help which never came. It was also vain to expect improved sanitary regulations from their own officers, many of whom were on the sick list, and whose orders on such matters were of the most perfunctory kind.

"The military ideal seems to me an anachronism any way, in this day and generation," said Julian, "if we were not such a peace-loving nation, I believe we would long ago have invented a more sensible system—one more in keeping with our democratic principles. But we've dragged our grandfather's heavy musket down from the dust and cobwebs of the lumber room and we are shouldering the same old stupid form of despotism that men have been shouldering for centuries. However, we've taken it up voluntarily for the honor of our country and in the name of humanity, so we're bound to make the best of it; only, do let's put our democratic wits to work to save our lives when we can."

He urged them to live up to a standard of their own and read them a set of rules which had been written out by the Undertaker's Son, who was believed to be well up on sanitation, his father having been Secretary of a Board of Health. Sick and

discouraged as the men were, they listened, nevertheless, with a pathetic show of interest, and agreed to stop argument on the question of whom to blame for their sufferings, and to undertake as far as possible the care of their own lives in the future.

"Now that peace has been proclaimed," said the German, "it is not likely that we shall be wanted as food for powder—but we may be needed as citizens in the near future to preserve some of the ideals of this Republic. It is every man's duty to study how to circumvent disease—and—starvation."

He lowered his voice at the last word, but it was nevertheless distinctly uttered, and every man present heard it. There was an immediate rush of exclamations and angry protests, the men demanding to know of what use were sanitary measures when they were being deliberately starved to death?

"Amer—r—ican r—Reconcentradoes!" hissed the Cuban, rolling his r's in scathing invective, and pointing in the direction where lay the larger part of the American army. He was immediately set upon by the Dry-Goods Clerk, who wound his long arms about him and dragged him with much effort beyond the outer circle of the meeting.

"You peoples is not a military nation!" the Cuban was heard to shout mockingly, as he disappeared into the darkness.

The Dry-Goods Clerk returned panting, and climbed upon a packing box. He addressed the meeting breathlessly:

"You have heard the voice of treason from the lips of that ingrate—now listen to your fellow-countryman! We are a lot of pampered children, overfed all our lives; stuffed with dainties until we have lost our taste for wholesome food. That's what's the matter; the fault lies with us; the rations are good, better than we deserve—better than any other government provides for its soldiers! What do you expect in time of war—to make no sacrifices? Are you looking for fried oysters and featherbeds on a battlefield?"

"We have seen no war!" cried several voices, derisively. "We don't know what a battlefield looks like—this is peace—not war! We're in our own land, hungry in the midst of plenty—treated worse than the prisoners of Libby and Andersonville!"

"Shame on you—shame—shame!" screamed the Clerk; a violent emotion shook his whole frame; on his sunken cheeks were two brilliant scarlet spots; he beat his breast with both hands.

"Look at me—I am going to swear to God's truth! I have eaten nothing but the rations provided by the government, and every penny I have received has gone to keep my poor mother. Look at me, I say! I've gained six pounds by eating army rations—six pounds, God be praised!" He raised his arms high over his head in his emotion.

"If ye be bearin' testimony to a miracle, ye've a right to be listened to an' not otherwise," cried the Irish Stonecutter, with bitter emphasis. "Them that can live without eatin' is allowed to be no example for the ordinary."

"Look at him—his bones and his skin are held together by his uniform, an' he darsent take his jacket off at night for fear his ribs 'll roll away!" yelled another volunteer.

"I was always thin—always," protested the Clerk, still pounding his chest and coughing distressingly in consequence, "but I'm broader and stronger than ever I used to be, owing to the Government's care of me. We need to be hardened, my comrades. The Government has its plans for us; trust the Government, that's all we have to do. I'll sign no petition for better food or new filters—I'll take no part in your fool sanitary precautions. I tell you, the Government knows what's best for us." His husky voice had become plaintively appealing; his tall, thin figure swayed heavily, so that some of the men who had most violently disputed his assertions were now eying him pityingly. Julian and the Undertaker's Son helped him off the box.

"Look out for yourself," whispered Julian, "you need to see the doctor, my friend—just as soon as possible."

"I guess the Government's plans for this saint are mapped out in Kingdom Come," observed the Undertaker's Son in a dry undertone. "The syndicates have found a new way to make money out of us:—instead of fattening on our labor, they are now fattening on our decaying bodies. This war promises to be a great commercial success to somebody."

The Clerk was persuaded to sit down wrapped in a blanket, with his back against the box on which he had been standing. The poor fellow took no further notice of his comrades, but produced from his pocket what remained of his day's rations and began with great deliberation to munch a stale biscuit.

Julian climbed on the box to say that without bitterness in their hearts, or carping criticisms on their lips, it was necessary at this crisis to take thought for themselves, for they knew it to be a fact that there was hardly a well man among them. He then re-read the rules which forbade the men to drink condemned water, and to do a number of other things known to be foolhardy.

Permission had been obtained to dig a well and to drain the camp of its sewerage. They were all to assist in this work. They were to contribute towards the purchase of quinine and a few other simple drugs; they were to avoid the canteen and the purchase of cheap, unwholesome cakes and fruits from the railroad stands. The same amount of money wisely spent would provide them with rice and fresh meat, both of which were necessary articles of diet in a Southern climate. Finally he told them a secret:—he had recently communicated with a Northern newspaper which had published a statement of their needs; a car-load of canned goods and fruit would soon be on its way South, contributed by the anxious friends of the regiment.

This piece of news produced a cheer and the meeting broke up in a more hopeful spirit. After the men had dispersed, Julian, the Undertaker's Son, and the Stonecutter turned to look at the Volunteer, who was still absorbed in the patriotic task of eating the meal provided for him by his government.

"Holy Mother of men and angels—take it from him! Do you see the maggots?" shouted the Stonecutter, holding a lighted pine fagot to the can of beef which the unfortunate Dry-Goods Clerk was about to dip into with his biscuit.

"What if there are maggots," answered the Patriot in sepulchral tones, "are there more here than there were in the beef that our boys ate in the trenches before Petersburg? A soldier must learn to—to think nothing of maggots—they harden the flesh so that he can look into a cannon's mouth without shivering."

Julian groaned and turned away; he leaned against a post and felt desperately ill for fifteen minutes. The Undertaker's Son snatched the can from the Clerk's hand and flung it away. The emaciated volunteer sat up and stared about him haughtily.

"You are not soldiers, but unworthy dogs in the manger—unworthy dogs! I shall not sleep anywhere near you; I am a soldier, and I refuse to lie down with dogs."

Off he staggered, and Julian, finding him afterwards lying on the damp earth and breathing heavily, rolled him on a blanket and covered him up with a striped shawl which his mother had sent him.

(To be continued.)

AT THE BAR.

THE DREAM.

Yestreen, I read a screed wherein was writ,
The glory, the achievement, power, and fame,
Of a dead Century; and dreaming then,
Methought there came to me an angel clad
In brightest raiment, and methought he stood,
And beckoned to me, and his presence seemed
To fill my soul with awe; and then he spoke,
And speaking to me, said: "Oh! son of man,
Come thou with me, for on this night, thine eyes
Shall see, and thou shalt know, and knowing, find
The truth concerning that which is no more."

THE ARRAIGNMENT.

And as he vanished from my view, there came
A vision to me, and it seemed I stood
Among a mighty host, and then, methought,
I saw that Century, whose power and fame
Had stirred me so, arraigned before the bar
Of Truth and Justice Infinite, and then,
As I beheld it in its nakedness,
Its fame and glory shriveled, till it seemed
The vilest of the vile, a sepulcher
For whited lies, beside whose bier 'twere meet
For Satan to have wept, and then I heard,
The cries of countless millions whom it slew,
Rise up in judgment 'gainst it; then I knew
Itself for what it was, the most accurst,
And of the countless Centuries, the worst
The race had ever known. My vision gone,
I woke, and waking, I beheld the dawn.

THE ARGUMENT.

I.

A ranter! Well, perhaps, yet we shall see,
If the arraignment hath injustice done.
Let us review, in mood dispassionate,
The race and its advancement; let us see
What five score years have wrought, and then, my lords,
Ye who are sleek and well-fed, ye shall say
If I have spoken well concerning it—
As by their fruits, ye judge the trees, so, too,

Judge ye concerning this. Who saw it born
Continue not to-day; but records live,
And records speak the truth. Let History tell,
(Nor boast of civilization, till ye know
What civilization is) what has been wrought,
Of good or ill in all its passing years,
From its inception, to its final end,
What it was to the race, if foe, or friend.

II.

Its advent saw a quiet brooding o'er
The nations of the earth; a quiet, like
The quiet that precedes the coming storm;
And then, the War God loosed his flaming sword,
And legal murder swayed humanity—
Till men were drunken with the taste of blood,
And deep, undying hatreds were aroused,
Beside which, Hell were Heaven, and so it was
At day dawn, and from day dawn till the night
Wherein it passed away, and in its path
It left unnumbered millions, stark, and dead.
And wherefor? Was it for the common weal
That kind destroyed its kind? Ah! no, my lords,
It was at your behest; your safety lay
In their arraignment, kind against their kind.
While they, poor fools, knew not that they were blind.

III.

Now look you! Of these millions who were slain,
What profit was it to them, or their kind,
To wantonly destroy? For those who fought
And bore war's awful brunt, were not of those
Whose pride had been the cause, or, who, perchance,
In the commercial spirit of the age—
(Which, as the Century grew, developed fast,
And at a bound, o'erlapped a thousand years
Of progress in the world's advancing steps)
Saw glory, power, and wealth, through war's alarms,
Accruing to themselves—well-knowing that
The debt must needs be paid, and knowing, too,
On whom the burden lay, not on themselves,
But on the unborn children of their dupes,
The world's producers, whom they sent to slay,
And be slain in the battles of the day.

IV.

But war, and war's alarms, were but a tithe
Of what was wrought, and all the countless slain
That lay on battle-fields, were as a dream,
Compared with Competition's juggernaut,
Whose victims were as countless as the sands
Lapped by the moaning seas, or as the stars
That light the firmament; and Satan's host
Was loosed, and Hell prevailed upon the earth.
Where the proud Ganges rolled, or where the Nile,
In China, on the Rand, or in Luzon;
Where stretched earth's greenest fields, and fertile plains,
Its shadow loomed; where precious gems were mined,
Or where black diamonds lay, or where bright gold
Replevined was from some dark hiding place;
In every clime, and under every sun,
With blighting hand, its cursed work was done.

V.

In the industrial world, productive power
Increased a thousand fold, where it was touched
By the inventive genius of the age,
The genius, that came like a ray of light
To the producing millions, but whose faint
And far-off glimmer soon was blotted out;
Before their dulled imaginings could grasp,
The great thought, all Divine, that hidden lay.
For Profit, Competition's ruling God,
Came like some dark and leaden cloud between,
And left them stark and naked, and debauched.
Its prostituted genius, made self, Lord,
Of all that was, destroying the last sparks
Of brotherhood that burned within the race;
And might and cunning ruled, and might was right,
And human souls were withered by its blight.

VI.

For every palace, rearing its proud dome
On some bold promontory, with its parks,
And driveways lined with grand old trees and shrubs;
A thousand hovels, damp and noisome holes,
Swarmed with half-naked children, prematured.
For labor's meed was but a pittance bare,
(Though labor was creator of all wealth)
It was compelled to give the lion's share,
To those who ruled—who ruled by Profit's grace.

Incest, and prostitution, hell, and death,
Like slimy serpents, wreathed, and twisted round
Among its devotees, and every crime,
The decalogue could name, by it was bred,
Aye, bred, and nurtured, too, and human souls
Compelled were by self-preservation's law,
To crush all opposition, and the crushed
Sank hopelessly it seemed, forever hushed.

THE AFTERMATH.

Such was the Century, and what had been
To me a glorious epoch, tottered, fell,
And crumbled into nothingness, beneath
Truth's penetrating rays, and I was glad;
Glad I had dreamed, for in my dream, I saw—
Truth, not as men see truth, and back of it,
I saw that Truth enthroned, and ruling all.
And though the race be swayed by lust to-day,
Though self seem God to it, and hell yawn wide,
And men seem less than brute, the race shall see
The darkness fade, as mists fade out and die,
Before the sun, and it shall be swayed by
A universal peace and harmony.
The battle's on between the hosts of Truth,
And Error's host, and Armageddon's field
Will soon be fought, and Truth shall triumph then—
And bring a thousand years of peace to men.

Albert Frank Hoffman.

Cincinnati, June 18, 1901.

SOCIALISM ABROAD

Professor E. Untermann.

Austria.

The main problem solved by the recent national convention of the Austrian Social Democracy, held in Vienna November 2 to 5, was that of a new program. The old program, adopted in Hainfeld, January 1, 1889, was the result of a compromise consolidating the "moderate" and the "radical" wing of the laborers into the "Social Democratic Labor Party of Austria." But the progress of capitalism in other countries, the precarious state of the belated Austrian industries, and the change of the political situation made it imperious to revise a document that was created by tactical requirements of a bygone period.

The aim of the revision was to devise a program that should not only be up to date, but also perfect in form. Bernstein's revisionism has not been without influence. The program has been worded so carefully that even the most fastidious will not easily find a flaw, but it gives no encouragement to opportunists, for it is more revolutionary than ever.

There were 150 delegates present, 10 of them women. The following nationalities were represented: 55 Germans, 35 Tsechs, 20 Poles, 4 Slovenians, 3 Italians, 3 Ruthenians. Eleven trade unions had also sent delegates. Karl Kautsky was present as a delegate from Bohemia.

The following resolution on the tariff question, presented by Kautsky and Karpeles and amended by Vanek, is a declaration of such instructive value that it is here reproduced in full:

"The Social Democracy denies that the present class state is capable of organizing and managing production for the benefit of the whole nation. Still it recognizes the necessity that the State should take measures for furthering and developing production and the forces of production, as far as present conditions will permit.

Most effective among these measures seem those that tend to elevate the intellectual and physical powers of the masses (schools, protective laws) and to nationalize and administer collectively the great capitalist monopolies.

But in the first stages of capitalist industry, the economic development may also be furthered by protective duties for the benefit of industries. In countries with advanced capitalist industries, however, these duties change from means of progress into means of checking the development of the productive forces of a country, especially where they are joined to duties on agricultural products, or where they serve to bestow extra profits on favored groups of capitalists.

The latter tariff duties, like revenue taxes, must be opposed under all circumstances; for they are indirect taxes that on one side press most heavily on the poorest strata of society, on the other side throw new millions into the lap of the most useless and richest part of the population.

They are, furthermore, objectionable, because they are the greatest danger to commercial treaties of long duration, of which modern industry is greatly in need.

From this point of view it is the duty of the Social Democracy under the present condition of commercial relations to further the conclusion of treaties of long duration on the basis of the most favored nation and to facilitate and secure international traffic; but to sharply oppose all measures that purport to maintain and strengthen the present revenue taxes and agrarian and privileged tariffs.

In its fight against the present tariff system the proletariat must trust only to its own strength, for the bourgeoisie surrenders its arms to the governments, the monopolists, the great financiers, and great landowners, also on this ground and does not attempt to force them into concessions, but to trade with them at the expense of the laboring class."

Resolutions were also adopted expressing sympathy with the struggling laborers in Russia, denouncing the war in South Africa, and scoring the Turkish authorities for the atrocities committed in Armenia.

The proposed stringent regulations of the Austrian government for commercial employees (Gewerbe-Ordnung) were condemned as favoring the employers at the expense of the apprentices. The condition in the army elicited the following resolution: "In view of the ever increasing cases of maltreatment, suicide, unjust and incomprehensivle rulings and sentences in the army, the Social Democracy demands the immediate reform and publicity of military courts and more especially the free, untrammeled, and unchecked, right of complaint for every soldier."

We feel that our Austrian comrades are a strong and active division of the world's proletarian army, and we look with fond eyes at the 800,000 votes they secured at the last general elections.

France.

The cabinet Waldeck-Rousseau, designed to serve two masters, was not for a moment in doubt to what class it belonged when the interests of the working class and the capitalist class clashed. The reply to the appeal of the striking miners was swift and sure—2,000 soldiers. We are anxious to hear from the supporters of Millerand, who is still a member of this cabinet.

Of course, the two Socialist camps of France move still more apart in consequence of this occurrence. The crystallization of the revolutionary element took a definite form in the "Parti Socialiste de France," which, on Nov. 3, consolidated the following organizations at the congress of Ivry: L' Alliance Communiste, l'Alliance Communiste Franc-Comtoise, la Federation des Deux Sevres, la Federation Socialiste Revolutionnaire du Doubs, la Federation des Travailleurs Socialistes de la 2d Circonscription de Senlis, la Federation de Seine-et-Oise, le Groupe Central du XI. Arrondissement de Paris, le Parti Ouvier Francais, le Parti Socialiste Revolutionnaire.

The feeling against Millerand ran high, and after the consolidation had taken place, the following resolution was adopted:

"The male and female comrades assembled in the City Hall of Ivry

hail the newly accomplished unity of the revolutionary Socialists and pledge themselves to oppose all the different capitalist elements and those criminals who tried to sell the rights of the proletariat for a minister's portfolio."

We heartily endorse the tactical position of the new party. But in view of the victorious progress of international capitalism we deplore the schisms in the ranks of one of the strongest contingents of the international army of proletarians.

Germany.

What with the insolent overbearance of the Emperor, the houndish servility of the Liberals, the exorbitant agrarian tariff demands that drew forth over a million protests, and the industrial depression that has thrown 30,000 men out of work in the German capital alone, the Socialists of Berlin had a merry time in the municipal elections. They carried thirteen out of the sixteen wards of third class electors, retaining their seven old wards, gaining six new wards, and leaving only 3 in the hands of the liberals; 33,425 votes were cast for the Socialists, while only 8,926 votes fell to the lot of the Liberals, Conservatives and Nationalists.

The comrades elected are Bernstein (not Edward), Zubeil, Metzner, Schulz, Friedeberg, Basner, Ramlow, Wurm, Weyl, Glocke, Liebknecht and Pfannkuch. This brings the number of Socialists in the City Council up to 28.

In Charlottenburg, where elections were held in 8 wards, the Socialists carried 6, making the number of Socialist Councillors 8.

In the "Neue Zeit," Bebel begins the new crusade against the Revisionists with these words: "In the long run no party, and least of all ours, that is surrounded on all sides by mortal enemies and must of necessity adopt a determined uniform activity in order to succeed in its propaganda among the masses, can stand a constant questioning of its fundamental principles and tactics, and the development of a critique that makes the impression as if it were merely exercised for the enjoyment of criticism and without regard to the position of a party that is forced to fight on all sides simultaneously." Bernstein, in an article of the "Sozialistischen Monatshefte," entitled "Party Discipline and Strength of Conviction," emphasizes once more that his acceptance of the censure of the national convention does not mean a sacrifice of his convictions. "Selfcritique" and "Selfdefense" will therefore continue unabated.

Italy.

The Socialists unearthed the fact that the Camorra of Naples had burdened the city with a debt of 15,000,000 francs. Most of this money fills the pockets of Naples Tammany heelers. Unluckily for the Vesuvian tiger, this episode took place on the eve of a municipal election. And now 13 out of 16 candidates for Councilmen are singing the "International" in the City Hall. Moral: Elect Socialists before the treasury is empty.

THE WORLD OF LABOR

By Max S. Hayes.

The most important move made by our capitalistic comrades during the past month—in fact, the most interesting since the launching of the billion-dollar steel trust last spring—was the incorporation of the Northern Security Co., with a capital of $400,000,000. A Wall street organ says this company, besides controlling the Northern Pacific, Chicago, Burlington & Quincy and Great Northern railways, will soon absorb the four other great Western systems, which have a total of nearly 50,000 miles of trackage, and are capitalized at $1,042,000,000. This further significant statement is made: "The company is admitted to be a branch of the Morgan billion-dollar United States Steel Corporation." J. J. Hill is President of the Northern Security Co., and the board of directors is dominated by Morgan and Hill, though the Harriman and Rockefeller interests are also represented. As was the case when the billion-dollar steel trust was formed, so at present some of the second-rate politicians in Western States claim they will take action to prevent the new octopus from living any longer than next week or so, but the magnates laugh at all threats of those who, perhaps, will be satisfied with annual passes. Controlling railways, iron and steel production, coal, oil and scores of other industrial institutions, as Rockefeller and Morgan do, how long will it be until they own the nation outright? And how long, O Lord, how long will it be before we have Socialism? It's up to you, Mr. Reader.

Canning machines and Chinamen had a short and sharp struggle in the British Columbia canneries, and the pig-tails were worsted, though they worked pretty cheap. The new machine cuts and packs fish and puts the tops on. Two men operate it and it does the work of forty. Hundreds of the Chinks are now coming across the border to see Melican man.

Edward J. Besette, Chicago printer, was fined $250 for disobeying an injunction issued by Judge Baker against boycotting the Conkey Company and sent to jail.

Actors' Union of New York complains that the "White Rats" are being patronized in preference to union players. Row coming between the two organizations.

Tobacco trust has forced Tampa cigar manufacturers to break agreements with all unions.

Ben Tillett, of the British Dock Laborers, and W. F. Chandler, of the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters, will represent the British Trade

Union Congress at the A. F. of L. convention. Tillett is a Socialist, and while here will attempt to secure federation of American 'longshoremen with the dock workers of Europe.

President Mitchell advises the anthracite miners to get ready to inaugurate the eight-hour day next spring, and if it doesn't come as a concession to fight for it. The bosses are still reported as keeping up open and secret attacks on the unions.

New Orleans fruit trust has introduced an electric machine that unloads ships and cars. About a thousand laborers will be displaced, and one-third of the time required to unload will be saved and the loss of fruit will be reduced one-fourth.

Texas man has invented a contrivance that will do away with newspaper mailers. The device is attached to printing press and stamps the name of the subscriber on the upper outside margin of the paper. Its speed is only limited by the speed of the press.

Single taxers of New York are growling at one another. In conformity with their well-known policy of being "non-partisan," some supported Low for Mayor; others, Tammany. Hence the growls.

Standard Oil Co. has been found not guilty of violating the Nebraska anti-trust laws. We can see that trust's finish.

In Montreal fifteen cigar manufacturers combined and locked out their employes to smash their union.

Manufacturers of Jamestown, N. Y., had an organizer of the woodworkers imprisoned for being "a public nuisance." Their tools in office were forced to admit him to bail, however. Moral: Be careful, and don't be a nuisance.

Lake Shore railway put on 35 large engines and laid off 175 men.

American and British tobacco trusts are going to fight—test each other's strength and then combine as an international trust.

The brethren who conduct the crucible steel trust, capitalized at $50,000,000, announce that they cleaned up nearly $55,000,000 during the past year. Pretty fair "wages of superintendence," thanks to the dear people who don't like Socialism.

Speaking of Edison's new storage battery, an expert mechanic says, in the Machinists' Journal, that "it makes possible the electric wagon or truck, the commercial automobile, the air-ship, the electrically propelled steamship, torpedo boat and ferry boat, and inexpensive electric machinery of all kinds. It will bring about the noiseless city."

Secretary Morrison estimates that during the fiscal year terminating Oct. 31, the A. F. of L. gained fully 400,000 members.

It is reported that Morgan has secured the big Colorado Fuel & Iron Co. in his drag-net and the tin-can trust as well, and will add them to his U. S. Steel Corporation. Foundry concerns are being organized in a $10,000,000 trust. The 15 sulphite concerns of the country are being corralled into a combine. All the hominy mills of the country are to

form a monopoly. A gypsum trust with $13,000,000 is forming. A $3,500,000 scale trust is announced. There are not so many more trusts to be organized to inaugurate Socialism—that is, if the people want it.

Former San Francisco strikers complain that one of the steamship companies refuses to keep its agreement and re-employ union men. In one instance the scabs who took strikers' places quit work when a union man was hired, and the latter was discharged again. It is also reported that the various employers' associations are combining to prevent further "dictation" from the unions.

A Buffalo union molder was sued for damages for stopping five scabs from going to Cleveland to take strikers' places. They secured a verdict of $560 damages. This result esablishes a new line of action for hostile employers and strike-breakers. Still there is no class struggle!

The railway brotherhoods are somewhat disturbed over the rise of two formidable opposition organizations that have brushed "autonomy," on craft lines, aside and take in all classes of railroad workers. One is called the United Brotherhood of Railway Employes and was launched in the extreme West. Organizers report that it is growing rapidly in the Southwest and in the Inter-mountain States and is sweeping eastward. The other union is known as the Canadian Order of Railway Men and was started in the Dominion. In Ontario, it is reported, several local brotherhoods held a joint session and declared that they are not only in favor of an industrial organization embracing all railway employes, but likewise were opposed to the competitive system, and pledged themselves to vote for public ownership of trusts and monopolies. The progress of these two new bodies will be watched with some interest.

Switchmen on the Denver & Rio Grande railway went on strike, but the trainmen and conductors voted to work with non-union men. Now the switchmen threaten to retaliate against the two brotherhoods on other lines.

Secretary Greenbaum, of the Socialist party, announces having issued charters to the following new locals since the last number of this magazine was printed: Sandy, Utah; Guthrie, Okla.; Acton, Okla.; Biddeford, Me.; Chacey, Mont.; Bozeman, Mont.; Blocton, Ala.; Amo, Col.; Lake Charles, Cal.; St. Paul, Minn.; Lakeland, Fla.; Oklahoma City, Okla.; Livingston, Mont.; Kingfisher, Okla.; De Soto, Kan.; Mineral, Kan.; Concordia, Kan.; Joplin, Mo.; Aurora, Mo.; Buena Vista, Col.; Albuquerque, N. M.; Mill View, Fla.; Gillette, Ark.; Memphis, Tenn.; Fort Collins, Col.; Poplar Bluff, Mont.; Medford, Okla.; Lehi, Utah; East Las Vegas, N. M.; Lewiston, N. M.; Crookston, Minn.; Santa Maria, Ariz.; Portsmouth, N. H.; Norman, Okla.; Plattsville, Col.; Pinon, Col.; Columbus, Ga.; Abilene, Kan.; Carthage, Mo.; West Plains, Mo. State charters were also granted to California, Michigan, Indiana, Pennsylvania, Texas and North Dakota. The so-called Chicago faction took a referendum and voted unanimously in favor of the plans adopted by the recent "Unity convention" in Indianapolis. The following com-

mittee has been appointed to study municipal affairs: A. M. Simons, Chicago; V. L. Berger, Milwaukee; Job Harriman, New York; John C. Chase, Haverhill, Mass., and Emil Liess, San Francisco.

The thousand local unions of the Brotherhood of Carpenters are voting on the question of expelling former General Secretary P. J. McGuire, upon the allegation that he is $10,000 short in his accounts. McGuire, who was First Vice President of the A. F. of L. for many years, threatens to fight the case.

Contrary to general reports the Constitutional convention of Virginia did not adopt a clause prohibiting free speech.

Judge Kohlsaat, of Chicago, has gone further in the injunction-throwing business than any of his colleagues. Kohlsaat forbade the custom clothing workers from notifying any wholesale or retail dealers or any labor organization that an unfair concern has refused to allow its employes to join a union or does not use the union label. This is a covert attack upon the union label, one of the most powerful weapons of trade unions, as well as a direct blow at laws which seek to prevent employers from discharging workmen for being members of labor organizations. And there are still a few stupid persons who deny the existence of a class struggle.

Julius Grunzig, pioneer Socialist and for many years editor of the New York Volks-Zeitung, died recently.

Representatives James F. Carey and Frederic O. MacCartney were re-elected to the Massachusetts Legislature. The Socialist party also elected a Councilman at Derby, Conn., and Supervisor and Clerk at Index, Wash. In Ohio the party polled 7,359 votes, an increase of over 50 per cent since 1900. Gains were also made in New York, Pennsylvania, Nebraska, Iowa and other States, but official reports are not yet at hand.

The Los Angeles Socialist is the name of a neat little paper started on the coast. The Representative, the late Ignatius Donnelly's paper, has come out for Socialism.

A. F. of L. sent Pablo Iglesias, a prominent Socialist, to Porto Rico, to organize the workers. He was promptly arrested and thrown into prison for having led a strike two years ago, but has been bailed out. The Federation also commissioned Mrs. Irene Ashby-Macfayden to organize the cotton workers of the South. Herman Gutstadt, of San Francisco, has been stationed at Washington to work for the passage of a new law to exclude Asiatic labor. It is understood that President Roosevelt's message to Congress will favor the re-enactment of a new law. Western people generally demand it.

While this magazine is being received by its many readers, the American Federation of Labor will be in session at Scranton, Pa. This year's convention will be the largest in the history of the body and it may also prove the most interesting and exciting. The question of "trade autonomy" will be threshed out on the floor again, and perhaps finally; Socialism will arouse a lively debate; some of the executive

officers are to be dumped, and other important matters will serve to attract and rivet the attention of the labor world. The paramount question will undoubtedly be that of "autonomy," and some bad blood has been aroused in previous conventions on account of it. This year the fight will be bitter, it is expected, because of the action of the A. F. of L. Executive Committee in advising the engineers and firemen to organize their craftsmen in breweries. The brewery workers resent this suggestion and claim they intend to control every worker in their industry, whether they are brewers, engineers, firemen or drivers. Some of the other large unions are also organizing along what is known as "industrial" lines—that is, to include all workers in a given industry —and they will back up the brewers. The Shaffer-Gompers embroglio will probably cause more heated debate, and attempts to have officers elected by referendum vote and committees selected by convention instead of appointed by the chairman will add further interest to the discussions.

The De Leon Socialist Labor party, or what is left of it, is once more troubled with an internal fight. T. A. Hickey, De Leon's first lieutenant, has been expelled, and is leading the revolt against his former boss. Wm. H. Wherry has been suspended from the New York State Committee; Max Forker has resigned from the party in disgust; Hugo Vogt and Patrick Murphy have resigned from the New York State Committee, and Murphy and Karl Wallberg have also resigned from the National Board of the Socialist Trade and Labor Allaince. Two local machinists' alliances have been expelled, two party sections disrupted, and two more are in process of being smashed while these words are written, and the whole controversy will probably reach a climax at the S. T. and L. A. convention in Providence on Dec. 2, as once more the "genossen" are lining up and hurling the usual complimentary terms at each other. Mr. Hickey has issued a circular exposing the questionable practices of De Leon and his underlings, but the latter is still in control, and it difficult to predict which of the two will have control of the most teeth of "the buzz saw," if any are left, after the convention next month. The "fighting S. L. P." appears to be getting its money's worth of fighting.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Octupus. Frank Norris. Doubleday, Page & Co. Cloth, 652 pp. $1.50.

The subtitle is "The Epic of the Wheat," and we are told that this is the first of three volumes that shall trace the wheat from the American prairies to the peasant consumers of Europe. This scheme suggests Zola, and the suggestion will recur again and again as one reads the book. There are the same peculiar apostrophic descriptions and the same power of graphic representation that are so familiar to readers of Zola. But it is not fair to say that this is imitation. Both writers are handling gigantic subjects, tremendous forces, and these compel the style if artistic wholeness is to be secured. The Octupus is the story of the hopeless, helpless fight of a little group of California wheat-growers against the domination and exploitation of the railroad. Hemmed in like rabbits in a corral they fight with fierce desperation, first exhausting all legal means and then attempting to meet their enemy in his own game of political corruption, they finally lose honor, property and at last life itself, for the climax of the book is the "Mussel Slough Massacre," where the farmers who had been defrauded of their all were shot down by deputy sheriffs. Crudeness and power are the characteristics of the book, but it is the crudeness which accords with the wild, natural forces with which he deals. A polished Addisonian style would have been as much out of place in dealing with such subjects as a pen-knife in coal mining. His economics too are crude, and whether this crudeness is due to ignorance or intention, it is none the less fitting to the book, and to have made his farmers revolt intelligently would have been an anachronism. It is the story of the struggle of blind forces, social, natural and political, and to have made any of them intelligent would have spoiled the artistic and tragic symmetry of the book.

Contemporary Socialism. John Rae. Charles Scribner's Sons. Cloth, 555 pp. $2.50 net.

This is a new edition of the work which had long been recognized as a valuable reference book on Socialism. There has been little or no change in the original portions of the book. There is the same excellent sketch of the life and work of Ferdinand Lassalle, the rather poor treatment of Marx, whose economics the author never understood, and the very full treatment of Carl Marlo, who is usually passed by in all historical discussions of Socialism. His chapter on "The Socialists of the Chair" is especially good, as is also the one on "The Christian Socialists" of Germany, both of which are the best things in English on these subjects. He gives nearly one hundred pages to a very exhaustive discussion of "State Socialism," which he is very careful to distinguish from real Socialism, although at every other point save in this chapter he hopelessly confuses the two.

The chapter on "Russian Nihilism" contains an excellent description of social conditions in Russia, but when he comes to treat of the revolutionary movement which is supposed to be the main subject of the chapter, he is less successful. The final chapter on "Socialism from 1891 to 1900," which constitutes almost all the new matter in the book, is the poorest of all. It is simply one long argument for Bernsteinism, which he seems to think is on the eve of capturing the whole European Socialist movement. According to him, the rejection of Lassalle's "Iron Law of Wages," the adoption of the Erfurt program, and the activity of the French Socialists in the municipalities, are all evidences of this change. Such reasoning approaches the grotesque and would indicate that the author became frightened at the approach of revolutionary Socialism and called upon his imagination to help him out. If the events in Austria, Germany, Italy and France for the last few weeks have shown anything, it is that Bernsteinism is dying out and that the class-struggle tactics alone have sufficient vitality to survive.

The Monetary History of the United States. C. J. Buldock. Macmillan Co. Half leather, 291 pp. $1.25.

The first part on "Three Centuries of Cheap Money in the United States," is an admirable study of this phase of American economic history. The gradual evolution from barter to metal is traced and the various issues of paper money from pre-revolutionary times to the present are fully treated. The whole effort for paper money is shown to be but a class struggle between the creditor classes of the East and the debtor classes of the West. His summing up is so suggestive that we give it entire. "If this essay has portrayed and interpreted correctly the monetary history of the United States, one important conclusion may be drawn concerning the probable future of the agitation for a cheap currency. If the scarcity of capital in sparsely settled areas has been hitherto the primary cause for the persistent demand for barter currencies, paper money, and a depreciating metallic medium of exchange, such a movement must gradually subside with the growth of numbers, wealth and diversified industries in the regions that now form the seat of the silver party. Only a few generations have passed since this agitation was effectually quieted in the North Atlantic States. Within the last twenty years the valley of the Upper Mississippi has been won from its adherence to the old propaganda. The area that will henceforth feel the lack of ready capital, and desire some form of cheap money, cannot be greatly increased by the admission of new States. Each passing decade will tend to remove the causes that now contribute to the strength of the silver movement in the extreme South and West. An improvement of banking facilities in these regions would contribute materially to the accomplishment of these results. In periods of great industrial depression, especially in times of distress and discontent among the agricultural classes, the familiar nostrums will be proposed

and the old demand for "more money" may be renewed for a long time to come. But in the absence of some great industrial cataclysm, there will be a continual narrowing of the field within which the agitation for a cheap currency can hope to secure any large measure of popular support."

The author, however, never seems to think that there might be a real grievance back of all this misdirected effort. On the contrary, he never loses an opportunity to cast slurs on those who dared to rebel against exploitation.

The Practice of Charity. E. T. Devine. Lentilhon & Co., 18 mo., 186 pp.; 60 cents.

It will be one of things upon which future historians will remark with amazement that at a time when mechanical production was so perfect that it was the main problem of diplomacy and statecraft to find an outlet for the surplus, the starving poor were still so abundant that the practice of charity became a branch of applied science. Then if this future student shall chance to look into the great libraries that have been accumulated under the head of "charitological literature." he will be again surprised that men could have spent their lives in such work and still know so little of the fundamental phases of the subject. Here is a book written by a Ph. D. from Penn. University and a man who has had long practical experience and observation among the poor of great cities. Neverthelss his work is, in some respects, marked by a superficiality that would condemn him utterly were he writing in any other field than that of the social sciences. On one side, and that the one which the book really aims to fill, he has done what all students of capitalist charity, from the capitalist standpoint, will consider a good piece of work. He has produced a handbook full of practical suggestions for those who wish to engage in professional philanthropy. As such it is far superior to anything of the kind previously written. But no matter how much he wished to do so he could not confine himself to this phase of the subject. He feels, from the very beginning, that charity is on the defensive. Consequently he sets about justifying it. He seeks to defend the motives of the contributors to charity funds and declares that "money is given in charity chiefly from a sincere desire to help those who are in trouble." But it never occurs to him, any more than it does to the individual giver, to push the analysis on from the individual to the class of givers and point out that such giving is absolutely essential to the preservation of the parasitic class. When he attempts to discuss the social effects of charity we can only believe in his own individual honesty by remembering this same fact of blind class consciousness. This is especially true in view of such sentences as this: "Social progress would be enormously advanced by the transformation of all the improvident and inefficient members of society into persons who provide for their own future and share in a product which they have helped to create." Leaving aside the thousand times exploded fallacy that all the runners can win in a race it evidently never occurred to the writer that if the class of half starved unfortunates who are helped to exist through charity were not at hand to furnish "scabs," laborers would soon demand and receive all they produce and the capitalists who support charity organizations from "a share in a product they did not help to create," would cease to exist. Finally in a discussion of motives for giving he is forced to admit, what every student of charity knows, that "it is a question whether the neighborly assistance given in the tenement houses of the city does not rank first of all among the means for the alleviation of distress."

His analysis of the whole unemployed problem is equally shallow. "One of the most interesting problems awaiting solution is the determination of the extent to which industrial displacement and psychological defects respectively are the real causes of homelessness and lack of regular employment. That changes in machinery and in methods of industry, seasonal occupations, and other economic influences are partly responsible few will deny. It is equally obvious (sic) that there are many who are so constituted that if left to their own resources, they can scarcely contribute to society one year with another the value of what they consume. Shiftlessness, a lack of any feeling of responsibility for the family and the wandering impulse are responsible for the failure." To any one but a professional charity worker it would seem to be "equally obvious" that as no one ever saw a healthy child who was "shiftless," etc., it is fair to presume that the economic environment is responsible for the "psychological defects," and his analysis becomes foolish. Perhaps the most ridiculous thing in the whole book is his attempted discussion of the things which would "increase prosperity" and in which he declares that "It is not the amount of wealth we produce but the use we make of it that is of the greatest consequence. It is our standard of living rather than our mental or muscular power, that determines whether or not we are to be prosperous." Leaving aside the very ambiguous use of the word "we" the question at once arises as to how this "standard of life" is to be raised under a system where as soon as any considerable portion of the producers of wealth learn how to support life on any less than their wages those wages promptly show a strong tendency to revert to a lower point and only continual fighting by the wage-workers can prevent such a decline. It is needless to say that this fight by the laborers, through their unions, to raise the "standard of life," which does more every year in that direction than all the charity organizations have done or ever will do, is not even mentioned by the author. For those who wish to play at philanthropy this book is a valuable guide to the rules of the game. For the social student it is interesting as an illustration of class reasoning. To the antiquarian of the future it will probably be a curiosity in intellectual gymnastics.

Among the Periodicals.

"The Fight Against Tuberculosis," by Lawrence P. Flick, M. D., is a most striking article in the November "World's Work." He shows that with the care which could be furnished by an intelligent social organization nearly all cases could be cured and states "that tuberculosis can be stamped out no longer permits of doubt. Leprosy was stamped out by empirical methods and without the aid of science.

Tuberculosis can be eradicated more easily, because science has given us a knowledge of the life history of the organism which produces the disease, thereby enabling us to know just what to do."

"Documente des Socialismus." Edited by Ed. Bernstein. This is the first of a monthly series of papers which should be of the greatest value to all students of socialism. The first number contains, among other things, a Bibliography of Socialism, the first political labor program of the nineteenth century, an article of Proudhon's, on the political and social situation written in 1848, a series of short articles summing up the current history of Socialism, and a review of the articles appearing on Socialism in current publications.

"Country Life," the new magazine issued by Doubleday, Page & Co., is the first periodical published in America which proposes to treat the social and economic side of rural America. Artistically, it is everything that could be wished, being profusely illustrated with most excellent photographs. The principal article in the November number is an article on "The Abandoned Farm," by L. H. Bailey, in which he discusses the economic movement toward the West that has given rise to the abandoned farms of New England.

The second number of "The Comrade" is fully up to the high standard set by the first. The main feature is the starting as a serial of Wm. Morris' "News from Nowhere," with illustrations by H. G. Jentszch, the well-known German artist, whose work on "Die Wahre Jacob" has attracted so much favorable notice.

EDITORIAL

The Neec of Socialist Organization.

It would now appear that we were altogether too conservative in the last issue of the Review in our treatment of the matter of press censorship. We were criticised by some publications as being too loose in regard to our facts, although a little examination of the editorial will show that every statement was supported by proof, or contained references to the sources from which the proof could be obtained. Developments since its publication show that we might have made the case for discrimination against Socialist papers much stronger than we did.

While the rule concerning libraries seems to be quite generally enforced against Socialist and non-Socialist publications, the authorities are proceeding to suppress Socialist papers which, by no possibility, can be differentiated from other publications that are left unmolested. "Wilshire's Monthly," which succeeded "The Challenge," although even from the ordinary literary point of view of a far higher character than 90 per cent of the monthly publications circulated without protest, was denied admission, and as a result, is to be moved to Canada. The "Appeal to Reason," which has a larger circulation than any political paper in the world, with practically no advertisements, and conforming in every way to the idea of a legitimate periodical, is requested to show cause why it should not be excluded from the mails. As this proceeding has generally been tantamount to an exclusion from the second-class rate, it is probable that the Appeal will be suppressed, in anticipation of which result it is announced that it may also be removed to Canada.

This press censorship is but one of several signs that Socialism is reaching a point where it cannot any longer be stayed by being ignored. It has at last forced attention to such an extent that its enemies are driven to the open. This is shown in the concerted attack made within the last few weeks under various forms by the Roman Catholic Church. Archbishop Corrigan, of New York, preached a sermon nominally to his congregation, but really to the Associated Press, attacking a creature of his own brain which he had labeled Socialism. Almost simultaneously thousands of Catholic congregations were suddenly supplied with a very significant pamplet, "The Crying Evil of the Hour, Socialism," the signature of which was followed by the famous letters S. J., indicating that the political enginery of Catholicism, the Jesuit Society, has been set in action against Socialism. Immediately after this came the announcement of the formation of Catholic Church societies in a large number of parishes whose special task it should be to combat Socialism. Finally came the call to inaugurate what in Europe has always

been the most effective (or perhaps it would be more accurate to say least ineffective) weapon against Socialism, the formation of Catholic unions. In every Catholic country of Europe the "yellow unions," as the clerical organizations are called, are the terror of every bona fide unionist. In times of strike it is from these organizations that the "yellow scab" comes, the most hated of all the traitors of the laboring class.

This attack by the Catholic Church and clergy does not by any means, however, demand that the Socialist should respond by an attack on religion, or even, upon the Catholic Church, any more than they should meet the action of the Postmaster General by a demand for the abolition of the postoffice. Arguments against Socialism must be met and attacks upon it repelled, but care must be taken to maintain the controversy within the field of Socialism. If our opponents can succeed in side-tracking the issue into a discussion of religion their efforts will have accomplished much more to the detriment of Socialism than could possibly be obtained by the strength of their logic.

All this open hostility is welcome news to the Socialist. It means that his gage of battle has been accepted and that the actual struggle is at hand. Yet it must be confessed that we are still deficient in equipment for any great struggle, not so much because we are fewer in numbers than we could wish, but rather because those who have accepted the doctrines of Socialism are still in no position to use effectively the power which they actually possess. The Socialist strength cannot yet be wielded as a solid body. Above everything else we need organization. The most important thing before the Socialists of to-day is perfection of their political machinery. For the work of Socialism a man inside the party is worth many times as much as one of similar ability outside. It is the difference between the old individual workmanship and the modern co-operative machinery. Yet, to-day, less than one-tenth of the average Socialist strength of the United States is organized in any form. The other nine-tenths cannot be reached in any certain manner in case of need. They are not an army but a mob. The party organization is to-day powerless to reach into many places even where Socialists are numerous, because there is no local organization there with propaganda machinery and with State or National connections. Our greatest need to-day is machinery with which to work. No matter how ready they may be to aid, any number of "unattached Socialists" in such a place avail little. No one knows where they are, or what they can do. Whatever is done must be done blindly and with great waste of energy.

If, on the other hand, there is a Party Local, no matter how small, in a place, the Socialists and through them whomever it is necessary, can be reached with Socialist propaganda. It will be known at once through whom and how to work, no energy is wasted, no time is lost.

But, if the movement as a whole suffers from the dissatisfaction or indifference of unattached Socialists, the individual who is thus isolated from the general Socialist movement suffers still more by refusing to avail himself of the organized effort. He handicaps himself in the making of Socialists and helps to perpetuate his own slavery.

The isolated Socialist loses all the inspiration and help that comes from a close organic connection with others who are working along the same line; he has no voice in determining the policy of the party with whom he must vote if he is to give his ideas tangible expression. Speakers whose assistance he may be most anxious to secure may pass near him, but he has no means of securing them.

Socialism is a growing, developing philosophy. But the individual not in close touch with the general movement finds himself growing antiquated and one-sided. If he becomes weary of working unaided against tremendous obstacles and ceases for a while his individual efforts, the Socialist agitation and interest that he may have roused, stops. There is no organization to give the results he may attain permanence and continuity. There is no place to which he can direct those who have become interested in his work where they can find others with similar interests. There is no center around which the Socialist sentiment he rouses can unite, and the moment his personality is removed the interest flags. There is no nucleus about which the Socialist ideas and movements that spring from the multitude of influences in modern society that are tending toward Socialism can crystallize.

In short, the whole matter is as strongly expressed as possible when we say that the difference between an isolated Socialist and the Socialist party movement is the difference between blind Anarchistic struggles and intelligent Socialist effort.

PUBLISHERS' DEPARTMENT

Special Offer on Bound Volumes.

The International Socialist Review began publication with the month of July, 1900. The first twelve numbers ended with June, 1901. and have been put into a handsome volume of 828 pages, substantially bound in cloth, with an alphabetical table of contents, making it easy for the readers to refer to any article or editorial in any of the twelve numbers. This volume contains articles by Ferri, Hyndman, Kautsky, Lafargue, Quelch, Schiavi, Vandervelde, Vinck, Keir Hardie and other European Socialists; also articles by the leading Socialists of our own country. Moreover, each number contains a history of the events of the current month in Europe and America in so far as they have a bearing on the Socialist movement. The volume will be simply invaluable to any student of Socialism. We have only about 250 copies left, and when these are gone no more can be obtained at any price. For the present we offer them at $2, postpaid, or to stockholders in our co-operative company at $1.22, postpaid.

The Republic of Plato.

Early in 1901 we published a new translation of the first book of the Republic of Plato. We are glad to announce that the second book is now in the hands of our printers and will be ready for delivery in a few weeks. Plato's Republic is the original from which nearly all writers of the Utopian school of Socialism get their inspiration. It contains ten books in all and we expect in time to publish the entire work. The first book, which we can mail to any address promptly on receipt of 15 cents, is taken up with a discussion of the basis of ethics in general. The second book carries the discussion over to the question of ethics as related to the life of the State, and it outlines the beginnings of a State in a remarkable fashion, which almost anticipates the Socialist theory of economic determinism. The second part will be published at the same price as the first, and advance orders will be filled promptly upon publication.

Socialist Songs.

We are glad to announce that we have just published a new edition of No. 11 of the Pocket Library of Socialism entitled, "Socialist Songs." The new edition corresponds exactly to the words in our larger book,

"Socialist Songs with Music." The price of the new booklet is 5 cents, and we offer it at $1.50 a hundred, postpaid, to any Socialist Local, or $1 a hundred, postpaid, to any Local holding a share of stock in our company.

The price of "Socialist Songs with Music" is 20 cents a copy, or $1.50 a dozen, postpaid. This book has given general satisfaction and has made it practicable to have singing in connection with Socialist meetings in many places. The greatest obstacle to its general introduction has been that comrades often could not afford to pay for enough books to scatter through a large hall for propaganda meetings.

The publication of the booklet now announced will make it possible to introduce singing in propaganda meetings everywhere by supplying a few copies of the edition with music for the musicians who assist at the meeting, and scattering the booklets through the crowd. We have endeavored to introduce no song that is not in itself good propaganda material.

Thrown Out of the Mails.

A few days after the November number of the International Socialist Review went to press, we received formal notice from the Post-office Department that the Library of Progress and the Pocket Library of Socialism could hereafter be mailed only at the regular printed matter rate of 8 cents a pound. This ruling was, of course, not unexpected, in view of the experience of other Socialist publishers. While it will increase our expenses by about $100 a month, we shall not make any changes in the retail price of the Socialist books which we are mailing to customers all through the United States. We shall, moreover, continue the special rate on 100 assorted copies of the Pocket Library of Socialism of $1, postpaid, to our stockholders, and $1.50, postpaid, to those not subscribing for stock.

This means that we shall be selling these booklets at a loss unless our sales are greatly increased. But we rely on the growth of the Socialist movement and on the loyal support of our comrades who do not propose to see Socialist literature suppressed, to make the demand sufficient to cover all expenses. A descriptive list of these booklets will be sent to any address upon application.

Socialism vs. Anarchy.

This timely and instructive pamphlet by A. M. Simons was announced in the October number of the Review. The first edition of 6,000 copies was sold in less than a week from the time of publication and a second edition of 10,000 copies has been published. The intense feeling against anarchy which has spread through the United States on account of the assassination of the President makes it a matter of vital importance to socialists everywhere that the contrast between socialism and anarchy be clearly explained, and no other pamphlet is so

available for this purpose. This is No. 31 of the Pocket Library of Socialism, and is sold at 5 cents singly, 10 copies for 30 cents, or 100 copies for $1.50. Stockholders in our Co-operative Company can obtain 100 copies postpaid for $1.00.

New Books in Press.

The reader is referred to the last month's Review for a full description of "The American Farmer," by A. M. Simons, and "American Communities," by William A. Hinds, both of which are now in the printer's hands. The price of the former will be 50 cents and of the latter $1. Advance orders are solicited.

Socialist Party Buttons.

In response to numerous calls from all over the country we have ordered from the manufacturer a supply of socialist party buttons from a new design prepared expressly for us. The emblem chosen is the rising sun, which is that used by the Parti Ouvrier of France. It has been endorsed by all the comrades with whom we have been enabled to communicate, and is regarded by them as decidedly preferable to the designs heretofore offered.

We are prepared to fill orders for single buttons at 10 cents; one dozen at 36 cents, and 100 at $2.50, including prepayment of postage.

A new catalogue and order list of socialist books is now ready and will be mailed to any reader requesting it. Charles H. Kerr & Company, publishers, 56 Fifth avenue, Chicago.

Towards Democracy.

This is the title of a remarkable volume of prose poems by Edward Carpenter, published some years ago in England, which has heretofore been sold in this country only at extremely high prices. We take pleasure in calling attention to the advertisement of the Stockham Publishing Company on another page offering this book at the reduced price of $1.50. Our stockholders are requested to note that our discounts do not apply to books of other publishers except in the case of those which are included in our catalogue by special arrangement.

Industrial Democracy.

This is the title of a Labor Day address delivered at Elkhart, Indiana, by J. W. Kelley, who was not long ago elected on the Socialist ticket as a Councilman at Marion, Ind. It is an examination of the conditions toward which America is tending with a plea for the adoption of an industrial democracy. This booklet is No. 32 of the Pocket Library of Socialism and is supplied at the same price as Socialism vs Anarchy.

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THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW.

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The Socialization of Art.

THROUGH the attainment in the present age of a large art consciousness it is no longer possible to justify the phrase "Art for art's sake." The proposition "Art for truth's sake" is equally void, since it represents but a partial inclusion of the modern consciousness. Nothing less than "Art for life's sake" will satisfy the requirements of democracy. But if art is now to be subdued to human uses it must give up that independence it has enjoyed through centuries of privilege and assume the pains and responsibilities of the social order. The socialization of art involves, in short, two processes: a reduction of specialization and an increase in the general sense for unity.

It occurs to me that in the history of "Exposition" building in this country we have an apt illustration of the growth of a social consciousness in respect to art forms. Our three Expositions represent so many phases of the evolution of a true art spirit. The directors of the Centennial Exposition took for their motto, "Art for Truth's Sake." That exposition was an exhibition only. Instruction was the guiding motive. It was a show primarily of the world's products. Little was given to beauty for itself and the feeling of unity was altogether lacking. The architecture was neither beautiful in itself nor did it subserve function.

The World's Fair at Chicago was primarily a spectacle, the exhibition idea being held somewhat in abeyance. "Art for art's sake" would very nearly describe the effect of the array of structures. What was wanting was the principle of function and the conception of a true unity. The fundamental error and the first violation of function was the choice of the classic style for the architecture. The phrase "The World's Fair," conveys to the mind the idea of a holiday. An excursion to a World's Exposition represents a lyric moment thrust in between the incidents of business and worldly cares. The time is a play-spell—one is in the

holiday mood, not seeking to be edified alone, or alone to be moved by a spectacle of beauty, but to be free and festive even. Grecian architecture. perfect for Grecian uses, is almost meaningless when set down on a level plain by an inland western lake—altogether meaningless when forming an arena for a democratic people on holiday. Between the rigid and severe simplicity of the classic styles and the essential sentiment of a "fair" there is no possible reconciliation. "The White City" made a beautiful "show." And as a "show" it was enjoyed and approved. But it stopped far short of unity since it was not built with primary reference to the people. Instead it was built timidly and negatively, in actual fear and distrust of the people. The fair would have been beautiful the same—if there had been no one to behold it. It derived nothing of its meaning from the people who were present; the people saw nothing of themselves reflected in the fair.

The third of our great expositions, the Pan-American at Buffalo, showed a striking advance upon all previous conceptions and approximated a perfect socialism. Its primary purpose was sociological—the purpose, that is, of creating a festal scene appropriate to a people on holiday. Based on this elementary fact of function the exposition carried out the same principle throughout its entire structural scheme.

To indicate the nature of the particular enterprise a Spanish Renaissance style was adopted for the architecture—a style that lends itself admirably to festivity and admits a lavish use of color and ornamentation. Architecturally the exposition converged toward the Electric Tower, which, with its suggestion of Niagara, was naturally the focus of all paths.

The principle of socialization was perhaps most apparent in the coloring. For the coloring was not independent but, so to speak, sociological. The color scheme, extending from south to north, typified the advance of civilization from barbarism to culture, the primary colors at the beginning denoting the barbaric stages, as the milder tints of the central buildings pointed to the intellectualization of mankind.

There were two exception to this order. The electric fountain, having come to the dignity of a "fine art" (that is, an independent art), could not be socialized and was therefore banished to an island by itself. The other exception was strangely the government building of the "United" States. For some reason the government would not be socialized and hence this building stood as an excellent illustration of the fact that our present governmental forms pertain to a condition of society the people themselves have outgrown. One is reminded of Emerson's saying: "The good man must not obey the laws too well."

The sculpture, of which there were some five hundred pieces,

also formed an integral part of the plan. The sculpture, like the color, told the story of civilization. There were three series, each conveying a distinct historic progression: the story of Man, the story of Nature, and the story of Industry. Besides these main histories the groups at the Tower revealed the history of the subjugation of Niagara, which is indeed almost the most splendid story of human achievement. Each building had its own appropriate symbols in addition to those which served the general scheme.

Altogether the exposition disclosed in the clearest possible way the manner in which an individual may live his own life and yet maintain a place in a general harmony. In fact this was to me the chief lesson to be learned from the "Rainbow City." The entire spectacle, moreover, took meaning from the people and the people recognized at every turn their own history.

Oscar Lovell Triggs.

PHILOSOPHICAL CONVERSATION

Between Quip Ego and John Sanity.

I HEAR you have a new philosophy, Friend John. Is it a monistic or a dualistic philosophy; an objective or a subjective; a materialistic or spiritual, tell me, I pray you, for I am a man of itching ears?

J. It is like thee, John; if it be a true philosophy; and therefore it is all of these.

Q. I want to know! Good heavens! like me and yet like all of these! What a mixture! and what will be the name of your encyclopedic philosophy?

J. My own name. I hope the world will give it that. If it be less, or in excess, of sanity it will pass doubtless, with all men's other thinkings, into one of the rivulets that shall ultimately gather unnamed philosophies into the common stream of truth; but it shall be there.

Q. Really, now, an ignorant, a wholly unread and unschooled man, as you have confessed yourself to be, should not presume to philosophise for others. Should you?

J. Verily, Quip, this happens to be my little qualification. Nature endowed me for thinking on these matters, and fortunately it was no one's business to unfit me by schooling me into conventional errors; and so, in my life's autumn I do look out upon the world as free from any scholastic affiliations as any man from Mars. I have thus a better chance of getting a glimpse at human life than those who wear the spectacles of the schools. And where ignorance is thus, 'tis folly to be wise.

Q. But, Friend John, this is the very nose tip of egoism, that you should undertake, out of your isolation and ignorance, the work of bettering the philosophy of the whole world. Be wise and silent.

J. The work of better expressing the philosophy of the world only, Friend Quip. Expression is the part of philosophy that falls to you and me, because it is the objective part and is experimental always. The life it stands for is subjective, general and unconscious, and every man, whether he tries or not, is working at this philosophy of expression.

Q. Ah, there she goes, your cat has left her bag. You are, I perceive, a subjective philosopher. Are you not also dualistic? I fear me greatly there is no room for you in this overtrodden field. Joe Smith (Poor Joe!), the last of the revelators left no prophet heirs behind him; neither look we for a philosophic Messiah to the tribe of gypsies any more; the colleges and schools are good enough for us.

J. The world's salvation from the natural freaks of egoism is thus made hopeful by thy lack of confidence in the unlicked cubbery of the crowd. If thou wert true to the claims of individualism, thou wouldst always be looking for Joe Smith. I take my hat off to him, for what his mission whispered, that mankind needs new revelations of truth, or new statements of its old truths; and because he perceived the immediate necessity which is laid upon a true religion to reconstruct society. The next truth to ours which is that religion has no other expression but the social.

Q. Oh, "to ours" you say. So you are not altogether an original thinker, there is a company of you it seems.

J. If I felt that I were indeed alone in my thoughts, that is original, I would write no more of them, but burn what I had written. There is no solitary thought; the brains of men are but the veins of God, and God is the heart of the human family. But you have asked a question, and I have only been following a verbal incident of that question. You ask, do I, or challenge me to the denial, that I do, merely belong to the subjective and dualistic bag of cats so well known already as to need no further expression.

Q. I asked you that.

J. And I will not answer thee because I am not the proper person to do it. And because, being averse to attaching final labels to any thoughts, I care not for giving such finality to my own.

Q. Well, well, but let us get at you. What is your line, your synthesis, your norm say about society? Since you have told me, in former conversations, that you believe the so-called personal life, as expressed by terms describing "private character" is but a fetish with which people have been amusing, flattering or deceiving one another since Eve first blushed.

J. As you know, I fully accept the modern message of Socialism to the working classes as one of war on capitalism. The reality and tremendous import of the class struggle as developed by commercialism and the economic weapons of modern machinery to me is a dreadful necessity; but alas! truly and manfully, it is the urgency of the hour. Outside of that I am a freethinker, perhaps an involutionist as to the Socialist philosophy.

Q. This is a strange thing. I hope you do not differ from Marx! I hope you do not set yourself up against any of the fathers of Socialism.

J. Nay, sir. This is most unbecoming in you. Am I to understand that you censure me for being a free thinker in Socialism. You, whose glory has been free thought and whose indict-

ment of Socialism hitherto has been that it gives no play to the free ego. Are you free no more?

Q. I am free to see that Socialism will have to choose its philosophy and purge itself of freaks.

J. And that I grant you; but Socialism is not here yet. The Socialistic experience must precede that choice. No man can give us the philosophy of the unexperienced. So any Socialist may now throw off the swaddling clothes of earlier formula if he can clothe himself in a better, or desires to try, and so let the comradeship choose and think together.

Q. Well, let us have your "try." As I have already asked you, what is your norm?

J. I suppose you mean by that the central thought of my social philosophy. (I can see you nod assent.) Well, then, the center of my philosophy is a force, a real all human pervading force, under the dominion of which I am this moment, and I write these lines by its constraint. It is not a something of which I write alone, but it is the social central energy that ever has been operating among men, the law of social gravity, which blindly bids me write and so I blindly scribble on. Later on, a great number of the comrades thus writing, thinking, doing, and rebelling, will meet at one point and we shall have found our philosophy; therefore, you will understand that I do not offer you a whole philosophy, but my line.

Q. As I have said before, it promises to be an encyclopedia if this be but a line.

J. My friend, only some of it will stick, the rest will fall away. Much reading and a manifold experience will fit into a five-foot body as easily as a little. The product is not an increase of volume, but a net flavor, neither better nor worse, a greater tendency here or there. The world adds to you, you gather in of yourself; but not as unto a storehouse; you are as a jewel set in society and are by every new access of light newly related to other jewels, perhaps the figure may be further helpful by adding, and your hue may be changed.

Q. Good, good, but let us have a little more of your social philosophy. You have started with an actual force engaged in making societies. What would you call that force? Is it God?

J. No. I would not call it God, for I think it is as blind as gravitation. But what I may think of it, or call it, is not that power. You and I are in its hands. Its first law is coercion; slavery has therefore been its primary ordinance, and through slavery mankind has been bound and ground into preparedness for the next stage of evolution—the society of co-operation; and

thence to the next of fellowship. And then to that when we all shall be unconsciously one.

Q. Why, then, you look upon slavery as a good thing?

J. There is no other thing. Ruder ages maintained the race by it, and maintained authority by exhibiting its chains and whips. That was their art of government. More refined ages with no less coercion in their constitutions concealed the slavery. That was their art. And it is our art of governing a democracy to-day. We were under the necessity of slavery always and always will be for the private person. We have been gradually getting ashamed of this dishonorable compulsion to the service of single persons and are learning to adapt ourselves to service under more agreeable names; but to dispense with the essential bond itself; that is with slavery or its modifications, co-operation or fellowship; to establish the individual for life and yet be slaves is a dream of the opium eater. A man cannot be free. But the bitter part of this necessary bondage has passed away. The agony, chains and sweat necessary to keep the race together for its great altogether destiny are no longer here. The mechanical economic development of modern times now calls for the co-operative stage.

Q. You have left but little to make garlands for the heroes of liberation as they arose in history.

J. There has been no room for heroes on that line, and no space for liberty until the dawn of the mechanic economic age.

Q. And the intellect of the ages, had it no power at all to break the chains.

J. The intellect of the ages has been but an instrument of record and not too faithful either, it was powerless to initiate anything. The intellect of the ages is only now growing racial; it never rose above its surroundings and is but slowly rising towards them now. It is to the affectional and emotional life of man that we owe our preservation. While intellect slumbered love kept watch and ward. It seems a shame to the cold intellect of to-day that the early Christians were taught to be passive as to slavery and yet it would have been a crime to have taught them to resist it.

Q. Would you still disparage the work of the intellect as a practical force in sociology?

J. When I look around me and find so few Socialists, when I see the trained intellect of the world, like asses toiling in the harnesses of selfish, stupid and wicked capitalistic economics, I am not disposed to look for all my guidance from the academic rostrums. When I know what an intellect was that of Mill and yet how frightfully blind he was I am inclined to look more to the emotional and effectual life of the world for Socialist progress.

Q. Where does the spiritual life come in in your philosophy?

J. The integrating and reintegrating process is spiritual. The disintegrating, or egoistic process is unspiritual. Socialism therefore is the spiritual life, while individualism is the objective anarchy.

Q. But this is in direct contradiction of our experience; during all the years of Socialist propaganda, the rank and file of the Socialist movement have been bitterly opposed to religion.

J. Not any more opposed to it than the spiritual life was opposed to it. The spiritual life always meant the same process of self-denying. The religions of the world have clustered around that law without yielding to it and the free thinkers, the anti-religionists who have rallied to Socialism, are but the spiritual element of the race rallying around that truth.

Q. But these men resent religion for its mental despotics and come to Socialism for its individual enlargements, for liberty, freedom, equality, fraternity.

J. The two first will not be needed when the latter two are ours. The Socialist who talks of selfishness being his sole motive, is but uttering the back wash of an old thought wave which has passed away a century ago.

Q. If slavery be as you say, unavoidable in one form or another, why do you encourage the working classes to resist wage slavery?

J. Because I see the time has come for a change of masters to the individual man, and for the motive of his coercion. He now may serve society directly instead of serving it through slave-owners and by securing order and simplicity relieve himself of much of the physical pressure on his life. Machinery calls to this relaxation.

Q. And how came you to see this to be the propitious time? Was it with your affections and emotions you judged the economic hour to be now?

J. Hitherto we have trusted all to the wise thinkers and were misled. The machines are here now and blessed be the mind that knows their message to man. I am only a little one, the great ones have not seen it yet. It is not a scholarly nor a scientific movement; it is the people seeing.

Q. This is a true confession, more so than I dared to expect from you concerning your philosophy, who are the author of it. That it is neither scholarly nor scientific is most true, but not so is Socialism.

J. If you are aggrieved that I deny the scholarly and scientific character to Socialism with which its best and least judicious friends have so long barred it from the people, I pray you remember that I use these words in the sense of bookishness for the one and of finality of formula for the other.

Q. Oh, good sir, I see you are not quite incorrigible. You will allow science into your philosophy of Socialism as long as it is not binding.

J. I conceive that the philosophy of Socialism will be one of experience rather than law, the tendency to formulas, that is to make a written science (for human conduct), has always characterized the smaller, meaner and more fearful types of men. Individualism scared each of its miserable little personalities to cut themselves up into sections and scientise themselves all over. Its psychologies of the self conscious, its palmistries and phrenologies and what nots were all a timid leaning against its own self-made laws which it fondly dignified as science. For these the great race man, once moving, will have no more need. As a whole, he will be a law, a science, to himself; he will be a true democracy resting on social economic mechanics, a material unit having no knowledge of the private soul?

Q. So you will have no word at all in your philosophy for the conduct and beautifying of the private soul?

J. Hardly a word, sir, save one, of advice to depersonalize itself speedily in will, habit and desire out of its phantom personality, and to get into the truer, larger personality of society. To close in, to step together, to live together; this will be ego's science when religion, civilization and philosophy are uttered in one word, "organization."

Q. There is no provision at all then in this dream of yours for the maintenance of the personal life and therefore none for the development of a sense of moral responsibility and of that which is good in a man, and the suppression of that which is evil.

J. If the private personal inwardness of a man ever had given any other evidence of its reality besides that of accumulating property, the race would have known him for his better self ages ago, and no true philosophy would presume to deal with him as a fiction; but he has not put in any satisfactory appearance to that effect in history, and as a collector of property, Socialism renders him defunct.

Q. What! Do you mean that you would dare to ignore altogether the private life!

J. No. I would look about to see how much there is of it and bring it into the man of the State and world. Friend Q., let me tell you a new set of affections, a broad, an infinitely true and lovely life will be commenced, is commenced now in fact, by the Socialist propaganda. Fear and want being driven out of the world, our joys shall be as stable as the earth,

and the individual being no longer a detached dust atom, will know the greatness of being one in all.

Q. Although you do not make yourself entirely plain to me, good comrade, I gather this: that you regard organization as the greatest good.

J. Our thoughts must remain somewhat distant from and obscure to each other, Quip, and be theories only until they meet in a genial condition. When a genial common condition is consciously experienced by both, all such thoughts and theories as fit that condition will be understood and cordially received; you have not yet sensed yourself as being more in the social organization than you are in your personal organization.

Q. Most assuredly, Master John, I do not sense any such nonsense; and if your theories require my consciousness to enter into that state, and to perceive from that point of view, the social phenomena around me, I fear Quip Ego and you will never reach together that genial condition where we shall have common thought and no more theories but all swallowed up in the science of friendship.

J. Prophecy not against yourself, old neighbor, we see many changes in ourselves since we were boys; changes which as solo thinkers we never foresaw. We think in nations now, Quip; as single persons we hardly think at all. Thinking and thoughts are already collective, and material properties will all soon join the trust.

Q. I deny most strenuously; I do my own thinking, I do it alone. I am always myself. I am an original man, free, initiative; with character and property all inalienably my own.

J. Thou are wrong, Friend Quip. No hermit of the ages ever thought, save with his brain in the lap of the human family and with his eye fixed upon the human face. There is no other but collective thought; thou hast none of the things enumerated, in the sense and isolation claimed.

Q. I know, I know. They discussed that in our club. But what is all your thought of collectivity and organization worth, if it has no potential expression in world facts? Get it from under your hat, John, and let us see it move about.

J. Why, it is moving in all the great factors of the human world; they all are its expressions. There is nothing in our lives of use or destiny but proceeds from the will of it, the habit, the necessity, the delight or the science of it. Organization, sources all value; it is the means and the end of human life, it includes everything; it is itself all.

Q. So, so. Where is it, my economic mystic, where is it? I am Thomas. Let me thrust my hand into the side of it. I have had enough of thoughts now, give me things.

J. I will put it into thy hand, Friend Quip, and thou shalt take it home with thee. Here (giving him something), it is the sacrament of society.

Q. Why, this is a piece of money.

J. That is the measure of the world's organization, or, if you prefer the phrase, it is a value measure. Some think it is the concrete of labor power only; but it is the crystallization of social intercourse. The gospel of the world is written on its face.

Q. Ah, I see. "In God we trust."

J. Nay, turn the other side. From pluribus to unum is the history and the highway of redemption.

Peter E. Burrowes.

A Congress of 140,000 Socialist Peasants.

THE crowning event of the last two years of proletarian agitation in Italy was the full indorsement which Socialism received at the first national congress of the peasantry, held in Bologna on November 24th and 25th. Delegates had been sent by 704 leagues representing 144,178 Italian peasants. All kinds of tillers of the soil were represented by accredited delegates; small proprietors, small farmers, share farmers, farmhands, field laborers by choice and from necessity, day laborers: All those who had so long suffered in silence under the yoke of the great and small bosses and priests, who on hearing the message of the Socialists had straightened themselves up, looked into each others' faces, understood one another and joined hands from one end of Italy to the other.

North Italy has now 65,178 organized peasants; Central Italy, 70,372, and South Italy, 7,728. The great majority of the reports on the state of organization on the contests waged, the strikes, the victories, etc., were written by peasants in clear and simple language. Even the peasant women had reported on the energetic fight carried on by their organizations, especially against the priests, who are their fiercest enemies.

The salient feature of this congress was its plain, enthusiastic and magnificent support of the Socialist aim, the socialization of land.

The speakers differed on the question as to who should be admitted to membership in the national federation of farm workers. It was argued that the small proprietors, the farm owners and the share farmers could not be excluded when their interests were identical with those of the wage earners, when they do not only work on their own land, but are also compelled to become day laborers in order to add a few days' wages to their meager and insufficient annual income. They are, as Turati stated, in the same position as the industrial laborer who has deposited a very small sum in a savings bank.

Their admission was agreed upon. But when the matter of the co-operatives, of the small proprietors and farmers was broached, who differentiate their interests from those of the bourgeois conservatives, it was proposed that only those co-operatives should be admitted to the federation or a side branch of it that "show a leaning toward the ultimate socialization of land."

This was a plain indorsement of socialism. A small number of Republicans declared loyally that they could not vote for this

proposition (they are in fact the representatives of the small anti-socialist bourgeoisie in spite of their revolutionary pretensions), but the congress voted almost unanimously in favor of it, with hands uplifted, waving of hats, and the cry from all lips: "Hurrah for Socialism!"

This vote signifies, as Enrico Ferri said, that the overwhelming majority of organized peasants are Socialists. And it cannot be otherwise, as the movement of the Italian country people is the expression of the class struggle and the fruit of purely Socialist propaganda. The outcome must naturally be the acceptance of collectivist aspirations.

After that, the formation of a central bureau of statistics was discussed with a view to meeting the drawbacks of competition between laborers and of lack of employment in the country districts. This bureau will regulate the labor market and the migration of laborers between the different regions of Italy. It will also see to it that no strike is declared without authorization. Another important question was also approached: Whether the peasants' leagues should support the labor exchanges that organize at present the industrial laborers.

As these labor exchanges have still a somewhat uncertain character and are rather timid on account of the influence of the indifferent, the Republicans or the anarchists, the congress emphasized the solidarity of all workingmen and the superiority of the organizations that are socialistic in sentiment, and expressed the hope that the labor exchanges will adopt the same spirit. It was left to the leagues to judge of the advisability of adhering to the labor exchanges according to local conditions.

It was decided to agitate for agricultural arbiters, for the extension of the laws on accidents of agricultural laborers, and for laws to protect female and child labor, to reduce the price of salt, and to reclaim uncultivated land.

A general council of the federation, with its seat in Bologna, was formed of five peasants, one peasant woman, and five organizers, all of them Socialists.

The congress closed after two days of hard work with a very fine address by Turati. It was a paean on the agricultural proletariat that steps into historical prominence and hopes the advent of the peasants into the life of the Socialist party will re-animate and strengthen Socialism that threatened to choke in the city environment.

Alessandro Schiavi.

(Translated by E. Untermann.)

Rome, November, 1901.

The Vote on Implement of Progress.

I PICKED up a book the other day on Edward Carpenter, by Ernest Crosby, and came upon this sentence:

"To do justice to another we must attempt to catch something of his spirit, and it is in his poems, contained in 'Towards Democracy,' that Carpenter's spirit and character show themselves clearly. The name of the book is the worst thing about it. To feel its significance we must go back to the France of the eighteenth century, when democracy was still a dream and when the name had not been debased by association with discouraging experiments and narrow parties. We must conclude from Carpenter's use of the term "democracy" that its original polish has not worn off as completely in England as it has in America. He certainly had not in mind its etymological derivation, as implying the rule of the people in any sense by majority votes, representative institutions or the initiative and referendum. I can only ascribe his infelicitous choice of a title to the common weakness shown by distinguished writers in naming their literary offspring." These remarks brought home forcibly the fact that there is a growing sentiment in America against the institution of voting, not only among the retrograde portions of the community who wish to limit the suffrage for their own personal ends, but among large portions of the community who regard themselves as progressive, and desire the reform of social and political institutions. I speak of the individualists or philosophical anarchists or whatever they may choose to call themselves,—whose ranks seem to be enlarging very rapidly. With their ideals I have no special quarrel. They are, for the most part, lofty and noble, but the methods by which they would attain them and preserve them appear to lack practical efficacy. Their hearts may be all right, but their heads seem to get lost in clouds of illogicality. A cardinal doctrine with them is that it is against the freedom of any man to submit to the rule of a majority vote. Their desire for the freedom of the minority is so strong that it finally leads them from the coercion of the minority by the majority to the opposite evil, the coercion of the majority by the minority. But if you point this out, their reply will be, that leadership should be voluntary, and the followers of the leader should be voluntary followers, and only people who agree should gather together in communities. Practically speaking, not enough people could be found to agree so absolutely as to found such communities, and if they could be found to agree at the start, differences of opinion as to the carrying on of the general affairs of the

community would be sure to arise and the question again comes up how is the policy to be settled? The logical individualist will say, the minority must secede, and form another group, the illogical one will admit that in such cases there must be a resort to a vote.

It will be seen very plainly that if the plan of the logical individualist were followed, it could end in nothing but the gradual disintegration of all human society, for differentiation is a necessary law of development, and that society in which all were so perfectly agreed that no difference of opinion could arise, and no need of bearance or forbearance be possible would inevitably fall into a static and finally into a decaying state; therefore, groups or communities would have no power of self-preservation. When the illogical individualist admits the need of a vote to settle any matter whatever, he admits the weakness of his own position, though that he is naturally not willing to admit, and with fresh courage will re-state his conviction that coercion by means of a majority vote is as bad as slavery.

That there is reason in his feeling against coercion must be admitted, but on the other hand this feeling is one of the most powerful forces at work in the bringing about of progress. It is this which sets humanity working for its freedom. It inspires new ideals, and gives men the courage to express them and the strength to bring mankind up to their standpoint until the coerced minority becomes the coercing majority. When it reaches this point a new minority will be in place to take the world on. The one sole method by which the benefit to society of constantly moving majorities and minorities can be preserved is in the exercise of the vote; and the more universally it is given the better, for with the spread of this power of voting, society grows more and more strenuous in its efforts for the education of its members, and for the best methods by which this education may be secured. The danger in ignorant and unscrupulous voting has been recognized and some would rectify this by greatly limiting suffrage, others by doing away with voting and substituting the rule of the voluntarily appointed best—an absurdity well illustrated by Shakespeare in Bottom the Weaver, who thought himself the best fitted to play every part from Thisbe to the Lion. To tamper with or destroy the suffrage will not take things forwards but backwards, for force of arms will assuredly be the outcome sooner or later, and a worse form of coercion than that implied in the rule of the majority. The only safety is in the education of the voter to the point where he will be capable of convictions and of voting for them. When voting is brought up to that standard, every step in progress taken through a majority vote will be a solid one, and the laws of a whole people will be in the way to be based upon

such broad foundations, and to become so full of wisdom that no individual will be coerced more than he is willing to be for the happiness of the whole number, including himself.

There is nothing better for the individual than to alternate between being of the rulers and of the ruled. If he be always of the rulers, his self-satisfaction will lead inevitably to his degeneration; if always of the ruled, his despair will kill him, but if he know that by working for his ideals he may attain them, hope glorifies his life, and if he know that when attained they may at any time be overturned by another majority, he will be strenuous in the practice of them.

I believe, therefore, in the vote as the wisest implement man has ever devised as an aid to his own perfecting; and I believe neither the word democracy nor the theory of democracy to be tarnished any more than I believe the Divine is tarnished because his name has been taken in vain, nor love, because human beings have dragged it in the mire. The failure of the experiment is not due to the weakness of the ideal, but to the failure of humanity to bring themselves up to it, and in this very failure, is proof of the exaltation of the ideal and the need of fresh striving to realize it.

Helen Archibald Clarke.
Editor "Poet Lore."

Bo[illegible] April 10, '01.

The Co-operative Movement in Belgium.

(Conclusion.)

LET us shift the scene again and watch the working, not of a great Socialist co-operative in a luxurious city like Brussels, nor of one in a manufacturing city like Ghent, but of one situated in the midst of the Walloon country, surrounded by villages half industrial and half agricultural. The example chosen is the co-operative called the "PROGRESS" in Jolimont, a village situated between La Louviere and Haine St. Pierre.

On the 25th of October, 1900, the co-operators of the PROGRESS of Jolimont recorded the 15th anniversary of their first baking of bread.

This industrial region is quite devoted to the co-operative and to Socialism. The Progress, as regards amount of business, takes the third rank among co-operatives, and its members may be proud of the results obtained through their persevering efforts.

Jolimont is also the place where the first Maison du Peuple was built. In 1872 the members of the International acquired a building. This subsequently served for the location of the Progress, which was founded there, and which ever since has been the landmark for the great and solid organization of the workingmen of the central provinces.

To-day the Progress makes itself felt throughout the country. The proletarians of all the neighboring towns are served by this powerful society. The spacious buildings which it has erected under the name of Maison du Peuple at Morlanwelz, Houdeng, Ecaussines and La Louviere, remain its property. In them the workingmen meet in times of conflict or of festival. Its moral force has been considerable, and the workingmen are well aware to whom they are indebted for their strong organization.

After the bakery, a brewery, drug stores and meat markets were established simultaneously. At present, new branches are being organized. To the enterprises now well established will be added stores for dry goods, groceries, furnishing goods, etc. The final aim pursued by the managers is to be in a position to furnish their members everything that they require for the satisfaction of their needs.

The following table shows the condition of the society on June 30, 1900, as given in its balance sheet:

Assets.

Cash on hand (francs)	20,535.60
Real estate, fixtures and machinery	673,933.19

General merchandise in salesrooms	24,615.61
Merchandise in the bakery	3,594.33
Stock of drugs (three stores)	13,200.00
Stock of meats	43.00
Stock of wines (in storage and four restaurants)	4,007.41
Stock of goods at brewery	18,553.10
Wines and oleomargarine at central store	391.45
Accounts receivable	15,600.52
Advanced to consumers' relief fund	15,548.19
Shares in Socialist newspapers	42,750.00
Advanced to employes' relief fund	432.00
Advanced to employes' insurance fund	576.00
Advanced to industrial establishments	5,854.64
Total, in francs	848,825.59

Liabilities.

Reserve fund	60,000.00
Membership fees at 2 francs	26,497.50
Bonds of 100 francs each	288,790.00
Accounts payable	103,065.84
Sinking fund	284,536.86
Net profit	85,935.39
	848,825.59

The Progress numbered on June 30th 14,087 members, an increase of 621 since the first of January. The expenditure for the relief of members disabled by sickness or accidents was 45,415.20 francs.

We can not but admire the efforts which must have been made to arrive at such results. It should also be noted that the Progress co-operative of Jolimont has assisted the development of mutual benefit societies and that it has made great sacrifices of money for Socialist propaganda in all its forms. It gives to the Socialist party its best men, the most devoted propagandists, all the more effective workers because their independence is assured by the employment afforded them by the Socialist co-operative.

To conclude this review of the results obtained by the co-operation of consumption, let us cite a few examples of small co-operatives located in manufacturing or farming towns.

First take the co-operative of the united laborers of La Basse-Sambre, at Anvelais. Eighteen months ago this society had 489 members; it now has 836. In December, 1898, it baked each week 7,253 loaves of bread each weighing 2 kilogrammes (4.4

pounds). To-day, this figures has risen to 13,477 loaves of the same size. The profits have been as follows:

	Francs.
1898, second half-year	4,904.33
1899, first half-year	4,217.60
1899, second half-year	9,106.77
1900, first half-year	11,137.58

Take another small co-operative located at Gesves, a little town in the province of Namur, the United Workingmen. Founded only five years ago, this society is making marked progress, as the following figures show: (Amounts are given in francs.)

Year.	Sales.	Total profits.	Rebates to members.
1896	27,705.75	596.41	
1897	54,196.71	4,027.04	2,944.50
1898	69,776.24	5,486.55	4,068.33
1899	73,696.94	5,607.61	4,169.41
1900	76,396.82	6,688.41	5,002.51
	301,772.46	22,406.02	16,184.75

We might offer a hundred more examples in support of our position, but we content ourselves with these facts which go to show that the co-operative, large or small, whether situated in a large city or in a manufacturing or farming town, invariably prospers if well managed.

There was still need, however, of an organism capable of rendering great services to the isolated co-operative societies, that is to say, a federation of these societies for the purchase of food products at wholesale.

This gap has lately been filled. A few days before this article was written, the Moniteur published the regulations of the Federation of the Belgian Socialist Co-operatives.

The minimum capital of the federation is fixed at 25,000 francs. This capital is subscribed by the principal co-operatives of the Socialist party, in proportion to the number of their members. The object of the Federation is purchasing at wholesale, to sell again to the societies, which will thus profit by the advantages of purchasing in large lots at bottom prices, thus avoiding the profits exacted by agents or wholesale dealers.

Later on, the Federation will be able to manufacture for itself the goods required by its federated customers, just as has been done so well and so profitably by the English and Scotch federations, without speaking of the federations of Germany, Switzerland, Holland, etc.

Already, before its legal incorporation, the Belgian Federa-

tion had commenced operations and had sold various lots of merchandise. During the first months its sales were only three to four thousand francs. By this time the sales have increased to 25,000 francs a month, without including the goods for which the Federation served as a mere intermediary between the producers and co-operatives.

As regards associations for the benefit of the agricultural population, and the total results accomplished by these, nothing is at hand but an abstract made by the minister of agriculture. The last of these statistical reports is brought down only to Dec. 31, 1898. Here are a few figures taken from this official publication:

Farmers' Trade Unions. It is well known that the law of March 31, 1898, granting civil rights to trade unions, was adopted with a special purpose of favoring agricultural leagues. On Dec. 31, 1898, three farmers' unions had been chartered; by July 1, 1901, this figure had increased to 53.

There exist moreover 152 farmers' alliances with 25,746 members, an average of about 162 each. The receipts in 1898 amounted to 369,352 francs and the expenditures to 248,484 francs.

The agricultural Leagues are 607 in number, with 49,284 members, receipts of 62,230 and expenditures of 61,537 francs.

Apicultural societies to the number of 237 include 9,326 members, with annual receipts of 25,162 francs and expenditures of 21,988 francs.

There are horticultural societies to the number of 130, with 17,705 members.

There are poultry associations to the number of 29, with 2,107 members. They expended 27, 027 francs in 1898.

Last, there were 187 societies for improving the grade of cattle. These included 5,694 members, owning 14,792 registered animals. Their receipts, including subsidies, were 66,292 francs and their expenditures 66,962 francs.

Of societies for the purchase of seed, fertilizers, etc., there were 602 in 1898, mostly organized under the co-operative form, with 48,747 members. In 1897, their transactions amounted to 8,427,328 francs, averaging 178 francs per member. In 1898 the amount of their purchases footed up 11,730,764 francs, averaging 240.65 francs per member.

Co-operative Creameries. At the close of 1900 there were 258 co-operative creameries, a gain of 59 over the year before. The number of members was 24,519. These creameries in 1898 sold products to the amount of 12,802,795 francs, an average of 54,020 francs for each society and 522 for each member. The figures in detail were as follows: Milk, 125,372 francs; butter, 12,577,614; cheese, 52,947; other products, 116,852; total, 12,802,785 francs.

Agricultural Distilleries. Of these there were 43 at the close of 1898, of which number 24 were in operation. The number of members was 800, averaging about 21 to each society. The value of the products sold in 1898 amounted to 3,987,233 francs.

Associations for Farm Loans. These are divided into four clases. There are 9 rural loan agencies, which on Dec. 31 had loans in force to the amount of 4,399,329 francs.

There are two co-operatives on the Schulze-Delitzch system, which have negotiated loans to the amount of 106,808 francs.

There are 199 Raiffeisen banks, with 7,812 members, of whom 6,283 are agriculturists. These societies placed 1,933 loans in 1898, amounting to a total of 740,424 francs.

Finally, there are 6 central farmers' trust companies, having 189 societies affiliated with them. These companies lent in 1898 40,228 francs, and opened credits to the amount of 134,776 francs.

Associations for Insurance of Cattle. On Dec. 31, 1898, there existed 509 societies of this class, with 49,578 members and 139,859 head of cattle insured, making 73 more societies than the year before. The number of losses amounted to 3,762.

The reader will observe that the movement which is carrying on the Belgian farmers toward a closer association is continuing more and more rapidly. The spirit of brotherhood is gaining ground daily among them while the egoistic thought of every man for himself is disappearing.

For the sake of completeness we must say a word here regarding the People's Banks of Belgium. On June 30, 1901, there were in existence 22 People's Banks organized on the co-operative plan. The oldest date from 1865. They are composed, in great part, of mechanics and small manufacturers and merchants who have associated themselves to obtain the credit necessary in their business.

These People's banks formed themselves into a federation twenty years ago, and this holds a congress every year. The following figures were given out at the last congress of the People's Banks, and give some information as to the condition of these 22 institutions for savings and credit:

Number of members	44,379
Capital (francs)	3,515,739
Total transactions	422,079,911
Total of loans negotiated last year	80,864,406
Dividends distributed	2 per cent and 15 per cent

Reserve and contingent fund 1,121,838
Amounts due to the Caisse d' Epargne and to depositors 5,889,437
Amount of current accounts receivable.....11,626,808

The bank of Verviers has the largest number of members, 3,662, and the one at Gosselies has the fewest, 21, although it was established in 1892. It is a curious fact that the People's Bank of Verviers, with a capital of 724,000 francs, did a business of but 53 millions, whereas that of Ghent, which has a capital of but 399,000 francs, did a business of 184 millions. The People's Bank of Alost distributed no dividends. Those of St. Nicholas and Jumet have had dividends of 15 per cent. The other banks distributed from 4 to 8 per cent, but most of them vary from 4 to 6 per cent.

We have thus completed our task. As a conclusion to all that goes before we can only repeat what we have already said, namely, that the co-operative movement of Belgium has become of great importance, and that at the end of only a few years.

The Belgian co-operative of consumption is strongly impregnated with the socialist spirit, its character is very popular; it is accessible to all, to the poorest as well as to those most comfortably situated. It is rendering great services to the working class, and it plays a part by no means secondary in the evolution of the laborers toward a better future. Moreover, socialist co-operation is furnishing resources in men and in money to the socialist party.

Consequently we can do no better than recommend to our friends of all countries to follow the example given by their Belgian brothers. The facts are there and undeniable. The results that have been obtained are important and they are effective enough to convert the most refractory to the Belgian method.

The best proof to our mind of the efficacy of this method is that it has been borrowed from us by the clericals and the liberals, from the moment that they conceived the hope of conquering the masses of the people to their doctrines, or keeping them in the ranks of their respective parties.

Louis Bertrand,
Socialist Deputy from Brussels.
(Translated by Charles H. Kerr.)

The Socialist Co-operative of Chicago.

Readers of the Review who have followed Comrade Bertrand's interesting account of the Belgian co-operatives through the last four numbers have no doubt reached the conclusion that the example of the Belgian comrades should be followed in the United States. I am happy to announce that a start has already been made in this city. The Socialist Co-operative of Chicago has been incorporated under the Illinois law regulating "associations not for pecuniary profit." Any one can become a member by paying five dollars, but only members of the Socialist Party can become active members with the privilege of voting.

Goods are sold to members at the customary retail prices, and at the end of each quarter the net profit above expenses is to be figured out. Of this one-eighth is to be devoted to socialist propaganda, one-eighth is to be set aside for a reserve fund, and the remaining three-fourths is to be returned to the members in proportion to their purchases. This virtually gives members the privilege of buying goods at cost.

Membership is not confined to residents of Chicago. Any one can join, and any one in the Central States, where transportation rates from this city are not excessive, can reduce his living expenses by joining the Socialist Co-operative. A full line of groceries is already carried in stock and other lines will be added as the membership increases, so that socialists will soon be able to procure all necessary articles from the Co-operative.

The present location of the Co-operative is at the temporary Socialist Temple, 120 South Western avenue. This is an old church, which has been rented until May 1 by the Chicago socialists. The front part is used by the Co-operative and the main auditorium for socialist propaganda meetings. It has been decided to erect a permanent building on or near Western avenue, with an auditorium to hold 1,000 people and stores for the use of the Co-operative.

This is the pioneer movement of the kind in the United States. Its success will make the way easy and plain for establishing a Socialist Co-operative in connection with every socialist local in the United States. Chicago is the natural distributing center for at least half the United States, and the Socialist Co-operative of Chicago will be in a position to assist any new Co-operative to buy goods in the most favorable market.

The political effect also of a large and well-located auditorium at the disposal of Chicago socialists can hardly be overestimated. Stirring events are bound to come about in Chicago in the next few years, and the new Socialist Temple will be the center for the activities of those who are struggling on the side of labor.

In view of all this I am sure that every reader of the Review will realize that it is a privilege to be a part owner in the Temple. A booklet explaining how to join the Socialist Co-operative will be mailed on request.

Charles H. Kerr.

Economic and Political Determinism.

THE Proletarian revolution now in progress presents essential differences from all previous revolutions. These differences are generally overlooked and when noticed at all are not given sufficient importance. It should be our constant aim to get a clearer view of the task before us, and of the means at our disposal. In this way alone can we conquer our worst enemy— our own illusions. To this end we offer a few observations which have occurred to us and which may be useful to some of our comrades.

Observation One. Previous revolutions were brought about in this way: The ruling class was practically the only class having political rights. A subject class, without political power, gradually became through economic evolution the most powerful class economically and then began a fight for political supremacy against the ruling class which had retrograded economically. This fight was always successful and was usually carried on by unlawful and violent methods because no way for conducting a peaceful and lawful revolution had been provided.

Observation Two. No class except an economically dominant class could ever win and maintain political supremacy by force. The lowest exploited class, whether slave, serf or wage, unlike all other classes, never has had and never can have any economic power whatever. Under the old method of butting over a government in the absence of popular suffrage by sheer economic and physical force, main strength and awkwardness, the lowest class stood no show at all; its efforts in this direction inured to the benefit of some economically higher class.

Observation Three. All former revolutions being a test of economic power, regardless of political rights, were necessarily violent. The proletarian revolution being a test of political power within the lines of political rights must necessarily be peaceful. The proletariat can gain nothing by force. Reason: because in countries where it has the ballot the use of force shows that it is not intelligent enough to use the ballot and could not retain any power which it won by force; and in countries where it has not the ballot its use of force would only inure to the benefit of the bourgeoisie and enable this to free itself more completely from the remaining shackles of feudalism. This does not mean that the proletariat should not assist in bourgeois revolutions in countries where such are still historically inevitable. It will do so. But it must not expect thereby to win its own economic liberty. Its share of the spoils will be merely a modicum of political liberty good for future use only. "Workingmen have not so misread history as to think that capital was ever vanquished by labor in a struggle in which the weapons were force." (Judge Kohlsaat.)

Observation Four. In countries where there is no popular suffrage the proletarian revolution cannot be said to have fairly started. The first struggle must be for the ballot. This was emphasized by Lassalle.

Political supremacy can be readily added to economic supremacy, but economic supremacy cannot be made subservient to political supremacy. The governing class, if different from the dominant economic class, cannot permanently maintain itself separate. It must go over to the dominant economic class, which amounts to its identifying itself with that class. Political rights which do not lead to economic power are merely nominal and are liable to be taken away at any time. The enfranchised proletariat are compelled to use their political rights for economic purposes on penalty sooner or later of being deprived of them.

Observation Five. Since these things are so, since economic power is the cause and political power is the effect, how then, asks Mr. F. D. Festner in The Challenge, can the proletariat, having no economic power, ever gain political power by the foolishness of voting? Hic Rhodus, hic salta. He thinks that it cannot, and therefore proposes to make the proletariat economically independent by a scheme of industrial co-operation, preparatory to gaining political supremacy. What use the proletariat would have for political supremacy after gaining its economic independence we are unable to see.

Observation Six. Instead of trying to change the conditions to fit the theory, as Mr. Festner does, the better way is to change the theory to fit the conditions. The answer to Mr. Festner is this: Economic determinism, which is another name for the class struggles going on in society, is not an eternal law. It is nearing the end of its course. It did not exist prior to the rise of private property, nor will it exist under socialism. It appeared after the introduction of private property, which means economic inequality, accompanied of course by political inequality. It existed down to the introduction of popular suffrage, which is of very recent date and is still imperfectly carried out and amounts to little more than an experiment. In practice it is much hampered by innumerable checks and limitations. Under complete political equality economic determinism would be and will be supplanted by political determinism. Society unified by the common ownership of capital will become the conscious master of its own destiny free from economic class control.

Observation Seven. To repeat. Under political equality the method of former revolutions must be reversed. A peaceful way having been provided, force, whether physical and direct or economic and indirect, is no longer necessary. The ideological reacts upon and controls the economic instead of vice versa. "They only need to will thus in order to obtain a majority" (Liebknecht). Socialists, driven by necessity and not claiming or deserving credit for it, adopt the policy of a peaceful propaganda, because the character of their struggle and the means at their command are such that force defeats their object. As long as the working class is too unenlightened to ask for socialism at the polls, how could they be held together to fight for socialism by force? And when they do ask for socialism at the polls the need of force has disappeared. Apart from all theories we stand as a matter of fact squarely on the platform of non-resistance in a physical sense. In this regard our attitude cannot be criticised by the most severe moralist, whether Christian or heathen. In the same manner as we repudiate force we abandon at the outset all hope or desire of every becoming an exploiting class, not because of our superior morality, but by necessity, because the conditions of our own emancipation imply universal emancipation.

Observation Eight. Shortly before his death Friedrich Engels, in that splendid retrospect which constitutes the introduction to "Class Struggles in France," wrote as follows:—

"All previous revolutions resulted in the displacement of one class government by another. All previous ruling classes were, however, only small minorities compared with the subject mass of the common people. A ruling minority was overthrown; in its stead another minority seized the helm of state and reshaped the political institutions according to its own interests. In every case this minority was one which the progress of economic development had trained for and called to rulership, and for that very reason and only for that reason, it happened, that at the time of the revolution the subject majority either took sides with it or at any rate let the change take place without resistance. * * * This gave the minority the appearance of being the representative of the whole people. After the first success the victorious minority as a rule became divided; half were satisfied with what had already been gained, the other half wished to go still farther and made new demands which at least in part were in the real or apparent interest of the great mass of the people. These more radical demands were in particular instances carried through, but for the most part only temporarily; the more moderate party again prevailed, the latest gains were wholly or partly lost again. The radicals then raised the cry of "treason" or attributed their defeat to accident. In fact, however, matters stood about so:—the results of the first victory were made secure only by another victory over the more radical party. This being done and thereby the present demands of the moderates being attained, the radicals and their following disappeared from the stage. * * *"

"Thanks to the intelligence with which the German workingmen made use of the universal franchise, introduced in 1866, the astonishing growth of the party is laid bare to the world in incontestable figures: * * They have shown their comrades of all countries a new weapon, and one of the keenest, in showing them how to use the ballot. * * * Moreover, with this successful use of the ballot the proletariat had learned a wholly new method of warfare, which was rapidly perfected. It was found that the political institutions on which the rulership of the bourgeoisie is based offer the very means by which the working class can attack this same rulership." Bourgeois legality, alias constitutional government, is the sure death of the bourgeoisie. It is only by constantly breaking or evading the constitution and laws, either directly or indirectly, that the bourgeoisie maintains itself.

Observation Nine. This process or revolution can only take place with an educated proletariat. Some do not seem to grasp clearly how the proletariat is going to become enlightened enough to free itself. Loria is among this number. The competition of capitalist nations with each other compels them to educate their proletariat not only in manual work but also intellectually. This is necessary to furnish them with cheap labor, for the most skillful and intelligent labor is the cheapest considering its productiveness, and the vast complicated machinery of modern civilization cannot be operated by clumsy and ignorant workmen. The more the bourgeoisie educates its slaves the more profit it can make out of them, and the penalty of neglecting this is to be outstripped by other nations. France realized this in the war of 1871 with Germany, and immediately thereafter turned her attention to popular education. The same with England; the pressure of German and other competition on the industrial field forced England, much against her will, to undertake the expensive and dangerous innovation of educating her proletariat. The effect of this has not yet been fully felt, but it will soon begin to bear a rich harvest of discontent. Economic evolution does not go on in each society independently. It is modified by foreign influences.

The capitalist hypocrites, as usual, turn their economic interest into virtue, and point out what wonders they have done towards elevating the people, but the motive of it they neglect to state, viz.: the making of more profit for themselves. The

working class owes no gratitude to the capitalists for an education given them for the purpose of increasing the rate of exploitation. Nor need anyone fear that this good work will be stopped; self-interest—the love of more profits and the fear of being outstripped by other nations—is driving the capitalists on to certain destruction, and preparing the proletariat for the work of co-operative administration. Nothing short of a conspiracy of capitalists the world over to lessen their own profits for the purpose of keeping down the proletariat could stop this advance. It will be time enough to meet that contingency when it arises. In this particular, as in all others under exploitative society, general progress is indirect, involuntary and incidental to the economic interest of the ruling class.

Observation Ten. Economic determinism applied to the development of the trusts does not lead directly towards socialism, as claimed by some; it simply means that the control of politics is passing into the hands of a few instead of many. The only direct progress that is being made towards socialism is along ideological lines; in the throwing off of political bigotry, the awakening of class consciousness in the proletariat and its learning how to use political power for business purposes, instead of for horse play as heretofore.

It is true, ideological development follows the economic, but for the most part it lags behind at a considerable distance. The task of socialists is to shorten this interval by enlightening the working class, and not to rely solely on the slowly-awakening instinct which results from economic progress. To be rigidly scientific according to the laws of economic determinism, as interpreted by some fatalistic writers, would imply that socialists should direct their efforts towards hastening economic development, making inventions, building railroads, forming trusts, etc., and let the political results come of themselves. But the capitalists are doing this economic work for the socialists, and the latter are right in confining their work chiefly to developing the mind of the worker and counteracting the perverted ideas instilled into it by the formidable array of educational or "connective" institutions (including school, pulpit and press) so acutely analyzed by Loria.

Observation Eleven. Previous revolutions reached their climax by a sudden outburst; they were in a sense blind and unconscious; their tendency and outcome were not clearly foreseen and proclaimed.

As to the proletarian revolution its aims and methods are not only clearly announced, but are widely taught in systematic courses of instruction. Its progress is savagely opposed on one hand and supported with dogged and invincible tenacity on the other. Every local victory is the result of a hard-fought battle. Honors are not easy. Capitalism will not collapse, as some of the comrades seem to think. The final national victory can only come after innumerable local ones and will be foreseen and expected and will not come as a sudden climax, though the full effects of a non-exploitative organization of society will then for the first time be felt.

The capitalist class is hard to overthrow for the reason that it has no antagonist of its own character, which is able to use its own weapons of cunning, fraud and force. It has destroyed all other exploiting classes and has left nothing opposed to it but a mass of proletarians, out of which no new exploiting class can arise. This has not before it that keenest incentive, the spoils which victors take from the vanquished. It must fight fair and square, open and above board; no tricks can help it; it has no secrets. True, an appeal can be made to the self-interest of the proletariat, but it is a self-interest inseparably linked with the interest of all, and only as the proletariat can be slowly lifted to this broad national and international view can they combine and co-operate as an effective force against capitalism.

Observation Twelve. Various causes have been assigned for the moderate growth of socialism in England and America, compared with other countries. Industrially they are the highest developed, and politically they are the freest; in both respects they are the most favorable for the growth of socialism. Why their backwardness? It is because of the political bigotry of their proletariat. Habituated to voting before the development of industry had become so great and the class distinctions so clearly marked, they conceived their interest to be to assist the more radical parties and to keep an eternal vigilance over bourgeois liberty and prevent any relapse. This work, once necessary, has now become subordinate, but the old idea still asserts its influence, and blinds its victims to the new conditions of to-day. It appears that with equal industrial development the proletariat in those countries where popular enfranchisement is most recent is most clearly conscious of its own interests; while in those where the ballot has been longest in use the class consciousness of the proletariat is blurred by political bigotry. To remove this is a matter of time and patient effort. It is almost as difficult to attack as religious bigotry. Both the religious and the political superstition are skillfully used by the capitalist class to blind the proletariat. They constitute what is called the American spirit, British sentiment, the genius of our institutions, public opinion, etc. This is another evidence that the "scientific" explanation offered by the fatalistic or "socialism inevitable" school is not wholly satisfactory, probably not at all scientific. On the

field of political activity, science, as conceived by the economic fatalist, breaks down; it becomes unscientific. In trying to convert a voter to socialism you are not dealing merely with a man, as a subject for scientific experiment. No such thing exists in politics as a man in the abstract, pure and simple, whose mind is blank, ready to be operated on. You have before you either a republican or a democrat, not simply a man, and before science can work on him he must be de-republicanized. It is the old story of unlearning things. This process is the most difficult one with which socialists have to contend in countries such as England and America, where political liberty is of long standing.

The foregoing observations have a bearing on the question of so-called Immediate Demands. If the proletariat can only win its freedom by reversing the method of former revolutions, by using political power to overthrow economic power, then its immediate interest is to extend its now imperfect political power; it must demand a more complete democratization of all our political machinery, especially the legislative and judicial parts, so as to make the same quickly obedient to the decision of the ballot box. This we consider more important than measures along economic lines, such as municipal ownership.

Instead of "Let the nation own the trusts," our motto is, "Let the workers run the government."

Marcus Hitch.

Chicago Arts and Crafts Exhibltion.

CLEAR up at the very top of the "Woman's Temple," of Chicago, in a little room next the roof, there was held during the first part of this month an exhibition of which few Chicago Socialists ever heard, and of which less than half a dozen thought of visiting. Yet this exhibition was in its way as much an expression of Socialist thought and philosophy as any of the speeches expounding the "class struggle" which were delivered in a score or more of meeting places throughout the city during the same time. The exhibition was that of the Chicago Arts and Crafts Society. This is one of the many organizations that have sprung up from the seed sown a score or more years ago by William Morris and his co-workers, and that are to-day endeavoring to restore to the worker a more complete control over his product, and to give that product something of the beauty and originality that it had before the institution of private ownership set up barriers between man and tool and product.

Considered simply as a thing to look at, the exhibition was well worth the time of any one. First and foremost in interest and beauty were the beautifully bound books from the Hull House shop of Miss Ellen Starr. Perhaps this was because she was so closely connected with the master who started the movement—having learned her trade at the famous "Doves Bindery" in Hammersmith, London, whose founder and head-workman, Mr. Cobden Saunderson, was a co-worker with Morris almost from the very beginning. Here were books that in contents, mechanical workmanship and external decoration were a joy to look upon. Indeed, and this I take it is but a proof of the attainment of the end aimed at, there was no way by which the work as a whole could be divided and say—this is the product of the shop, and that of the studio. Shop and studio had become one and it was easy to believe that with such beautiful products no other playroom would be needed than this same studio-shop.

A collection of beautiful dishes, which had been made, or painted and fired by different members of the society was next in interest, yet there was here somehow a sense of something lacking. They were dainty, useful, handsome, you could not well criticise them, yet you somehow felt they were intended as yet for the parlor mantel rather than the kitchen table. The studio predominated over the workshop. Decoration rather than utility was their most prominent characteristic. Perhaps this was only because the observer knew how utterly impossible it is for such articles to enter into the actual home life of present society.

These defects were still more glaring in other departments. There was quite an extensive exhibit of tiles—beautiful designs revived from ages long gone by. But in this day of furnaces, steam, hot-water and electricity, tiles are an anachronism. The uses which once made them a fundamental necessity of daily life belong to a social organization now extinct, and their revival is reactionary rather than progressive.

It was still worse with another of the most prominent features of the exhibit—the Deerfield rug and basket work. The rugs were simply not very well woven old-fashioned rag carpets, after designs and color schemes furnished by members of the Arts and Crafts Society. These designs could just as well have been given to some great rug manufacturer, who would have done the work even better and with much less waste of human energy. The baskets were only playthings for the wealthy—of little more use than the "tidies" and "samplers" of a generation ago. That these facts were somehow realized by those in charge was seen by the fact of frequent references to the improvement which the introduction of this industry had wrought in the condition of the people who made them. But this attempt at an economic justification begs the whole question and would lead the discussion into a field where, if one chose to follow them, it would be easy to make out a strong case against the whole business.

Some of the cabinet work exhibited was simply a slavish imitation of old and well made things with very indifferent workmanship. Such action is again distinctly reactionary. Design, workmanship and completed article should be fitting to the time in which the thing is created. With books and dishes this is still possible. Their use is practically the same to-day as when the first ones were formed by man. No new article has risen to supplant them. No change in social organization has rendered them antiquated.

I saw an article in a technical engineering magazine a few days ago that will illustrate my point. The writer complained that as yet the makers of automobiles were slavishly following carriage patterns of construction and had as yet developed no distinctively automobile forms. Unconsciously, it seems to me this man had caught something which the Arts and Crafts Society would do well to learn. They are still trying to revive beautiful forms now antiquated and graft them on to a society that has outgrown them. The result is liable to be neither useful nor artistic. Design and workmanship are not suited to the object and neither is in harmony with the surroundings in which it must be placed.

Perhaps the key to these contradictions will be found in the converse of the condition noted at the beginning, i. e., that no laborers visited the exhibition. It is equally true that the Arts and Crafts Society knows little of the labor movement. William Morris found political activity to be such an essential part of his artistic work that when he found no satisfactory field ready for his effort, he helped to establish the Social Democratic Federation. Every day since then has made the political side of this movement of more importance and more promising of results. Yet not one member of the Chicago Arts and Crafts Society has enough interest in the Socialist movement that is going on all about them to even read its literature or attend its public meetings.

Without this connection their work must continually tend to degenerate into faddism and utopianism. It is to-day analogous to the "colony schemes," in that it attempts to realize an ideal within a society whose very existence depends upon the suppression of all attempts at such realization. It is not alone that capitalism competes good workmanship out of the market. It destroys the artistic sense which would know good work if it saw it. Neither in the slum nor on the boulevard can things of merit find appreciation and reward. A society which holds out its richest prizes to those who have the most of the swine in their nature will not produce intelligent patrons of art among the ruling class. A society which forces the producers of its wealth to sell their power of creative labor into wage slavery and fixes values in an impersonal competitive world market cannot endure, much less reward, good individual craftmanship.

Whoever really wishes that the hand of man should create what the brain connected with that hand conceives, and would have that brain know and conceive good and beautiful things must first seek the establishment of a social environment in which such things are possible. Otherwise their work will be hollow and false in the deepest sense of the word. It will lack that completeness and symmetry which really makes up art and will degenerate into a "fad," a subsidized game, a playing at work and a gigantic parody on the thing aimed at. There is a sermon in all this, too, for the exclusively political socialist, but as yet I am living in too much of a glass house to preach it with much enthusiasm.

A. M. Simons.

Maxim Gorki, the Portrayer of Unrest.*

A TRAMP but a while ago, this young man, just above thirty, ranks to-day next to Tolstoy in favor with cultured Russia, and is making his way into the world's literature.

Who is Gorki? Alexei Pyeshkov (for Gorki—"the bitter one" is but a nom de plume) was born a poor man's son in 1869. He lost his father when he was four, and his mother at nine. Left to shift for himself in a friendless world, he began work for a living as an errand boy, and, after changing a few positions, found employment on a steamer as a cook's apprentice. The cook befriended the lonely lad, and, very fond of reading himself, fed him, in his leisure hours, on popular dime novels along with some of the masterpieces of Russian fiction. Gorki remembers the cook as his first instructor in literature.

The craving for knowledge aroused by the cook, brought him at fifteen to Kazan, the university center of the Volga region, in the naive belief that education could be had for the asking. Instead of the university, he settled down in a bakery shop at 3 roubles a week. He succeeded, however, in picking up an acquaintance with university students, and gained access to their literary clubs. (All such clubs are in the nature of secret societies, none being permitted by the government.) The revolutionary spirit, characteristic of academic Russia, took hold of the baker's apprentice. His imagination was fired with visions of revolutionary leadership in a battle for the reconstruction of the world. But the contrast between imagination and the stern reality of his life,—to some extent, possibly the deadly effect of pessimism which hung over all thinking Russia in the 80's,—drove him to attempt suicide when he was barely twenty. Fortunately, the injury was not fatal; he recovered and resumed his wanderings.

In 1892 he wrote his first story, "Makar Tchoodra," which was published in an obscure country paper. It is a romantic story of the struggle of superhuman passions in an extraordinary environment (among the nomadic gypsies). Some critics have discovered in it a leaning toward Nietzsche. A much simpler explanation suggests itself in the influence of his early reading reinforced by the revolutionary romanticism of Russian secret societies.

A year or two later he met the gifted novelist, Korolenko, who, as he says, "taught him how to write." His conversion from romanticism to realism is evidently the work of Korolenko. His teacher introduced him into the great magazines.

*Foma Gordeyev. A novel. By Maxim Gorki. Translated from the Russian. Scribner's $1.00.

What has made his tremendous popularity with all classes? Is it a fad due to the unusual story of his life? Even were it so, it would be a sign of the times. There were writers of talent before Gorki, who, like him, had arisen from the common people and won places of distinction in Russian literature. Every schoolboy knows by heart the poems of Koltzov; they were made accessible to the non-Slav world in the beautiful translation of the German poet Bodenstaedt ("Mirza Schaaffi"). Nikitin's poetry inspired the progressive generation of the 60's. Yet neither found the opportunity to break away from the "kingdom of darkness" which surrounded them, neither became the writer of his day, like Gorki. The success of Gorki marks the democratization of culture in Russia since the days of Pushkin and Koltzov, when literature was the pastime of the select few among the landed nobility, and could not assure a livelihood even to a Koltzov.

It is not Gorki's personal history, however, that has won him the enthusiastic admiration of all Russia, regardless of party. "Tramping with tramps" in genuine fashion, not to gather material for detective stories, Gorki has thoroughly penetrated the psychology of the "submerged tenth." He leads the reader into the nether region of social degradation, crime and vice, and shows that

"A man's a man for a' that."

There is in this a certain kinship between him and Dostoyevsky. Both take their characters among "the humiliated and insulted." Yet Gorki is entirely free from sentimentalism, which pervades the works of Dostoyevsky. Dostoyevsky's criminal and vicious types are personified ideas; they are the cry for redemption coming from the victims of social wrongs. Gorki is strictly realistic: his thieves are confirmed thieves, and yet they are men like other men, not devoid of feelings of friendship and even sympathy for their victims. ("The Chums.") His fallen women are quite reconciled to their lives, and yet there is a spring of unselfish womanly love and sympathy in their hearts. This might sound paradoxical in cold reasoning, but the truth of it is forced upon one who faces the live pictures drawn by the masterful pen of Gorki.

And is it after all so paradoxical? Is not municipal corruption as much a continuous crime against property as petty larcency? And yet the leader of the gang enjoys perfect peace of mind, he may be a devoted husband, a loving father, a faithful friend. Corrupt politics is merely his "business." So is petty larceny or vice with Gorki's characters. The unfriendly interference of the law

is felt in either case as an annoyance, more or less so; yet it is in no sense a factor affecting the self-esteem of a Tweed or a McKane, or the public opinion of the social group which surrounds the "protected" crook in Gotham, or the hunted down hobo of Gorki's.

Some Russian critics have sought to make out his "barefooted" into a sort of an "over-barefooted," a variety of Nietzsche's "overman," a strong individuality in rebellion against society. This seems to us a strained interpretation. His types are those who have failed for one reason or another to adapt themselves to their environment; they lack will power as a rule, or at best, they are capable of one spasmodic effort which is usually defeated by its own aimlessness. Such is Koovalda ("Men with Pasts"), such is Foma Gordyeyev. As individuals they are weak, they may develop strength only when gathered in a mob. He shows them in a state of discontent and fermentation; their favorite topic of conversation is some fantastic scheme of cruel destruction, most frequently some plan for the complete extermination of the Jews. The periodical outbreaks of Jew-baiting within the last twenty years, the "cholera riots" of 1893, directed against physicians and hospitals, are evidence that these schemes of destruction do not always remain within the realm of imagination. It is this social psychology of the slum dwellers that strikes the attention of the Russian reader in these stories: the "barefooted" of to-day may turn up the sans-culottes of to-morrow.

This state of unrest is not confined to the lowest strata of Russian society. In "Foma Gordyeyev," his greatest work, the author deals mainly with the rising "third estate." The marvelous industrial growth of Russia within the last twenty years has raised the Russian capitalist to a place of prominence in national life. The evolution from the old-fashioned guild-merchant to modern European capitalism gradually passes before the reader's eyes with the development of the story. Old Ignat Gordyeyev is a typical representative of the past, as portrayed in the dramas of Ostrovsky. He is a self-made man, a millionaire; the monotony of his life, absorbed in money making, is relieved only by periodical fits of beastly drunkenness and dissipation. His life-long friend and executor, Jacob Mayakin, is also a self-made man with but a common-school education. But he is a man of regular habits, with a mind of a thinker and the ambition of a public man. He enjoys the universal respect of the mercantile community; he can command any honor within its gift. But the merchant class, which is to him the economic groundwork of the Russian state, is without a voice in the direction of the affairs of State and must bow to an impecunious bureaucracy, which is deeply despised by the man of money. As a man of wide ambition, Mayakin keenly feels this

contradiction: a strict conservative, to the length of repudiating his own son for adherence to socialism, a subscriber to the subsidized "Moscow Record" (Moskovskiya Vyedomosti),—he is, however, opposed to autocracy, and dreams of constitutional reform which would place the propertied class in control of the government.

The new generation is typified by African Smolin, Mayakin's son-in-law. He is a young man with a European education, with a taste for literature and art, and with the manners and speech of the Russian "intelligentzia" (the most advanced crust of intellectual Russia). But he has not chosen a profession, as would have been quite natural for one like him a generation ago. He has taken up his father's business, he has studied abroad the international conditions of his trade, and now intends to devote his energies to pushing his goods in the world's market. As a man of European culture, he appreciates the value of the press and interests himself in a plan for the establishment of a newspaper representing "the interests of commerce."

Mayakin's son Taras is a character out of the ordinary. He was a university student in the 70's and was drawn in by the Socialist wave which swept over the academic youth in those days of "storm and stress." He paid the penalty of his enthusiasm in Siberia. There he found employment with a mining company and worked his way up to a position of superintendent. Years of exile and contact with business life changed his socialism into a moderate progressive view. Under the watchful eye of the censor, Gorki could not go very deeply into the mental development of this character, and much remains to be guessed. But from what can be read "between the lines," Taras Mayakin is a believer in the capitalistic development of the industrial resources of Russia, as the only sound foundation for intellectual progress. Doubt has been expressed by Russian critics whether Taras Mayakin is a real type. Why should it be questioned when an accomplice in the Netchayev "conspiracy" of thirty years ago holds to-day a cabinet position as the head of the department of commerce and manufactures?

African Smolin and Taras Mayakin are the spokesmen of the coming Russian bourgeoisie. Foma Gordyeyev, old Ignat's son and heir, has inherited the temperament of his father, but not his passion for money-making. He has inherited an instinctive love for justice, from his mother, a devout adherent of one of the persecuted non-conformist sects. When, after the death of his father, he comes in close contact with the merchant community, in daily intercourse at the exchange, his innate sense of honesty is deeply shocked. His resentment of his environment gradually grows into rebellion. But he lacks education, he can find no outlet for

his protest; he seeks oblivion in dissipation. He concludes by raising a row at a party where all the notables of the mercantile community are assembled. He hurls at every one of them personal denunciations, the more stinging because known to be true. He is overpowered and placed in a lunatic asylum.

It is impossible to do justice to this novel in a brief note. It seems to us a fit counterpart of Tolstoy's "Resurrection;" the latter is a picture of modern Russian life in stagnation, while "Foma Gordyeyev" shows the elements of unrest and—should we say, progress?

The place which has remained vacant since the death of Tourguenev has at last been filled. Like Tourguenev, Gorki is both an artist and a thinker. His novels, like Tourguenev's, are not mere pretty playthings penned by the hand of an artist, nor are they tendency novels, but they deal with the great problems of life, and his characters, like those of Tourguenev, mark the successive stages in the growth of Russian society.

Marxist.

THE CHARITY GIRL.

By Caroline H. Pemberton, Author of "Stephen, the Black," "Your Little Brother James," Etc.

CHAPTER XX.

The donation of food and dainties from the North was long on the way. In the meantime, the quality of the army ration had improved. Good food began to be plentiful, but to Julian, good food now suddenly ceased to be the object of such pitiful, heartfelt concern. Since the moment when he beheld the Drygoods Clerk dipping into his can of spoilt beef and fresh maggots, the business of eating had become horridly distasteful, and a matter of the very least importance.

The Drygoods Clerk was observed to be growing daily worse, but he still contrived to make himself a person of exceedingly great unpopularity. His discourses on the excellence of the army ration and the paternal care vouchsafed to the American soldier by his government, produced symptoms of immediate nausea; every group promptly broke up when his gaunt spectral figure appeared with finger raised and hollow eyes burning in fierce invective against the babyishness of the pampered volunteer. There were indeed times when he stood in danger of personal violence, but on such occasions, he was found to be under the protection of Julian, whose tent he shared, and whose good humor in listening to a crank's illogical rhapsodies was accepted as an example of heroic patience—Julian himself being regarded somewhat as a leader among them.

It was observed that the Patriot Clerk was becoming more incoherent as his strength waned. Finally in a mood of strange ecstacy, he announced that he had the camp fever and was going to the Division Hospital.

Possibly the reputation of this hospital was exaggerated by imperfect knowledge, but it was whispered that even the surgeon of the regiment had broadly hinted to sick men not to go there. The men of Julian's company had pledged their word to stand by each other and keep their sick comrades out of the hospital. It was far better, they said, to stay in the regimental hospital or to die in their own tents or in the open fields—looking into the faces of their comrades bending in pity over them—than to die in loneliness under a roof of authorized neglect. Eagerly they besought the suffering Clerk to stay where he was, to give up the morning drill and all other duties and remain in his tent under the care of the regimental surgeon. They would buy milk, ice and quinine

for him; with their own hands they would sponge him twice a day with cold spring water. What more could he desire?

"I desire," said the sufferer, grandly, lifting himself on his elbow and speaking with the panting utterance of heavy fever, "I desire the beneficent care of my government. I am a soldier and in a soldier's hospital I will receive the attention I deserve. They will send for me to-night." He sank back exhausted and lay for the rest of the afternoon in a stupor. At six o'clock, the hospital ambulance arrived and bore him away.

After his departure the men spoke of him with the tenderness which we bestow on the dead, whose virtues we failed to appreciate in life. The thought of his extravagant loyalty to the government whose uniform he wore now affected them to tears. Bitterly they reproached themselves that they had ever spoken to him harshly; in their thoughts he was canonized as a saintly hero.

A whirlwind of indignation was now sweeping through the country over the treatment accorded to the soldiers of the great Republic. The alms of the nation were falling upon them like the gentle rain from heaven; the freight trains were bringing them countless gifts of food and clothing from men and women of all conditions of life. The cry wrung from suffering which the soldiers were actually beginning to believe they should have borne mutely had at last touched the hearts of the people and the response was generous.

But now that the condition of the rank and file of the American army was the theme of every tongue in the land, the sufferers discovered that it was their duty to maintain a stiff-necked silence in accordance with their archaic military ideal. Apparently the men of this regiment forgot all that they had suffered; certainly they blushed that they had ever complained. They remembered only that they were soldiers born for heroism and an immortal death, and every patriot resolved simultaneously to seal his lips forever on the subject of his regiment's wrongs—while he munched the potted chicken, the sweetmeats, the stale cake and the jellies so injudiciously but prodigally provided by the ministering angels of the nation—and wore pajamas which did not fit, and which he did not want to wear even when they did, in recognition of the joy that he was thus giving to the angels at home.

"This is a wholly new experience to me," said Julian, leaving his seat on a keg of canned sardines and languidly testing an experiment of mouldy biscuits spread over with orange marmalade. He threw himself on his blanket. "I have been administering charity to others for three years with patrician grace—it seems odd enough to have the situation reversed."

"It is most disgusting to have to stand in the sun waiting our turn to get a share of the delicacies! And the waste over there—how horribly you do things in this country! The many boxes and barrels piled up by the station and rotting under our eyes—our noses, rather! It makes me very ill to go near that place."

It was the ungrateful Cuban who voiced this complaint, but his unpatriotic comrades encouraged him with passionate grunts of assent. They were still a little group of dissenting pilgrims on military matters—but anyway, this was charity, and not the military ideal they were discussing.

"You are describing two very familiar aspects of 'out-door relief,' my friend," replied Julian; "first, the enforced humiliation; secondly, the wonderful ingenuity that contrives to compass every possible inconvenience to balk the poor applicant's search for relief, and break his spirit. This is all as it should be. We are merely getting the usual dose."

"What very disagreeable words you Anglo-Saxons use," said the Cuban, frowning. "'Out-door r-relief,' because I suppose you first turn them out of doors and then keep them standing in the cold or in the sun while you bestow upon them dry morsels of stale bread? Is this the picture you want to present—you benevolent peoples?"

"I don't know anything about your accursed works of charity," interrupted the Undertaker's Son, savagely, "but I do know there's wretched mismanagement somewhere in this business. It ought to be organized on a proper basis—but you Americans—we Americans, I mean—can never organize anything without fraud and corruption."

"For heaven's sake," cried Julian, with a burst of hollow laughter, "don't suggest 'organizing' the thing any further! Let's take our charity as we can get it and be thankful. Why, if this outdoor relief department were organized any more than it is, we shouldn't get anything at all! We really shouldn't! We should be investigated and faithfully recorded—the annals of our lives would be written out on card catalogues—the short and simple annals of the poor are short and simple no longer, my friends—thousands of clerks would be paid to write us up with all our ancestors and all their diseases—and we shouldn't get a thing to eat—not a thing! And last of all, we should have to submit to the Friendly Visitor, to teach us how to endure our poverty and starve with nobility of mind!"

The Stonecutter sat up with a look of inspiration.

"It just comes to me now that it must have been a Frindly Visitor that called to pay her respects to me wife the day mesilf and me broken leg was carted off togither in the orspital. A gran' young lady she war, an' she comes to the door o' me little home an'

siz she—peekin' in at me wife a-washin' up the dishes, 'It's surprised I am,' sez she, 'to see the likes o' ye a-washin' up yer breakfast things at this late hour o' the mornin',' sez she. Me wife was that struck dumb wid shame that she sat down in a heap and beganst to cry, an' it was one o' the childer—a long-legged slip of a lass with a tongue as long as her leg—that spake up an' give it back to the lady. 'It ain't the breakfast things me Ma's washin' up,' sez she, 'these here be the dinner dishes,' sez she. 'We-uns has dinner at twelve,' sez she, 'an' we-uns has breakfast while you-uns is a-lyin' in bed,' sez she. The lady turned red as a turkey cock an' took out her teenty-bit o' a watch to see if me gurrl was for tellin' her a lie. An' thin she casts her eye roun' the room an' she axes me wife what she be a-doing' to support all them childer. Me Maria, she shakes her head, spaachless like, an' me gurrl squeaks up again': 'She ain't a-doin' nawthin'!' sez she. An' the young lady she looks rale mad, an' she sez quick and sharp, 'Ye had ought to take in washin',' sez she, 'an' help yer own selves an' not be axin' we-uns to help yez along,' sez she. Me Maria wor a-sittin' wid her two weeks old baby in its bit o' a cradle 'long side o' her, an' her heart mos' broke wid bad luck an' misfortune, but she cut her tongue loose for the wonst, an' sez she, 'Me good man ain't o' the same mind as yersel', ma-am, in regards to me a-takin' in the wash—nor the docthor nayther—wid me babe jist born into this sorrowful worrld yesterday two weeks back. I give me man the word that I'd not be for takin' in the wash this time till me babe's a month old,' sez she.

"How is it that yez kin kape clear o' debt the whiles?" sez me gran' lady—a-liftin' up her satin petticoat, an' holdin' her pretty head higher an' higher, 'ye's must kape clear o' debt,' sez she, 'or ye'll git no coal from we-uns,' sez she. (I disremember the words o' her discourse, but I'm for givin' ye the manin' straight.)

"'I ain't axed nobody to help we-uns but thim that has coal to sell chape to the poor,' sez Maria, firin' up at the last. 'An' its in debt we be, an' in debt we'll stay to the butcher an' the grocer an' the landlord, till me good man gits out o' the 'orspital, ma'am! There's reasonable folks in the wurruld who'll not press a poor body in misfortune, an' glad I be to have 'em thrust me the while instid o' starvin' the childer! But if the likes o' ye has got a mind to lift the debt, ye's kin pay me bills any day that suits yer pleasure, ma'am, an' I'll warn ye, me furniture ain't paid for nayther—no more'n the food we put in our mouths, ma'am.' Whin that there young lady heerd them words, she took hersel' off in a gran' rustle o' a hurry, an' me Maria an' the childer sot there an' laughed an' cried till they mos' busted their sides—that's what they did—an' there ain't been no Frindly Visitor 'round since that there day."

"It sounds like the genuine article," Julian admitted drearily, after the laugh had subsided.

"The theory at first struck me as very fine, but it works out just as our friend has described in the vast majority of cases. Of course, there is great improvidence among poor people, and it did seem as if a system of friendly visitation might prove a help."

"I am deeply impressed," said the Undertaker's Son with heavy sarcasm, "with the brilliant spectacular satire that our Anglo-Saxon friends put upon the stage for the benefit of suffering humanity! Who else but the English would have thought of setting idle and extravagant women of fashion to teach lessons of thrift and self-denial to the starving? And of course, you Ameri-*we* Americans, I mean—have copied this beautiful ideal from the from the virtuous British female herself."

"The good these well-meaning people might do is negatived by their assumption that the poor are made of different clay from themselves—this is what I used to come against at every turn," said Julian sadly, "it used to make me sick of the whole wretched business of philanthropy."

"Don't you see," said the Undertaker's Son, leaning upon his elbow and regarding his comrade with great earnestness by the dim light of the stars—they were all lying on their blankets with the sky for a tent—"don't you see that this assumption is really necessary to tender-hearted people who wish to preserve their sanity and still live under our abominable social system? The assumption does credit to their hearts—it makes me think better of them!"

The whole thing does seem an abominable system, true enough," said Julian, slowly, after a puzzled silence, "but what else is there to hope for except that men may become more merciful, as long as justice is out of the question?"

"It is not out of the question," retorted the German, angrily, "what right have you to assume that justice among men is always to be regarded as a Utopian scheme,—what right have you to sneer at those who see the possibility of an ideal justice working out into a perfect social state? Your pessimism seems to me immoral and revolting!"

"I do not sneer—you mistake me," returned Julian with surprising gentleness. "I confess that I have never given much thought to the Utopian visions you speak of—but I am very far from looking on them with contempt. The very worst that you can say of me is that I regard them with—with a kind of melancholy curiosity—nothing more."

The young German laughed. "I will put your 'melancholy curiosity' to the test some day, my young friend. By the way, did you read those books I gave you of Howells?"

"They delighted and charmed me—I had no idea Howells had gone so deeply into the question of our social inequalities. In many of his books he seemed to be to be always hovering around the edge of the problem—yet really evading it. But with what delicate irony this little tale shows up the hypocrisy of our Christian civilization!"

"But the remedy—the remedy—what do you think of that?" asked the impatient German.

"The remedy?" repeated Julian, somewhat vaguely, "do you mean that our novelist was really in earnest when he pictured the ideal commonwealth of the Altrurians? I took it that he meant to show us by force of contrast how miserably selfish and insincere our lives are—but I've not yet finished the story."

"Poor Howells," murmured the Undertaker's Son, with something between a laugh and a groan,—"this comes of having too much art—it takes the heavy skill of a blacksmith, I fancy, to break an idea into the American mind. So you put his best efforts aside as worthy of a Sunday School moralist, hey? Have you never read Bellamy's 'Looking Backward?'"

"Years ago—but not very carefully,—it was before I had had any experience in social problems."

"Read it again, by all means, and 'Equality' also—it is just out. I have a copy and you shall have it next. Each country has its own prophet and Bellamy is yours—ours, I mean. His minutely inventive genius just suits a nation of wheel worshippers—a people who are content to stand open-mouthed before the problems of their own existence, seeing nothing but the wheels going round—not wanting to see anything else. I fear you have ignored all your prophets—and do you call yourself a student of social conditions?"

"I assure you I've studied the very best authorities," protested Julian, laughing.

"Will ye's shut up an' let other folks git a wink o' sleep afore sunrise?" grumbled the Stonecutter. The Cuban murmured a polite endorsement to this request and the German consented to shut up forthwith and continue the discussion by daylight. He turned over on his blanket, tilted his hat over his face and was apparently soon fast asleep.

Julian tried to follow his example, but his brain seemed to be on fire, and sleep was out of the question. He lay on his back staring at the stars—thinking deeply. He tried to recall the chief features of the industrial commonwealth in "Looking Backward" and pieced out what he could not remember by what he did remember of "The Traveler from Altruria," and he wondered why he had given the subject such superficial attention. It must be because he had unconsciously accepted the misery of the

poor as their normal condition; he had worked only to palliate evils, never to remove them! His attitude of complacency was as culpable as that of the "privileged classes"—nay, he was more culpable, for he had not their excuse of self-interest.

The tenderness for humanity that was the life-giving spirit of the Altrurian stole into his soul and painted a fresh vision of a new social state more perfect than any that he had ever conceived of before. In this vision, poverty was practically abolished and all men were grouped as workers and lovers upholding together a noble ideal of brotherhood. The sweet picture of Elisabeth stood as the center piece of this vision. Elisabeth, removed from the degradation of the proletariat and the withering clutch of charity, stood engrossed apparently in some light and pleasing task, her face turned smilingly toward him and her eyes tender with love and happiness. In the light that radiated from her in every direction, the background was distinctly visible, stretching out far away from her, and it was wonderful to see the slums and city streets—receding—receding—as if in accordance with the young Mennonite's prophecy—and finally giving place to the woods, fields and hills of the open country, where men and women were meeting and strolling about arm in arm in blissful enjoyment of a new freedom. Their pale faces showed plainly that they had but lately passed out from the slums. Ah! If this could be true, if it could only be true! Why should men torment themselves with such visions if there were no truth in them,—if they were indeed incapable of prophecy?

A great pain smote Julian in the forehead; the incandescent lamp in his brain seemed to have gone out suddenly with a kind of explosion. He raised himself on his elbow, and looked towards the east. The red streaks of early dawn were burning into his eyes; they penetrated his eyeballs. He turned away in great pain, shut his eyes and lay still. His head was aching horribly. All the insects of the Southland were tuning their instruments and screaming like a discordant orchestra in his ear.

CHAPTER XXI.

The next day the four comrades sat on one side of their tent, moving only when the march of the sun withdrew from them foot by foot the tent's shadow, when they languidly arose and moved with it. Julian and the German had been taking turns reading aloud, and a pile of English authors lay around them.

"I am tired of playing sun dial," said the Undertaker's Son, with pathos, throwing down the book he had been shading his eyes with, "for how many weeks have we been revolving round

this blamed tent? I wish I were at home fixing up dead people—everything cold and plenty of ice, you know."

"Ah, ice!" sighed Julian, with a restless glance at their keg of drinking water which was now low and warm, the dearly prized lump of ice having disappeared from its depths early in the day. Ice was the only thing he craved and the mention of it made him frantic. He was lying on his side, a yellow-faced, hollow-eyed image of a recumbent soldier,—but indeed they were all of the same order.

"Let us talk of the Anglo-American alliance," he suggested with an attempt at a smile, the subject being already worn threadbare.

The Stonecutter raised a clenched fist.

"Is it not enough for the 'Merikin gouverment that we be baked by slow degrees in our own land, to the dr-ri-edupness of dr-r-ied cod-fish without bein' slung to the tail of a Baste av a Briton and slapped in the face of all the nations av Europe—includin' them that has been fri'nds to us since the beginnin' o' the wurruld?"

The others grinned spectrally to express their satisfaction at the Stonecutter's loyalty to the traditions of his race—all except the Cuban, who had not smiled since the pacific blockade of Cuba was begun in the spring.

"What's wrong with the Englishman?" he asked disdainfully. "Is he anyways different from the American in his treatment of what he is pleased to call an inferior race? My friends, you have not studied well the lesson England is trying to teach you—the lesson of calling heaven to witness the purity of your intentions, while you put your hand into the pocket of your unfortunate neighbor to steal from him all that he holds dear! What you call the deceit of the Latin races is childlike simplicity in comparison with the hypocrisy of that Pecksniff among nations! Ah! but you will learn rapidly—you Anglo-Saxons! you know already how to go to war 'for humanity's sake'—yes—and to rescue a starving people—after waiting until they are all dead!"

He turned abruptly and gazed through bitter tears in the direction of Cuba. No one answered him for a moment. They pitied him deeply for they knew that in Cuba he had left two sisters living with an aunt near Havana, and he had received no word from them for many months. They looked at each other in perplexed distress, and then Julian said shortly:

"I deny that we are Anglo-Saxons. I am an American."

"And I—and I!" asserted the other two with unnecessary emphasis; they were in no danger of being mistaken for Anglo-Saxons.

The Cuban laid his head down wearily and said no more. As

the Undertaker's Son expressed it, his company was about as cheerful as the blowing of the wind on the back of your neck in a graveyard. He was nothing now but a moan circulating about on two legs.

"Does the Anglo-Saxon lack anything whatever?" asked Julian with his eyes shut, his head aching madly. "Is he not about as near perfection as a mortal race can get? Tell us,—you of German blood—tell him how different we are from the Anglo-Saxons—we imperfect, misunderstood Americans."

The Undertaker's Son sat up and looked about him dreamily. He was several years older than Julian; a close intimacy already existed between them, notwithstanding that he was a "theorist."

"Must I gratify your national vanity which you label patriotism? Behold, I am going to lay my highest principles at your feet! I believe the Continentals consider the Briton an out and out materialist with gross instincts constantly breaking loose. Look you,—with all his opportunity for culture and after centuries of contact with artistic races, he has proved himself incapable of creating a national music. Even your negroes here—our negroes, I mean—have developed original forms of melody characteristic of their mental and moral development,—an outpouring of their sufferings during slavery, their hope of freedom—all their history congealed into folk-song. But where are the folk-songs—where are the great composers of England?"

"Music is itself a thing of the senses; it is no evidence of morality," objected Julian. He thought of his instruments which he had broken and laid away. He was glad they were in Elisabeth's keeping.

"No, but it is an evidence of ideality—that is, the highest kind of music is—and there can be no high morality without a still higher idealism to beckon it onward."

Julian, lifting himself painfully on his elbow, looked anxiously at the young German.

"But we are not a musical people, either, my friend,—we are as bad as the English."

"No one knows what you may become,—we, I mean. America is young. She has lately been too much under the influence of English thought for her own good. What literature she once could claim as her own—that is the best of it—was strongly tinged with idealism. Take Hawthorne, and Emerson, the Transcendentalist—take any one of the American poets, nearly all of whom were governed by ideas rather than external impressions. And then American history,—look what terrible wars have been fought for abstract principles. Oh, yes, there is hope for America! There is even hope that she may evolve a music of her own some day,—when she has learnt how to control the spirit

of commercialism which threatens now to strangle all her best impulses. But after commercialism has introduced militarism, my friends, into isolated, independent, free America—stretching from ocean to ocean—then she will understand at last that her democracy has been built upon quicksands! She needs to learn this lesson, and after she has mastered it, she will overthrow her idols of stone and brass; she will teach the world the meaning of the word—democracy. Not for nothing does that statute of liberty stand looking across the ocean. It is a symbol of the future,—for liberty has not yet come to America."

A silence followed this remark, broken only by a groan from the Stonecutter, until Julian observed demurely—his eyes still closed and a half-smile on his lips:

"I know you want to tell us about those glorious possibilities of the Industrial Commonwealth. But why have you set me to study the poetic details of the ideal social state from a lot of degenerate, materialistic Anglo-Saxons—why is this, my friend?"

"I really believe that national types are even more influenced by environment than individual ones," observed the German with an indirectness of thought that amounted to an evasion. "Remember that these islanders have been conquered and reconquered so many times in their history that they have learned at last the hard lesson of submission to the inevitable. To live as a nation, they have had to become a nation of materialistic producers. Many things that might have belonged to them have been lost in the struggle for existence."

"A race of mongrels—this is what they are," sneered the Cuban,—"mongrel puppy dogs!"

"Who can say what is the national type? Does not the same soil produce the towering spruce and the delicate white birch side by side? The idealist and the poet live in the shadow of the British factory; they are choked by the smoke that is incense to the nostrils of the manufacturer. They are powerless to influence this acquired national type—but their influence is felt in other lands."

"Perhaps a few strains of pure native blood have remained separate from the general mixture," suggested Julian. "Who knows but these radicals may be the descendants of some unconquered and unconquerable ancient Briton?"

"Must you always go back to heredity to justify your conservatism?" asked the German severely. "Why do you seek to bolster up the theory of an inherited, inherent superiority which can be handed down from father to son like an entailed estate? It is the theory on which aristocracies are formed, and it is false to nature—utterly false."

"A thousand pardons," laughed Julian, "I had no idea that I was suggesting anything approaching an aristocracy. Let me

tell you that I am never happier than when you rip up my unconscious conservatism—it is like letting in a breath of pure air—a mountain breeze."

The Undertaker's Son smiled grimly.

"I confess that I do not know what to say to you sometimes. What stuff are you really made of? You are so absurdly unscientific. You seem to me to choose fancy rather than fact—always."

"But the Irishman——" interrupted the Stonecutter, explosively, "he ain't no Briton,—ye can't make that out! Ireland's no part and parcel o' them British Isles—she's jist held there by the spirrits o' contrarinis in them blasted British—an' some fine mornin' she'll cut loose and sail off by her own self!" He had been listening for sometime with an air of smouldering displeasure, and he felt now that the moment for self-assertion had come.

"You're just a little more of an ancient Briton than all the rest put together—a true son of a Briton, I call you!" repeated the German, with tantalizing deliberation.

"I ain't no mongrel!" protested the Stonecutter, scowling with dreadful fierceness at his comrades.

"You're right, you ain't—perfectly right," agreed the German, laughing, "that's just where the trouble comes in, I fancy. Look you, Julian,—here's your pure strain that won't mix. How does it fit your pretty theory?"

Julian hastened to change the subject.

"When I look at this question of race antagonism I have a fancy——" He turned with a wan smile to the Undertaker's Son —"pray excuse the term and the occasion for it; my poor overheated brain won't spin anything more tangible than these cobwebs of thought—I have a fancy that nations have sex characteristics as well as individuals. I place the Anglo-Saxon in the masculine gender along with several other European types, all showing the same overmastering brutal strength and determination to conquer nature. Then the Oriental races, and in fact nearly all dark-skinned people, I class as feminine,—they are emotional, artistic and submissive to nature, instead of being bent on conquering her. All of these live the indoor life as it were—life in a tropical country being like a woman's life indoors. They are consequently softer, gentler and more given to cultivating pleasing manners. They fascinate the Anglo-Saxon brute just as the individual woman fascinates the individual man—often to her own undoing—sometimes to his, when he gives up his own ideals for hers."

"He does that never—never, I say!" interrupted the Cuban, passionately. "When he reaches the shore of the dark-skinned

peoples, then you may see the same drama that takes place in your streets,—the maid giving all she has to her seducer, and receiving nothing but his hatred and contempt. He has no ideals to exchange—none,—and he would destroy all of hers!"

"What a frightful mix-up you have made with your metaphors," cried the German, impatiently. "Why can't you speak a plain language, Julian, and leave metaphors to those who seek to confuse thought? God in heaven! Isn't the problem of sex enough by itself without mixing it up with ethnology and world politics? How little you seem to understand the true nature of things! The false system under which we live—the false economic basis, I mean—is the underlying cause of our unjust sex distinctions. It is also the cause of all the hideous orgies in history. Commercial wars are a necessity if the rule of the few over the many is to be maintained. The question you will not answer to my satisfaction is this: Do you believe in maintaining this system and wringing from the laborer all the wealth that he produces save the pittance that is necessary to sustain him for the next day's work? Answer, my friend—answer!"

"How can I answer such a question?" said Julian, irritably. "You might as well ask me if I believe in retaining death in the world—or sin—or disease,—when there is no chance of doing away with any of them."

"Now, do give a straight answer! The question is not whether you can do away with this system—but, whether or not you would do away with it if it were possible? Now, come, my boy,—would you do away with it if you could?"

"Would I do away with it—with poverty—and inequality—and injustice—and wrong?" repeated Julian slowly. "Oh, my friend, why ask me such a question! Certainly I would do away with it to-morrow if I could—to-day!"

"And you would be willing to give the laborer his just share of what his toil has produced?"

"Yes—but what do you call his just share?"

"All that he produces."

"All—all, do you say? But—the laborers produce only half—capital produces the other half."

"Does not labor create the capital? Why, then, is it not entitled to what it creates? What you call 'capital' is the gigantic 'steal' of the commercial exploiter. It is a heap of stolen goods—nothing more."

"You are leaving out the brains that go with capital to direct its enterprises. It takes great brain power to create wealth and it directs both capital and labor. I have discovered the fallacy in your argument—and I am sorry for it," returned Julian in mournful tones.

"Not yet,—you haven't yet," smiled the German, who was now in his element and supremely happy.

"You have only defined another class of laborers who have been made more conspicuous by our wretched system than they deserve to be. They are entitled to their just share of what they help to produce, certainly—just like any other laborers."

"Where then is the difference? They now take what they consider to be a 'just share' and what is left but a pittance for the ignorant laborer?"

"Picture to yourself, Julian,—you are so fond of pictures—a somewhat different order of things. Picture the laborers no longer ignorant, but educated because they have leisure and means for education. Picture to yourself these men—collectively—holding the reins of power by electing their own representatives. Picture a government existing for the benefit of all workers—not for their exploitation. Think of this government as created to control and direct the economic functions of the people, instead of representing merely the ascendancy of one political party over another. Think of it as owning—holding the title deed to all the industrial activities of the people and administering them not for the enrichment of a few, but for the benefit of all, the profits to be shared by all the workers instead of being locked up in a treasury for the benefit of a few capitalists. Picture to yourself——"

"I see it—I see what you mean. Say no more! You are picturing again the Ideal Commonwealth,—that heavenly vision!" Julian, lying on his back, stared unblinkingly for a second into the dazzlingly blue sky over head and shut his eyes in pain and ecstasy.

"I am like a starving man in a desert, gazing at a beautiful mirage,—why do you continually bring it before my eyes while we lie here rotting in this sunlight—unable to stir a finger to help on the progress of the world, or to stem the tide of human misery?"

"We are undergoing only another form of exploitation, my young friend,—and if you only realize that it is a question of embalmed beef all the way through life with the laborer,—you will not have eaten it in vain. But I am tired of your metaphors. A mirage—indeed! Can't you get down to a scientific study of the facts as they are, and let metaphors and day dreams alone? I almost wish I had never given you any fiction on the subject, for you do not seem able to separate fact from fancy any more. Ah, Marx,—my Marx—should I have plunged you head-foremost into the hands of this perverse boy? He would have turned you into a Midsummer Night's Dream, and peopled your world of fact with his fairies!"

"I am an ill man—that is the truth," said Julian in a low

voice, while he struggled with great difficulty to his feet. "My head feels queer—as if it were not my own and I decline to be held responsible for anything it may make me do or say. I can't think any more. I have only fancies to express—illusions, perhaps. But I tell you all, I do see a light gleaming ahead—I see it clearly over there—and I am going out to meet it."

He looked around at his comrades and pulled his hat over his eyes. He pointed with his thin right hand to the horizon.

"Whatever that is—that beautiful picture over yonder you've painted for me—whether it's a dream or a coming reality, I know not and I don't care—I don't care, I say! It ought to be there if it isn't. It's what I'm going to work for and believe in for the rest of my life. I dedicate myself to yonder picture or mirage—or paradise on earth—and I'll stake my hope of heaven on its becoming a reality some day. I say, God bless the coming of that Ideal Commonwealth!" He took off his hat and waved it wildly at the horizon.

"I'd rather die a penniless dreamer believing in that picture of human justice than live a millionaire with no use for my fellows but to exploit them. I'm going to set out to find that lovely temple—that mirage in the desert—who'll go with me?"

"Count me with you—and me," shouted the Stonecutter and the Cuban, waving their hats deliriously.

"Don't act like an idiot, Julian! You two fellows ought to have more sense! Don't you see the man's got fever and is almost out of his head? Stop, Julian—I want to feel your pulse. Heavens! How hot your hand is! Look here, my friend, your eyes look terribly queer,—they're bloodshot—and you're shaking all over!"

"I've strained my eyes looking at that mirage—they'll be all right soon. I never felt better in my life!"

"Bathe your head and eyes in this cold water—do, Julian!"

There isn't any cold water there—it's boiling hot, thanks. All my fault. I forgot I was to go to the spring to-day. The sun's under a cloud, thank heaven, so I'll make hay while it doesn't shine. I'm going now—I'm going to get you boys some water." He grabbed the pail with feverish energy.

"You're not fit—let some one else go," cried the others, but Julian paid no heed to them and staggered off to find a wheelbarrow. They soon saw him trundling it along the road. He smiled at them—a vague boyish smile—very wan, shrunken and waxen he looked in the dusty sunlight.

"I'm off to find the Temple of Justice,—I'll get there some day—some day!"

He waved his arms at them.

"We want to know what it's like—don't stay long, Julian," they called after him. Julian answered gravely that he would tell them all about it—when he got back.

The spring was nearly two miles distant, and Julian followed a dusty road between cotton fields. He walked in unsteady haste, dreading the reappearance of the sun's rays. His pulses were fluttering and his temples throbbing; but the worse he felt the faster he hurried towards the spring which he knew was concealed in the depths of a small pine wood.

When he reached it he dropped panting by its grassy slope. Having recovered his breath, he drank greedily of the water. The process of filling the can by dipping into the spring with a smaller pail, was tedious indeed, but it was at last accomplished and he refreshed himself by pouring the cold water over his head and shoulders. The desire to return to his comrades as speedily as possible grew with the consciousness that his limbs were shaking beneath him. He hastened with his heavy load out of the wood and found the road lying in brilliant sunshine. There was nothing to do but to go on. The distance seemed interminable. After a desperate struggle to keep up at a rapid pace, he was forced to stop and rest.

Julian started forward again, now wheeling the barrow slowly. It would not run straight, but ambled from side to side, like a drunken man. He kept on for half a mile further and by this time the sun had dried his hair and his wet jacket. His breath came in gasps; his heart was jumping about in his chest like a cannon ball thrashing across a cornfield. A deadly nausea seized and overpowered him. He stopped, reeled and fell forward on his face by the side of the road.

An hour later, an ambulance came rumbling slowly along. It stopped by the side of the fallen volunteer; a surgeon sprang out, examined him, and in a trice, the insensible form was lifted into the ambulance and the vehicle went on its way.

CHAPTER XXII.

When Julian regained consciousness, he found himself on a mattress by the side of many other prostrate forms whose heavy breathing and inarticulate groans and mutterings oppressed him dismally. The atmosphere was stifling; bad odors offended his nostrils; he panted for breath, and cried aloud repeatedly for water. What manner of place was this into which he had fallen? What had happened to him? Slowly the events of the day arranged themselves in his memory. He traveled over again, step by step, his journey to the spring; he remembered filling the can and the agonizing struggle of the homeward march. He was horror-stricken at the thought that his comrades through

his weakness were deprived of means wherewith to quench their thirst. He must return to the spot where he had left the barrow and the can, and in the coolness of the night air he could surely reach the camp of his regiment. His effort to raise himself from the mattress produced an overpowering giddiness; he sank back on the pillow. A heavy sleep soon took possession of him.

When he opened his eyes for the second time, the light of early morning made his surroundings distinctly visible. The fever in his veins had moderated somewhat; his brain felt clearer. He sat up, took account of all that had happened, separated his painful dreams from the still more depressing realities, and divined that he was in one of the wards of the Division Hospital. Feeling very weak, he looked about for food and for the nurses and attendants which one associates with a hospital. Some one at the other end of the ward was moving about with a tray on which was gathered a number of tin cups and earthenware bowls. Julian looked eagerly towards this man, who finally approached him and laid a cupful of liquid by his side. He inquired of the attendant for the examining surgeon, but the man, who was an unshaven, unkempt-looking creature, shook his head and moved off stupidly.

Julian devoted himself with interest to the contents of his cup; taking it up with a trembling hand he put it to his lips and tasted a greasy, unpalatable soup. An anxious inspection revealed the presence of half a dozen flies floating on its surface. He put the cup down hastily and lay back on his couch. His eyes sought the canvas overhead and he was disconcerted to observe that it was black with torturing insects. These detestable creatures were already beginning to stir themselves in anticipation of a renewed assault on the unhappy victims who lay below. As the sunlight streamed in, some of the patients covered their heads, others fought the flies off by waving in the air emaciated arms and hands, cursing hoarsely meanwhile; others turned heavily on their faces and lay still. Julian beat the air with the rest until exhausted.

He tried to think coherently and calculate his chances of life. All that he had heard of the horrors of this hospital returned to his mind with appalling distinctness. He longed for the sound of a friendly voice—some one to encourage or advise him. He thought of the Drygoods Clerk, who was still a patient here. He would look for him and learn his experience and what to expect in the way of treatment and nursing.

Finding himself still clad in his soldier's uniform, with even his shoes on his feet, Julian decided that there was nothing to prevent his making a tour of the ward in search of his comrade. He swallowed a few mouthfuls of soup by sheer force of will,

and managed to get on his feet. He then started on his pilgrimage by slow stages, holding sometimes to the ropes of the tent, and sometimes to the cots on which a minority of the patients lay. He went to the end of the ward and back again without discovering the object of his search. Then he concentrated his attention on a long, motionless outline that lay on a mattress in a corner apart from the other patients. A bony hand extending outside the cover looked familiar. Julian approached this figure. The face turned upward, revealed in sharp outline the high promontory of nose, brow and cheekbone which identified the Drygoods Clerk. The mouth was mide open, the jaw fallen. The expression of the face was one of terrible irony. Julian in tremulous tones called him by name.

"Robert—Robert!" There was no reply.

Julian touched him to see if he were alive. Yes, he was breathing—he still lived. As he bent over him, he made a ghastly discovery: the poor fellow's mouth was black with flies; they were not only around it, but they swarmed inside and half way down his throat. Trembling from head to foot, Julian raised the discolored sheet and gazed upon Robert's wasted limbs; he dropped the sheet hastily and fell on his knees with his arms around the insensible figure of his comrade. He burst into tears.

"Robert—you patriot—you lion-hearted fellow—is this the way they have served you? Open your eyes and look into a comrade's face!"

He drove the flies away with a fierce gesture and laid his hand on Robert's forehead to smooth it repeatedly. The caressing touch seemed to reach the consciousness which Julian's voice had failed to penetrate. Robert stirred slightly, he sighed, his eyelids quivered for a brief second. Though his condition was one of coma, he seemed to feel the presence of a friend. His expression became more and more peaceful; it wore soon an air of noble repose.

Julian glanced about him for restoratives. On a chair by Robert's side was a can of condensed milk. Seizing a spoon, he dipped into the thick liquid and poured a few drops cautiously into Robert's mouth. But Robert was incapable of swallowing. Julian seated himself on the edge of the bed and devoted himself to brushing away the persistent flies. He swayed heavily when he tried to sit upright, and for the most part leaned on his elbow, on which he strove to support his dizzy head. Thus he lay in great misery until a merciful oblivion overtook him.

It was late in the afternoon when he awoke with a wail of self-reproach in his heart for having fallen asleep in his watch over Robert. What had happened in the meantime? He found

himself lying in bed. But why was he at this end of the ward? An attendant was passing with a pail of water in his hand.

Julian called to him and with great difficulty framed a sentence of inquiry, in which nouns and verbs were strangely jumbled. The fellow was pulling off his orderly's jacket, which he carelessly flung across one of the cots.

"He's dead—and taken away. You can have his bed now, if you don't fret. Lie still, and content yourself there till the doctor comes," was the answer.

He was lying in Robert's bed—in which Robert had just died. He was put there to die just as Robert had died, with the black flies ready to cluster down his throat!

The cunning that illumines the perceptions of the insane now evolved in Julian's clouded brain an almost superhuman forethought. He waited in apparent acquiescence until the attendant had withdrawn to the other end of the ward; then he crawled cautiously out of bed with his eyes fixed on the doorway. All of his senses and what remained of his intelligence were concentrated on a determination to live—to make a break for life—health—happiness, and Elisabeth!

The thought of her gave him a fierce strength.

Perhaps no one would hinder his departure from the ward, but stationed outside was a sentinel who passed backward and forward. Julian's glance traveled uncertainly from the ward to the sentinel; his eye fell on the jacket which the attendant had just discarded, owing to the intense heat. A disguise was what he needed; he staggered towards it, joyfully recognizing the stripes of the hospital orderly as he pushed his arms into the sleeves. By the door stood an empty pail. He clutched this with a trembling hand, reached up to a peg on the wall and removed a felt hat belonging to one of the patients. He set it on his head, pulled it well over his eyes and stumbled towards the opening of the tent.

Summoning all his wits and energies he started on a run. He waved his bucket at the sentinel, held his fluttering jacket together at his throat with the other hand, and shouted:—

"A man's dying in there for water—water!" and dashed by the astonished guard, to whom such zeal on behalf of the dying was more than a nine days' wonder.

The unnatural strength which had come to his aid lasted until he reached the road which led to his regiment. Then his legs gave way and he fell in a heap; but he was so filled with exultation over the success of his escape that he recovered strength enough to scramble up again and run on. In this manner, now stumbling, running, falling and reeling from side to side, he continued his flight. On meeting an officer he had enough presence of mind left to walk slowly and give the salute.

It was nearly dark; strange fancies were crowding his brain; he seemed to have parted from his body and to be flying through space on a spirit's wings. Not far ahead he saw the lights of his regiment, and he knew exactly which were those of his company; brighter and brighter they gleamed as he drew towards them. He passed tent after tent which was not his own. His heart was bursting with the thought of a mission yet to be performed on behalf of Robert. He knew now why he has escaped from the hospital!

Suddenly he came upon his own tent, beside which were lying his three comrades and several other men on blankets. By the starlight he could just distinguish their faces. He stopped before them and raised both hands high above his head.

"Robert is dead—dead! We must give him a military funeral, for he is a greater hero than Hobson or Dewey. He died of neglect, I assure you. The flies were his nurses. Get up all of you and fire a salute for Robert!"

The three men looked at him in amazement. Julian, gasping for breath, pushed back his cap and stared wildly at them. He thought their looks indicated reproach.

"I did the best I could—I tried to—I tried to——"

Speech and memory failed him. He could not remember what he had tried to do for Robert. The reproachful gaze of his comrades was piercing his heart. He clasped his hands over his eyes in anguish. The stars overhead, the tents surrounding him, and the men at his feet whirled suddenly together in black confusion. The cold, silent rage of his comrades was frightful to behold; they would next seize the stars from Heaven to throw at him; the tents of the entire regiment were collapsing; earth and sky were shaking and shuddering at him because he had deserted his friend! With a cry, Julian staggered towards the Undertaker's Son and fell at his feet.

"Good God! Endicott! Julian!" The men, all of whom were ill themselves, scrambled to their feet with words of affectionate welcome. But Julian's superhuman effort had come to an end and he lay like a log.

Several hours later, as the three sick and weary occupants of the tent sat together by the side of their insensible comrade, they saw coming up the road in the dusty glare of the sunlight another flying figure which reminded them strangely of Julian's draamtic approach of the night before. It proved to be the regimental surgeon. He held in his hand a paper which he waved frantically.

"Good news!" he exclaimed, breathlessly. "Let me have your

temperatures, every man of you—I've got the whole regiment down all except this end of it and what's in the hospital. Look at this schedule—I've been at work since two o'clock taking temperatures; there's not one down here below one hundred and two and five-eighths, and all the way up to one hundred and six—and God knows what! Something great is coming from Philadelphia—my native city; a hospital train—chuck full of doctors and nurses, ice-bags and bath-tubs! Gol bless them all!"

His voice broke and he began to sob hysterically.

"Do you think I haven't—I haven't—suffered, too? Confound it all, to think I worked my way through hospitals, dissecting rooms and dispensaries in that Quaker village to stand still like this! Do you think I'm that kind of a fool, you idiots? Why, what could I do when I hadn't the medicines or anything?"

The men looked at each other mournfully.

"He's got off his head, too," they whispered.

"No, I haven't," shouted the surgeon, "I'm not out of my head yet—I'm only drunk—that's what I am—drunk! I've known for a week I was in for typhoid, and last night I knew I had just a few hours left to keep on my feet and that hospital train coming forty-five miles an hour, so I filled up this morning with whisky and quinine—forty-four grains of quinine and a lot of whisky—enough to make a man as drunk as a lord, and that's what I am. But I'm not too drunk to take your temperatures all right! Come, you yellow-faced rascal, hold this thing in your mouth just three minutes. Fetch me that stool to sit on—and get me a pail of water." He seated himself and mopped his forehead, on which great beads of perspiration were gathered. His face, usually a boyish, clean red and white, was now darkly flushed, his eyes staring and bloodshot. He went on talking rapidly while noting the temperature of each and writing it down.

"This is purely mechanical—like a deadbeat letting himself in with his latch-key; but you needn't fear I'm not getting it down all right. It's d——d right! The Philadelphians will open their eyes when they see these temperatures walking about on two legs! It's heroism, nothing else. What ails that boy lying there?" pointing to Julian.

The Stone-cutter undertook to reply with his hand on Julian's forehead.

"He's another hero done for. It's his last breath he's drawin', and praise be to God that he's drawin' it in sight of his comrades and fri'nds, who'll close his eyes with respectability. A fine lad he was, docthor—with a grand turn for righteousness, and the love of humanity strong in him; those were his traits and his specialties, as we knowed that loved him."

The young surgeon moved to Julian's side, feeling first for his heart, his pulse, then parting his eyelids gently with his fingers.

"Get ice, quick—plenty of it." The men looked dismally at their keg of drinking water, in which was an extra lump, bought to cool the water for Julian's forehead. "Do you hear what I say? Crack up that ice and put it in a handkerchief, quick!" They brought him the ice as directed. He spread it like a cap over Julian's head and wrapped a blanket around it.

"You'll soon have ice in plenty when the hospital comes. It's due here at five o'clock; it's got the right of way with a Baldwin locomotive in front and a Pennsylvania engineer running it for all his life's worth. Do you think we deal in track-jumpers and dilly-dallies in my State? Get out of the road, I say! It's five minutes of five now. Don't you hear the bells ringing and the whistles blowing? It's coming 'round the curve. Three cheers for the Philadelphia Hospital Train! I'm off to flag it right here and get the sick of my regiment on board before any others have a show to crowd you out. You'll be on board before it pulls up to the station! Hurrah! Here she comes! I've got all your temperatures and I'm running this show now, till we get to the Quaker meeting."

He started off on a full run towards the track of the railroad, which lay to their left about half a mile distant. The men watched him, amazed, incredulous, sorrowfully convinced that overwork and fever had dethroned the poor fellow's reason. They knew nothing of any hospital train coming to their rescue, and they could hear neither whistle blowing nor bell ringing. They followed him with their eyes, however, and groaned when they saw him stumble and fall. But he was soon up again and on his way cheering and hurrahing. Soon he had reached the railroad, and they saw his figure clearly defined against the evening sky, his cap off, his arms waving.

Was he really insane? The depressing thought turned them ill—iller than they had been before. They looked at each other in sickening fear. Was everybody going crazy?

Then a sound-wave of wonderful import reached their ears. A long, piercing shriek stabbed the silence, followed by the clanging of a locomotive bell. A train was coming—a train which they knew was not on the time-table of that railroad. It had rounded the curve—it was coming into sight. Great heavens, there it was in full view, stopping at the bidding of the young surgeon!

Every man started to his feet. They ran forward and backward; they cheered and waved their hands, they threw their hats into the air; them embraced each other, and wept.

"It's too good to be true!" many of them cried. Some of them stumbled forward to get on the train; others did the same but returned hastily, remembering friends too ill to walk whom they could not desert; among these latter were Julian's three comrades. Deliberately the trio waited in stoical patience while they sat in a group around Julian. The Undertaker's Son tied a large handkerchief to the end of his rifle and hoisted it as a signal of distress.

From the train numerous persons were now emerging and forming a procession, carrying stretchers, bottles, baskets, and what not.

"Look!" cried the Stonecutter, "women! God bless them!"

"Why are they all dressed in white?" asked the Cuban, fearfully; might it not be after all but another visitation from one of America's queer religious sects?

"They're trained nurses, you fool! Oh, God be thanked! How beautiful they are—how beautiful—how celestial!" Staggering to his feet the Undertaker's Son stood gazing at the procession with streaming eyes and arms extended. Hats were already off and all the men who were able to stand were on their feet to greet the deliverers.

The procession drew near and stopped by the side of Julian. He was lifted to a stretcher and carried swiftly to the train; wonderful appliances were set in motion to restore him, through all of which he remained unconscious.

By nine o'clock that night all the sick of the regiment were on board the Flying Hospital, including the plucky surgeon, who was put into the first cot. The bell rang, the whistle sounded, the soldiers outside cheered their heartiest. The Philadelphia Hospital Train turned its blazing eyeball about and started its great caterpillar feet of incredible swiftness—its long, low line of cheerful light—mercifully to the North.

(Concluded next month.)

SOCIALISM ABROAD

Professor E. Untermann.

Germany.

While starvation is staring 93,000 unemployed of the capital in the face, while the icy blasts sow misery and disease among the destitute, while reports of extreme suffering come from all parts of the empire, while the industries are in the throes of an acute crisis, the Reichstag is discussing the "hunger tariff," which is to protect the interests of the wealthy agrarians at the expense of all other interests of society, especially those of the wage workers. With brazen impudence and tottering arguments the degenerate lords are trying to obtain by "legal" methods what their ancestors obtained by open robbery—the fruits of other people's labor.

The Socialists challenged and proved the inaccuracy of the statements of their opponents in press and speech. They left to the champions of the tariff no other ground to stand on but barefaced covetousness. A better lesson on the value of parliamentarism as a weapon for proletarian emancipation was seldom offered than by this struggle between socialist and capitalist representatives. The fable of the "suffering landowners" was held up to scathing criticism by Bebel, Singer, Molkenbuhr and others. It was clearly shown that the defenders of the tariff had no definite economic program; that the period of highest prosperity in agriculture had been at the same time a period of lowest wages for farm hands; and that the miserable condition of the farm laborers was not due to low prices of agricultural products, but to excessive exploitation. The Socialist land owners, some of them very wealthy men, did not require a higher tariff, and also the emperor, who is one of the largest landed proprietors, is opposed to it.

Count Schwerin made the remarkable statement that Germany could produce its own supply of grainstuffs if the price of grain were only raised by a tariff. This would be possible, according to him, by limiting the use of cereals for stock feed and cultivating more of the land now growing green forage or lying untilled, because the raising of grain does not pay. Vorwaerts admits that the raising of the price of cereals by the help of a high tariff might reduce the feeding of corn and rye and lead to a cultivation of a larger area of cereals, but doubts that sufficient grain could be produced in Germany to meet the local demand. According to Vorwaerts, the agricultural and horticultural area of Germany has not increased since 1879 in spite of a steadily increasing tariff, but has remained almost stationary around the sixty-four million acre mark. Only the proportion of the different crops has changed from time to time.

Hence Vorwaerts maintains that the increase of the cereal area would have to come out of the area for green forage, and that the already insufficient supply of the latter would have to be imported from other countries. But as the agrarians demand a tariff not only on grain, but also on forage plants, they would lose on one side what they gained on the other. Another result of the tariff would be the increase of diseases among stock in consequence of lack of green forage. The extensive use of artificial stock feed caused mouth and foot disease on 162,657 farms in 1899, and the slaughter houses of the large cities rejected 159,000 cattle and 160,000 hogs, 129,000 of which were suffering from tuberculosis.

While the proposed tariff would nearly double the income of the great land owners, it would almost remove bread and meat out of reach of the poorest part of the population. Even now, hunger is rampant in wide districts. Investigations made secretly by several teachers in Saxony show that 25 to 30 per cent of the children in a certain school of Saxony had lived on nothing but dry bread for several months, while about 50 to 60 per cent had only potatoes and linseed oil for dinner. No wonder that the petitions protesting against the hunger tariff were brought in wagon loads to the bureau of the Reichstag, three and one-half million signatures having been secured by the Socialists.

The deep seriousness of the question was fully impressed on all when Comrade Bebel took the floor to reply to the speakers of the other parties. He said that their program meant the complete ruin of industry. In reply to the charge that the Socialists were inciting the people against the government he said that no one had used more inciting language than the League of Landed Proprietors, who had threatened to withdraw their support from the government if they did not get the tariff they demanded. He showed that the land owners would make an annual profit of 657½ million marks through the new tariff. "Why, it all depends on the management," interrupted Count Schwerin. "Just so. Count," replied Bebel, "if you would manage your business better you would not need a higher tariff!" And the Count took another guess. Bebel exposed the hypocrisy of the land owners who invoked the protection of God for their usury, and of the wealthy clergy, who favored this tariff and taught the poor people to pray: "Give us this day our daily bread!" He proved that the number of those who would profit by the tariff was very small, and that most of royal and princely land owners were among them. "Do the German princes belong to the suffering land owners?" he asked sarcastically. The excitement of the House reached a dramatic climax when Bebel related the following touching incident: "A pupil of a Cologne public school had been buried, and the teacher told the children that their playmate was now in heaven. Then he asked: 'Who would like to go to heaven?' Three little ones arose, among them a little boy who had been looking very ill for some time. The teacher asked him why he wanted to go to heaven, and what was the answer? 'Because there I should not feel hungry any longer!'" "Perhaps his father had spent all his money for drink!" shouted Count Arnim derisively. Cries of "Shame!" arose on all sides, and the house was in an uproar for several minutes. "That is a shameless remark!" exclaimed Bebel. "The Count is laughing! That is callousness!"

Subsequent investigations showed that the child belonged to a very poor family. The mother was sick, the father was unemployed for a long time, there were five children, two of them too small to walk, and neither bed clothing nor fuel was sufficient for the winter.

Bebel went on to show that there were 700,000 men out of work, 300,000 of whom were married, so that about 1,600,000 human beings were the victims of bitter destitution, and there was no prospect of relief. "We have paid thirty-three millions for the St. Gotthard tunnel," he exclaimed, "and now we are met by protective tariffs that obstruct the passage of the Alps anew. Millions have been spent for steamship subsidies, and now we cut off international trade. We go to China in order to open it, and at the same moment we become Chinese ourselves and erect a Chinese wall around us." His summing up of the effect of the tariff on workingmen was "deterioration of the condition of the small craftsmen, increased need of assistance to the poor, sick and invalid and growth of crimes." He closed his magnificent effort with the shout: "In the name of justice, in the name of the welfare of the people, into the abyss with this bill!"

Singer, though less emotional, did not spare the exploiters, whose only aim was exploitation of the people at any price. The fifteenth annual convention of the Central Federation of East Prussian Agrarians, he said, had demanded a shorter school day, so that the children might have more time to tend cattle. The land owners of Mecklenburg had declared that it was sufficient for children of the working class to acquire "a knowledge of the divine father" and "as much writing, reading and reckoning as they would need later on in farm service."

The fate of the bill is as yet unknown. But the immediate effect of this attempt to exploit the weak, as predicted by the Socialist speakers, is the increase of Socialist votes. Not less than 136 municipal councillors have lately been elected by Socialists in different places, and if the Reichstag were now dissolved the Socialist party would be the only one to benefit thereby. Bebel did not neglect the opportunity to taunt his opponents with this fact. At all events, the Reichstag will soon open its doors to a new Socialist member, Eduard Bernstein, who is sure to be elected in Breslau.

England.

Edward's domain is the undisputed Eldorado of capitalism. Socialism is hoodooed in the United Kingdom and dependencies. The name of the hoodoo is "Liberalism." Every capitalist who knows his business believes in this charm, for there is none more potent to conjure socialism with. The flower of England's manhood is sacrificed on the altar of greed—alias patriotism—in South Africa. The home of Manchesterdom is so thoroughly flooded with American goods that the label "made in America" is now John Bull's nightmare as much as "made in Germany" once used to be. The trades unions of England are the oldest in the world. Competition is in its last throes. The field should be an ideal one for Socialist propaganda, according to economic determinism. But here not economic conditions, no, the "idea" of Liberalism determines

the acts of man. The case is unique. Though London was the cradle of modern socialism, no modern state has a weaker socialist movement than England. At the moment when socialist agitation should be at white heat; when the proletariat should be flocking to their emancipation in thousands; when the whole socialist phalanx should advance like one solid wall and take the capitalist enemy unawares where it is most exposed, at home; when the English socialist press should be ringing with the cheers of their approaching victory—this is what we gather from the revolutionary papers: A nerveless sophistry in the editorials (except Justice), sleepy and dispirited reports in the propaganda columns, and personal abuse as the only sign of energy. Hyndman finds his position in the executive committee of the S. D. F. so thankless that he resigns after twenty years of unremitting work and seeks the more congenial field of independent activity. Tom Mann gets disgusted and goes to New Zealand. Bruce Glasier and his friends, backed up by Sam Woods, oppose the candidacy of Quelch for Parliament. Sidney Webb helps Chamberlain to spread imperialism. Blatchford's manly breast swells with patriotism. Bernhard Shaw writes comic operas while wage slaves are groaning in dull despair. Keir Hardie tries to introduce Socialism by decree of Parliament and gets the cold shoulder, although all the members of the house are Socialists now, according to Sir Harcourt. This "milieu" has inoculated Eduard Bernstein with enough of the Harcourt brand of Socialism to last him a lifetime.

There is only one bright gleam in this liberal fog—Gaylord Wilshire is now under the protection of the British crown. He knows how to assert the "I," and he didn't get the idea from Helen Wilmans either. Perhaps his dash will succeed in demonstrating to the English comrades that the Socialist ideal of propaganda is not to "calmly wait till hurrying fate meets your demand with sure supply," but to get out and hustle. I would rather see "I" in Chicago than anywhere else, but if he must go into "exile," I wish he would go to England and help Quelch. The Canadians can take care of themselves.

Russia.

No government on earth can boast of a more simple and summary way of dealing with social problems than the Russian. Father Tsar's panacea for strikes, hunger riots, demands for better wages, shorter hours of labor and other workingmen's irrationalities is made up from the following prescription: Take equal parts of Cossacks, policemen, prisons and Siberia, and apply in generous doses wherever the body social shows any eruptions. This allopathic method of suppressing symptoms instead of doing away with the causes of disease has been liberally applied during the last months. In all parts of the vast empire, mass arrests of workingmen, students, professors, and writers have taken place. The Tsar evidently believes in the rule, "Spare the rod and spoil the child." There is little doubt that a more effective way of educating the broad mass of the people cannot be found. The immediate result of this policy is the formation of two new labor organizations—the "Workingmen's Federation of North Russia" and the "Workingmen's Federation of the Volga Districts."

Norway.

Municipal elections were very favorable to Socialists. In Trondhjem, eight councillors were elected by them. In Christiania, fourteen Socialist councillors succeeded in gaining seats, thanks to the active work of Socialist women. Other smaller towns also had to admit the red spectre into the halls that had so long served the interests of sacred property.

THE WORLD OF LABOR

By Max S. Hayes.

The A. F. of L. convention at Scranton this year, while the largest in point of delegates attending and members represented, took no marked advanced position over previous sessions, either industrially or politically, except to put the quietus to the cry of "autonomy" in craft affairs by adopting a straddle, and to sanction the opening of union doors to a discussion of politics. Although a dozen Socialist resolutions had been introduced, the dilatory tactics of the committees prevented a discussion of that subject, as the resolutions were brought in late in the afternoon of the last day's session. The vast majority of delegates anticipated a lively debate on the question of Socialism for a week, but they were doomed to disappointment, the authors of the resolutions announcing that they were not prepared to shoulder the blame for an extraordinary session. There was much criticism of the actions of the committees by delegates who desired to hear both sides, and if the administration can gain any comfort from the result it is welcome to it. The "autonomists," finding that they were outnumbered, adopted a resolution pledging their fealty to the Federation, but giving notice that they will carry on their agitation inside of the lines. The Chinese were notified to remain out of the country, and the questions of child labor and court injunctions aroused spasmodic debates. A proposition to increase the number of members of the executive council by two members was defeated, as was also a resolution to increase the salaries of president and secretary. The same fate was met by resolutions to elect officers by the referendum, and that committees be elected by the delegates instead of appointed by the president. Despite newspaper reports, Shaffer, of the iron and steel workers, did not raise "rough house." The same officers were re-elected, and the two delegates chosen to visit our British cousins will probably cause more sarcastic comment on the other side of the pond. A large number of boycotts were placed and grievances discussed. A few trade fights were settled, more were shoved off for another year, and several new ones begun, among the latter being an ugly dispute between the pressmen and bookbinders on the one side and the printers on the other, which developed during the closing hour of the last day's session. Altogether the Scranton convention will go down in history as a very mediocre affair—that is, if it is not forgotten before it gets to the historical point.

During the past month a great hullaballoo was made in the daily press about a meeting that was held in New York between representatives of organized and well-known capitalists and a few "plain citizens." After many spread-eagle speeches, in which Mark Hanna and Charles

M. Schwab on the one side, and Sargeant, of the firemen, and Phillips, of the hatters, showed that "the interests of capital and labor are identical," a committee of thirty-six was appointed to devise ways and means of bringing about a sort of brotherhood between the two classes that have "misunderstood each other" for so many years. The committee is composed of twelve capitalists, as many laborites, and the same number of "plain citizens," like Grover Cleveland, James A. Eckels and Cornelius Bliss, the latter to guard the interests of the dear public in the negotiations to "harmonize" everybody and everything. The thirty-six met and solemnly elected Senator M. A. Hanna chairman and Samuel Gompers vice chairman. The new movement is being fathered by the National Civic Federation, which only a short year ago had a consuming desire to get organized labor to consent to being shackled by compulsory arbitration laws. The new move will be watched with some curiosity and even amusement by organized working people.

The Western Labor Union and the A. F. of L. have locked horns in the Denver central body and in several other towns in the West.

An English inventor has produced a machine with which it is possible to treat China grass, which grows extensively in the far east, and convert it into textile fabrics that resemble silk and costs little more than cotton. Enthusiasts aver that it will revolutionize the cloth industry. Another recent invention transforms palm leaves, treated with an alkaline preparation, into a fibre of great strength and can be used in textile fabrics.

H. Gaylord Wilshire has removed his suppressed Challenge to Toronto, Canada, and says the freedom of the press is guaranteed under the British flag.

Morgan has thrown his hooks into several more iron and steel mills, and is said to have also got a line on the Illinois coal fields, which will be combined into a $75,000,000 octopus.

A new alloy of aluminum has been discovered from which tacks and nails can be made which will not corrode and are cheap.

Zanesville carriage workers have been injunctioned.

Three Chicago unionists were fined $50 and one was sent to jail for thirty days for disobeying an injunction.

Socialists of the province of Ontario, Canada, held a convention and laid the ground work for a national party. It is expected that in September a convention, to be composed of representatives from all the provinces, will meet and form a permanent organization. The union people have taken hold of the movement in earnest and are pushing the propaganda in an energetic manner.

A company has purchased 180,000 acres of wheat land in Western Kansas, which will be made the largest wheat farm in the world. The latest improved machinery will be used, and it is expected that wheat can be raised at one-third the cost that small farmers can produce it. Another syndicate of capitalists purchased 109,000 acres of land in Louisiana, which will be turned into the largest cotton plantation in

the world and also operated with improved machinery. Thus concentration goes merrily on and hastening Socialism in our time.

Secretary Greenbaum announces that charters have been issued to new locals in the following places: Orlando, Fla.; Granite Falls, Minn.; Logan, Utah; Stillwater, Okla.; Fort Scott, Pittsburg, Cherokee, Cherryvale, Columbus, Oswego, Parsons, Garnett, McCune, Galena, Whitelaw, Garfield, Kan.; Independence, Colo.; New Orleans, La.; Burnham, Okla.; Newburn, Va.; Mt. Pleasant, Utah; Sioux Falls, S. D.; Murray, Utah; Baltimore, Md.; Little Rock, Ark.; Burma, Ark.; Golden, Colo.; Idaho Falls, Ind.; Angus, Minn.; Cedar City, Utah; Magnolia, Ind.; Richmond, Va.; Salt Lake, Utah; Norfolk, Va. A large corps of national and local organizers and speakers are in the field, and reports from every part of the country indicate that the Socialist party is a movement that moves.

A $35,000,000 international kodak trust will take snap shots at the people's pocket-books.

Santiago Iglesias, who was sent to Porto Rico on an organizing expedition by the A. F. of L., and who was arrested the moment he stepped on shore for having led a strike, was sentenced to three years imprisonment.

Report from Indianapolis has it that the billion-dollar trust has secured control of an automatic device which will displace all skilled men in tin-plate production. The machines will be operated by ordinary $1.50 day laborers, and one man will be able to turn out as much work as four skilled men who received $6 to $8 per day, and at the same time turn out three times more product. President Schwab watched a test of the machine at Elwood and gave orders to erect a mill specially arranged to operate the new system. Is the labor question a serious one?

Contractors who will erect the buildings for the world's fair at St. Louis have thrown down the gauntlet to organized labor and declare that they will not employ union labor only or stand for sympathy strikes.

Waiters at Portland, Ore., were injunctioned.

In Seattle, Wash., a unionist carrying a banner inviting people to boycott a certain saloon was arrested for "inciting to riot."

The labor mayor of Ansonia, Conn., is having his own troubles. The city council stands five Democrats, three Republicans and seven Laborites, and the two old ones have drawn the class line and have a majority of one. If labor people can't see the class struggle, the other fellows can show it to them.

Jim Swinton, pioneer labor agitator, died in New York last month.

The tin-can trust has closed 33 of the 155 plants taken in when it was formed.

H. C. Frick is reported as corraling all the independent iron, steel and subsidary plants into an $800,000,000 trust.

Vanderbilts are reported to have closed a deal to secure the suburban trolley railway system that parallels their lines from North East, Pa., to Grand Rapids, Mich., a total distance, all told, of nearly a thousand miles. Thus another hope of competition in railroading is going a-glimmering.

Despite denials, it is reported that the iron and steel workers are accumlating a war fund to take another whack at the United States Steel Corporation.

A prominent New York financier says six interests in that city control $1,105,000,000 bank deposits, or 85 per cent, and that the little capitalists can do nothing but "sit tight" and hope that there will be no repetition of the old gold corner. What do workingmen vote for?

Up in Northport, Wash., a big corporation notified its employes to quit the union or their jobs. They quit work, organized into the Socialist party and also went on strike at the ballot-box, with the result that, notwithstanding the fact that the Republicans, Democrats and Populists combined against them, they elected their candidates for mayor, four councilmen, city clerk, treasurer and health officer. Now there was a sensible crowd of workingmen.

There are still rumblings in the hard-coal district of Pennsylvania that foreshadow trouble. The miners claim that the operators are deliberately harassing them at every opportunity, and the bosses in some instances openly admit that they will not treat with the union. The miners hold their national convention in Indianapolis this month, and it is difficult to predict what the outcome will be, but it looks as though a demand will be made for recognition and probably the eight-hour day.

St. Louis boot and shoe workers adopted resolutions calling upon working people to vote to overthrow the capitalist system.

Dun's Review, the acknowledged capitalistic statistical authority, says it costs at the present time $97.74 for the same amount of edibles and clothing that could have been purchased in 1897 for $72.45, an increase in four years of 34 per cent. The increase during the past year was 7 per cent. This is "prosperity" for those who have something to sell besides labor power. If the wages of workingmen did not advance 7 per cent last year, or 34 per cent since 1897, it is equivalent to a reduction. Who "throws away" his vote!

Prof. Lebon, the great French scientist, claims he has discovered a new and cheap method of separating water into oxygen and hydrogen, and that he will be enabled to produce unlimited heat and power at small expense. Another revolution that will make itself felt.

The scheme to form an "independent labor party" in Chicago has fallen through. It is charged that certain small-fry politicians were engineering the scheme for trading purposes. The Socialist trade unionists attended a conference that was called, and when the promoters learned that their game was known they quit.

Ben Tillett, the famous British labor orator, is making a speaking tour in this country. His address before the A. F of L. convention, to which he was elected a fraternal delegate by the English trade unionists, was pronounced a masterly effort. Tillett declared that all the active,

energetic trade unionists of Great Britain are Socialists, and that they are making a continuous and aggressive campaign to secure political control and better the conditions of the working people. Tillett is eloquent, humorous and level-headed, and withal a modest chap. He has made thousands of friends on this side during his short stay, and here's hoping that he will soon return.

Carriage makers of Cincinnati have been honored by having a second injunction hurled at them—the first one didn't take.

Trade unionists and Socialists of Erie, Pa., combined and put up a winning municipal ticket.

B. H. Krager, a Cincinnati capitalist, who owns forty retail stores, claims to have secured control of an invention with which bread can be baked by electricity, and he declares that he is "determined to crush out all competition in the bakery business."

Philadelphia building trades have been injunctioned against calling sympathy strikes, and New York contractors assert that they will attempt to have the scheme enforced in that city also.

Chicago Socialists are talking about building a central headquarters.

It's reported that despite their loss of the strike on the New York, New Haven and Hartford Road, the switchmen have gained the shorter workday—the bone of contention. The strike in Pittsburg, like that on the Rio Grande Railway, was lost, because the switchmen not only received no support from the other brotherhoods, but were actually opposed by those organizations. The switchmen swear vengeance, and already some of the Western central bodies have taken up the matter and are assisting them to be in a position to punish their enemies.

BOOK REVIEWS

Economic Crises. Edward D. Jones. Citizens' Library, Macmillan. Half morocco, 252 pp. $1.25.

This is a monograph which was much needed in American economic literature. The various theories of crises are set forth at considerable length with numerous references and an exhaustive bibliography. The Socialist theory of crises is given quite fairly and frequent reference is made to standard Socialist works. In his discussion of "The Organization of Industry" he shows the present confusion which prevails and the need of some intelligent control, but concludes that: "The chief obstacle which prevents the growth of comprehensive governing agencies is the fact that production is carried on for private gain. The presence of individual interests prevents certain very desirable forms of co-operative action. Exceptional ability to comprehend the workings of industry is guarded for private use, so that it may contribute to private gain. So also information which would be of the utmost advantage to trade as a whole, if made public, is guarded in secrecy to serve as a source of private gain."

When he comes to discuss remedies for crises, however, the book falls flat. Although he has once said concerning the influences exerted by trusts and monopolies and the disturbing effect of "invention, the opening new means of communication, or the opening of new markets," that: "Nothing short of a comprehensive reorganization of industry, such as is proposed by the Socialists, would avail much;" nevertheless, he seems to forget all this in his conclusion. He brushes aside Socialism with a slight variation on the very old and very silly and hundred times answered objection that you cannot change human nature. He then goes into a long, tedious and often ridiculous discussion containing such "mind cure" gems as the following: "If we could cultivate other interests sufficiently to right the intellectual balance, the crisis period might lapse indefinitely." The book is by far the best thing in English on crises and will always remain a standard work on the subject, but it might have been much better.

The Times and Young Men. Josiah Strong. Baker-Taylor Company. Cloth, 247 pp. 75 cents.

This is one of those strangely contradictory books that the present intellectual conflict is producing. The following extract is an excellent simple statement of some of the main principles of economic determinism. "Tell me one thing about a people, viz., how they get their living and I will tell you a hundred things about them. A tribe that lives by the chase is savage. If a people gain their livelihood directly from domestic animals, they must wander to new regions, as their flocks and herds re-

quire new pastures. That is, they are nomadic, and their food, their dress, their shelter, their government, their customs, and their laws are such as always belong to a nomadic civilization." He follows this line of thought on through the Industrial Revolution and points out that: "Tapping the earth's great reservoir of power solved the problem of production and made possible universal abundance," and concludes that: "Thus the fundamental movement of the times is from an individualistic to a social or collective type of civilization." Then he proceeds to confuse this with theological idealism and talk of the identical interests of capital and labor. But in spite of all he may say he cannot undo having told the truth once and told it well, and this makes his book well worth reading.

Outlines of Economics. Richard T. Ely. Macmillan Citizens' Library. 432 pp. $1.25.

This is a new edition, without change of matter, of a work published some seven years ago. It still remains one of, if not the best summaries of the principles of Political Economy. The Socialist will find it one of the most valuable treatises on that subject. The historical introduction is an excellent summary of industrial history and the development of economic thought. There are many things to criticise. It is sometimes indefinite and often unsatisfactory, and the Socialist can easily find defects in some of the reasoning. Nevertheless, a careful reading of such a text book will afford an excellent introduction to and basis for the study of Socialism.

Books Received.

Orloff and His Wife. Maxim Gorky. Scribner's. $1.
The Shrine of Silence. Henry Frank. The Abbey Press.

Among the Periodicals.

William F. Willoughby, in the Quarterly Journal of Economics, discourses the "Integration of Industry in the United States," in which he describes a movement in industry by which "dissimilar but interdependent branches of an industry" are being kept together. He points out how, for example, the coal fields, railroads, coke ovens and later the iron ore, steel mills and all the various distinct processes by which iron is taken from the ground and finally marketed, are being consolidated in a single hand. This movement is quite different from the process of uniting various firms performing the same process and marks a new stage in industrial development.

The principal article in the World's Work is "The Rebuilding of New York" and gives one a most vivid idea of the tremendous engineering problems arising in a modern city. An exhaustive description of the fur trade gives a review of an industry of which little is known or heard at the present time. E. Dana Durand, secretary of the Industrial Commission, tells of the mass of facts which this body has gathered and made accessible to the public.

EDITORIAL

The Program of Capitalism.

Seldom has a ruling class enjoyed such unimpeded sway as the great capitalist class of America has at the present moment. The carrying out of their ideas is not met in any department of government with anything that can be called effective criticism, to say nothing of open, earnest opposition. President Roosevelt has long been recognized as one of the most authoritative mouthpieces of concentrated capitalism. He is noted for his frank outspokenness. His message can therefore be considered as partaking of the nature of an official statement of the capitalist program and the plans of the ruling class of America for the immediate future. As such it is an interesting document.

The conventional tribute to McKinley and the very foolish discussion of anarchy need not detain us. The latter is only interesting as furnishing one more illustration of the fact that capitalism either becomes or must feign to become panic-stricken when confronted with its own logical conclusions. It dare not attack the anarchist philosophy lest it undermine its own foundations. So it scolds and raves at the individual anarchist and suggests ridiculous ways of "suppressing" him.

In the discussion of the "trust problem" we see capitalism taking a look at itself and trying to decide what it will do with itself. The final conclusion, according to Roosevelt, is that it must take another and closer look at itself and call it "publicity." "Publicity is the only sure remedy which we can now invoke," says the message. "I am heartily in sympathy with President Roosevelt when he says that all great combinations should be given publicity," says President Schwab of the Steel Trust, addressing the Chicago Bankers' Club. It should be easy to apply this "remedy," since both judge and criminal agree as to the methods of reform. Just what "publicity" is to remedy neither President informs us. Again, capitalism finds itself unable to either understand or control its own offspring.

"The executive of the modern state is but a committee for managing the common affairs of the whole bourgeoisie," said Marx and Engels in the Communist Manifesto over fifty years ago. "There should be created a Cabinet officer, to be known as Secretary of Commerce and Industry. * * * It should be his province to deal with commerce in its broadest sense; including among other things whatever concerns labor and all matters affecting the great business corporations and our merchant marine," repeats President Roosevelt, thus offering an eloquent

testimonial to the prophetic character of that document which some socialists would have us believe is now antiquated.

The portion on the labor problem sounds like a chapter from Samuel Smiles or Poor Richard. What memories of the almanac and the copy book arise at this pondorously false commonplace: "The chief factor in the success of each man must ever be the sum total of his own individual qualities and abilities." Capitalism in its dotage drones again its Manchestrian cradle hymns. Its spokesmen and defenders dare not openly admit the influence of environment into their philosophy, and so all the intellectual triumphs of its own age but furnish weapons for the hands of its enemies. "Each must walk for himself," oracularly continues Roosevelt, forgetting that in an earlier paragraph he had said that, "The fundamental rule in our national life—the rule which underlies all others—is that on the whole and in the long run we shall go up or down together," and then asked for a Secretary of Commerce and Industry because social relations have become so complex that no man in his industrial and social life, can walk save in lock step with half the world.

The demand for an extension of governmental action in the field of forestry is a confession of the failure of competition and a recognition of the truth of the Socialist indictment against capitalism as a productive system. This is a field in which the Socialists can look with greater satisfaction upon an extension of the principles of state capitalism than in almost any other. During the period of care and protection of forests the action of a capitalist state will be little different from that of a Socialist society, save in its attitude toward employes. It is only through governmental ownership of forests that future generations can be protected from the anarchistic rapacity of the present competitive society.

In the same way the extension of the very valuable work which the present Department of Agriculture is doing is laying the basis for a Department of Agriculture in a future Socialist government that can do infinitely more valuable work. It is worthy of note that while the need of national irrigation has been pointed out for many years, it was not until the lands to be irrigated began to be monopolized by great corporations that the government took any interest in the matter.

Those who have been frightened by the bug-a-boo of militarism are told that capitalism does not propose to rest its case upon force, and hence does not need a large standing army. The army as it now stands is able to repress any mob movement, and to overawe strikers, and the day of forcible revolutions have passed. Hence there is need only of an exceedingly mobile, well-drilled and disciplined force that can be quickly concentrated upon any point of disturbance. A large standing army would continuously serve as an illustration for the preachers of discontent and in this way would actually hasten the political revolution—the only movement which capitalism really fears.

The last remnants of tribal communism among the Indians are to be stamped out and the red man forced to enter the competitive individualistic struggle. This is supposed to be a solution of the Indian problem. It is probable that the solution will consist in making "good Indians," in the frontier sense that only dead ones are worthy of approbation, out of the majority of those affected. But capitalism knows no other way of

meeting the problem. A small communistic colony, settlement or reservation in the midst of a competitive society developes the worst features of both systems. Social progress is from tribal communism, through capitalism to co-operation, and so the lower form must give way to the higher.

The proposals concerning expansion, open door in China, exploitation of America's new colonial possessions, improvement of the consular service, enlargement of the navy, emphasis of the Monroe doctrine are simply suggestions of the ways in which it is proposed to use the powers of government to get rid of the tremendous surplus of wealth with which American wage-slaves are burdening their masters.

The discussion of the second class mail matter settles the question as to whether the recent acts of suppression by Edwin C. Madden were upon his individual responsibility or were a part of the policy of the administration. President Roosevelt declares that the Postoffice Department "should be sustained in its effort" to "remove the abuses by a stricter application of the law." This means that "freedom of the press" is to be restricted to the limits pleasing to plutocracy. The only force which capitalism fears is free discussion and criticism of its acts. Therefore in the name of economy, at a time when the treasury surplus is so great as to be a burden, and when the small postal deficit is disappearing so rapidly that in three more years there would have been no excuse left for action, the powerful hand of organized exploitation acting through its government is to be used to crush out all who dare to criticise the foundation upon which exploitation rests.

This, then, is the program which the most highly developed capitalism in the world proposes to follow: Use of the powers of government for the better organization of industry, and to assist in disposing of the surplus plunder derived from exploitation, while a quiet, cowardly attack is being made on all who dare to criticise the exploiters. But this is an old, old program that has been tried and tried again, only to fail miserably. Unless American capitalism has something better than this to offer its days are numbered.

PUBLISHERS' DEPARTMENT

The American Farmer.

The economic position of the farmer is a subject which has thus far been neglected in our literature. A. M. Simons' forthcoming book, entitled "The American Farmer," is the first attempt in English at any adequate treatment. A brief summary will show the scope of the book.

The introduction discusses the question of what constitutes the American farmer, and points out the various types existing in different sections of the United States. Each geographical division of the country is then taken up historically. In New England the author describes the remnants of feudalism once existing in colonial days and their gradual disappearance with the growth of capitalism. The peculiar social and economic conditions that prevail in the South make up an interesting chapter which deals with the influence of the race question, the disappearance of negro chattel slavery, the breaking up of the great plantations, the position of the "poor white," the mortgage and rack-rent systems, and, finally the dawn of capitalism and the factory systems in this hitherto backward section.

Another chapter traces the peculiar pioneer life of the Middle West, the clearing of the forest, the semi-co-operative neighborhood stage of industry of the early days, and its final crushing out by the advance of modern competitive society. The sudden occupation of the wheat and corn belt of the "Great Plains" and the servitude of the settlers of this region to the railroad and elevator corporations and the mortgage holders are faithfully described.

The farming industry in the Pacific Coast States has had a history wholly unlike that of any other section of the United States, or even of any other nation on earth. In a little more than a lifetime it passed from an almost typical pastoral stage through the great ranch system, the wild boom times of the gold rush, on into fruit and corn farming on a scale unknown anywhere else in the world, and with such marvelous and complicated machinery as has never been used hitherto or elsewhere.

The story of the "Arid Belt," with its sudden prosperity and equally sudden reverses in the early days, with the wonderful results of the application of water to an apparently barren desert, with the present monopoly of water and the resulting enslavement of those who use it, and an explanation of the present activity of the national government in this field, makes up one of the most interesting chapters in the book.

The second part of the work deals with agricultural economics. This

is a field in which the author is particularly well fitted to speak, since he graduated from the University of Wisconsin in 1895 with special honors in economics, and has ever since kept in close touch with the economic thought both of capitalism and of socialism. He first discusses the movement toward the city and the industrial changes that have driven so many of the country people into the great centers of population. These important facts are treated from the agricultural point of view, a position rarely taken by previous writers.

A chapter on "The Transformation of Agriculture" describes the wonderful mechanical changes that have affected this branch of industry. It has always been held that because agriculture did not apparently tend to monopoly, it must therefore remain an insuperable obstacle to the success of socialism. The discussion in this book of "Concentration in Agriculture" is without doubt the most exhaustive treatment of this phase of the subject yet published. It is almost certain to make obsolete many ideas hitherto prevailing among political economists on this subject.

A chapter on "The Modern Farmer" describes the present social and industrial position of the agricultural producer with his relation to the great world-market and its problems.

The last chapter in this division treats of the mutual relations of the farmer and the industrial wage-earner, and it shows conclusively that their interests in the field of politics and economics are mutual.

The last division of the book treats of "The Coming Change" and opens with a chapter on "The Line of Future Evolution." This contains an exhaustive treatment of previous efforts at relief, including the Grange, Alliance and Populist movements, and points out that society as a whole, the farmer included, is obeying certain definite laws of social evolution which must be recognized in any effort at obtaining relief.

A chapter is then devoted to the Socialist movement, giving a clear, concise summary of modern scientific Socialism, with special emphasis upon the phases related to agriculture. The next chapter, "Socialism and the Farmer," is a further discussion of the relation which the Socialist movement, philosophy, and ultimate aim bear to the farmers of America.

The final chapter, entitled "Steps Toward Realization," is a suggestive discussion of the transition period which must precede the Co-operative Commonwealth, and it rounds out the thought of the book by giving some idea of the probable evolution of farming under intelligent direction.

The book is written in plain, non-technical English, which may easily be understood by a farmer, or wage-worker, without any special training in economics. At the same time no effort has been spared to secure technical accuracy, and an elaborate set of foot notes are given to substantiate the statements of the author and to serve as a guide for more extensive reading.

The American Farmer is the third volume in the Standard Socialist series, and is uniform in style with the previous volumes, entitled Karl Marx and Collectivism. We expect to have copies ready for mailing on the 10th of January. The price, including postage to any address, will be 50 cents, or three copies will be mailed to one address for $1. Stock-

holders in our co-operative company will be entitled to purchase copies at the net rate of 25 cents by express, or 30 cents by mail.

Liberal terms will be allowed to agents who will make a systematic effort to sell the book to farmers. It contains a wealth of information which cannot fail to interest any farmer and which will make it acceptable to thousands of them who have hitherto refused to read anything on the subject of Socialism.

Never since the establishment of the International Socialist Review have we had so many interesting and valuable articles ready for publication. Our February number will contain an article from Mother Jones giving a most vivid description of conditions among the miners of West Virginia. This will also contain a copy of the articles of slavery which each miner is obliged to sign under oath and by which he agrees to have nothing to do with unions. Kiyozhi Kawakami, one of the founders of the Japanese party, has contributed an article, which will appear in an early number, on Socialism in Japan. Mr. S. G. Hobson, the well-known English Socialist writer and lecturer, who has just completed a tour of the United States, has sent us the manuscript of a most interesting article on "Boodle and Cant," in which he suggests that Socialists might do well to cultivate the boodler. Miss Ellen Starr has written for the Review a discussion of the relation of Socialism to artistic production, which will be a valuable contribution to this phase of Socialist philosophy..

These are only a few of the manuscripts which are now on hand, while H. M. Hyndman has promised us an article for an early number, and Herman Whitaker writes that he has something in preparation. An article by Prof. Harlow Gale, of Minnesota University, on some developments in the modern church, which will attract widespread attention, will be published at an early date, together with a reply to the positions there set forth; the reply to be written by one of the best known writers on social and economic problems from the religious point of view in America. Last, but far from least, both Prof. George D. Herron and his wife, who are now traveling in Europe, have promised us articles on their observations among the foreign comrades.

These are but a few of the good things that are awaiting future readers. But now just a personal word. With the February number "The Charity Girl" will be completed. The Review was enlarged to eighty pages, largely for the purpose of running this story, which we believe our readers will all agree to be one of the best sociological novels ever published in this country. Its conclusion will leave us about sixteen pages each month, which it was our original intention to fill from now on with articles of a lighter and more directly propagandist character than those which have generally appeared hitherto. There has been considerable complaint that the Review was "too heavy;" but it was not our intention to compete with the weekly propagandist organs, but rather to conduct a periodical of education and discussion. But we feel that some concession might be made to this demand if these additional pages only were used for this purpose.

Now, however, comes another question. Ever since the establishment of the Review it has been run at a slight loss. Since enlargement

this deficit has been so great as to constitute a serious drain on the book publishing department of the firm and to require heavy sacrifices on the part of the editorial and managing staff. We now propose to put the question directly to our subscribers: "Do you want the Review to continue in its present size and to be improved as it will be possible for us to improve it with proper support?" We can do this with only 2,000 additional subscribers paying the full dollar each. That is considerably less than one new subscriber for every two that we now have. But many subscribers are not yet Socialists and cannot be expected to take an active interest in the extension and improvement of Socialist literature. Hence those who are really active must do so much the more. If every earnest Socialist worker who is a subscriber to the Review will do his best to increase our subscription list for the next month, the present size can be continued and the present quality improved. It is for you to decide.

Socialism and Modern Science

By ENRICO FERRI.

SCOPE OF THE BOOK

The strength of modern scientific socialism lies in its theory of social evolution through the class struggle. Although Marx first formulated it, it was never systematically elaborated until the Italian socialists, Professors Labriola, Ferri and Loria, have taken it up. The present book treats of Darwin's theory of evolution in its applicatio to society, and takes issue with Spencer in sh ing that far from being a contradiction, socialis is the logical outcome of Darwinism. The book is divided into four parts.

The first treats of the socialist explanation of Darwin's fundamental propositions of the natural inequality of individuals, the struggle for life and the survival of the fittest.

The second, of socialism as a consequence of Darwinism.

The third, of social evolution and individual liberty, evolution, revolution, rebellion, violence.

Fourth, sociology and socialism.

There is also an appendix containing a polemic with Spencer on the subject.

213 pp. Cloth, gilt top, $1.00.

The People's Marx, by Gabriel Deville, is a resume of Karl Marx's first volume of "Capital" and is excellent as collateral reading to the above for further study.

291 pp. Cloth, $1.50; Paper, 75c.

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Socialism in Japan.

A YEAR and a decade have elapsed since Japan established a constitutional government. But what amount of happiness and welfare have the masses of people obtained by the adoption of the new system of legislation and administration? It is over a generation since we introduced western civilization into our "fairy land." To what extent has that civilization diminished the sum of human misery? A score of years has nearly passed since western methods of production were set on foot in our Insular Empire; and now the factory system on a gigantic scale is rapidly displacing the older plan of small scale production. What effect has this marvelous industrial revolution had upon the working class? We imported the Occidental system of national education; we established universities both for men and women; we have many colleges and normal schools throughout the country, and we have hundreds of thousands of primary and high schools. But what intellectual blessings has this network of educational institutions bestowed upon those helpless people, who are in the greatest need of enlightenment?

It is beyond question that the Occidentalization of our country has resulted in a startling material progress. The productive power of the country has enormously increased, the amount of national wealth is being augmented in an extraordinary degree, and commerce is progressing both at home and abroad by leaps and bounds. I would not trouble my readers by heaping up laudatory statistics to explain the rapidity of the industrial progress of our land. Suffice it to say, however, that Japan is no longer a land of Asiatic atmosphere, and is now standing at the door of the glorious civilization of western powers. But the magnificence of material progress is of little benefit when it comes isolated from moral culture. Further, when progress brings along so many evil concomitants, the value of the former is often nega-

tived by the injury the latter causes the community. So, Japan s civilization has its dark as well as its brighter side.

That chivalrous spirit, which had been the soul of the Japanese nation for thousands of years, was disturbed and almost washed away by the stupendous waves of revolution, both political and industrial, and there has appeared as yet no moral principle in the place of the by-gone one. The mammonistic idea is overwhelming and uncontrollable among every class of society, particularly among wealthy people. Piety, generosity, mercifulness, and, above all, self-sacrifice, which have descended from the knighthood of olden Japan, are constantly giving way to the greed of gain and the aspiration for wealth. Not self-sacrifice, but selfishness is the leading spirit of the so-called upper class, and its vicious influence is almost irresistible in every circle of the community. Thus the gulf between Lazarus and Dives is being widened day after day. Envy, enmity, discontent, uneasiness on the part of the poor, and vanity, extravagance, luxury and debauchery on the side of the rich,—these are but the symptoms of the great social conflict which will surely take hold of Japan in the near future.

Such a state of things has already given warning, if not alarm, to many intelligent minds. What are the remedies for social evils attendant upon the industrial revolution? is the question which is constantly disturbing the minds of the men of learning and foresight. No wonder that socialism is steadily gaining ground in the "Land of the Rising Sun," where tranquillity and peace and the welfare of society in general have prevailed until within two generations. Those who advocate socialism as the only means of social reform are not as yet great in their number, but most of them are the men of culture and learning, while not a few of them have profound knowledge and are thoroughly equipped with the acquirements of modern sciences. They are the men who can see far beyond the present regime of society, and aspire to the realization of the grand principles of humanity. Some of them are professors of colleges, some editors of journals, while others are gentlemen of high standing. It must not be overlooked, moreover, that, besides those who openly profess to be socialists, many are wholly socialistic in their view of society, although they dare not proclaim this fact under present circumstances.

It was at the end of the last spring that a political institution was organized under the title of Social Democratic Party. Its promoters are men of character and learning, and deserve respect and confidence on the part of their countrymen. The promoters were five in all. One of them is a professor of politics and literature in a Tokyo college, which was established and is maintained under the auspices of Count Okuma, once a Premier of Japan; two are the editors of a great daily paper in Tokyo; while the remaining two are the writers of the Labor World (Rodo Sekai), a weekly and the sole organ of the labor movement in our country. Therefore it had naturally been expected that a political party inaugurated by these persons would be such as to enlist the sympathy of many of their fellow-countrymen. Unhappily, however, the organization was summarily suppressed by the government as soon as it made its appearance. The prohibition came as lightning out of a blue sky, and greatly surprised people who believed that the new party was not of such a dangerous character as to disturb the order of the community. Indeed, people are left in the dark as to the reasons which induced the authorities to prohibit the organization of the new party. It is true that the ultimate ideals of the Social Democratic party are based on a lofty theory, but every religion and every doctrine places its ultimate objects far above ideas now existing. If a party is to be prohibited, because its ideals are too lofty, there would be no progress and no reformation, and the world would come to the condition of standstill, to finally collapse and disintegrate.

Not satisfied with the mere suppression of the Party, the authorities suspended the issues of the 20th of May of four daily papers and a weekly, all published in Tokyo, because they published the Socialist program. Such a course of procedure appears quite ineffective, as by the time the suppressive decree is issued the distribution of such journals is, as a rule, completed. A considerable amount of inconvenience is caused such journals, however, by domiciliary visits of the police on these occasions, while the temporary suspension is followed by the institution of a criminal charge in the law courts. We have an obnoxious law, entitled the "Law for Preserving Public Peace," which was framed some two years ago. It was by the force of this law that the Social Democratic Party and the above mentioned four journals were suppressed. The law came into existence at the instigation of capitalists, who were alarmed by laborers awakening from slumber, and who succeeded in persuading the government and the parliament to frame this suppressive legislation. Besides empowering the authorities to arbitrarily suppress journals and parties whenever they deem necessary, it is so carefully provisioned as to hinder the labor movement in its every step. So long as the Law for Preserving Public Peace is in force, laborers in Japan are completely at the mercy of employers, because the former cannot strike against the latter without violating the law.

Be that as it may, the platform of the Social Democratic Party was really an embodiment of advanced and lofty ideas. It was framed by the promoters, especially by Prof. Abe of a Tokyo college, after the manifesto of the Communist Party drawn by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels in 1848. It is the most brilliant mani-

festo ever issued by a political party in Japan. After discussing the defects and incompleteness of the present social organization, the manifesto enumerates the following items as the ideals of the party:

I. Universal brotherhood.
II. Abolition of army and navy, and the realization of international peace.
III. Abolition of class distinctions, political and economical.
IV. Common ownership of land and capital.
V. Public ownership of railways, steamers, canals, bridges, and any other means of communication.
VI. Equitable distribution of wealth.
VII. Equal share of political rights by all people.
VIII. Complete education of people at the expense of government.

These are the ideals which the suppressed Party aspires to realize. But they can be realized only through the slow process of further social amelioration and evolution. Meanwhile, says the platform, we must laboriously strive to approach the final goal, and grasp everything within our reach, which might prompt the realization of the ideals. Therefore, the denounced manifesto mentions the following program to be directly adopted as palliatives to the manifold evils of present society.

1. Government shall own and manage all railways throughout the country.
2. Street railways and electric and gas supply shall be controlled by municipal governments.
3. All lands of town and city shall be owned by municipal governments.
4. Government shall retain right of patent, giving reasonable reward to the inventor of patented matter.
5. Government shall modify house rent, in proportion to the value of house.
6. Indirect taxes shall be replaced by direct taxes.
7. Elementary education shall be free and text books shall be freely supplied to the children of elementary schools.
8. Labor bureaus shall be established for the purpose of investigating every affair relating to the laboring class.
9. Children under certain years of age shall not be permitted to work in factories.
10. Women shall not be employed in any work which is injurious to health or morals, or to both.
11. Juvenile and female workers shall not be employed at night.
12. Labor shall be prohibited on Sunday.

13. Maximum working day of eight hours shall be established by law.
14. Employer's liability act shall be promptly enacted.
15. Laborers shall be allowed the complete right of coalitian.
16. Factory laws shall be promptly promulgated.
17. Protective legislation for peasants shall be established.
18. All insurance shall be undertaken and managed by government.
19. Universal suffrage shall be adopted.
20. Referendum shall be resorted to as regards affairs of principal importance.
21. The administration of justice shall be free and gratuitous for all members of society.
22. The House of Peers shall be abolished.
23. Number of standing army shall be reduced.
24. The Law for Preserving Public Peace shall be promptly repealed.
25. Press censorship shall be entirely abolished.
26. All elections shall be conducted by secret ballot, and the ballot by proxy shall be prohibited.

While the former portion of the manifesto is really a kind of summary of Socialism in its strictest sense, the latter twenty-six items are simply socialistic in the sense in which the word is generally used in Continental Europe. Indeed, some part of the latter program has already been realized in the West, and is quite within the province of practical legislation. Yet, to conservative statesmen now holding the reins of Japanese government, even a program of such a practicable character appears intolerably radical. Still more intolerable must the platform appear to them, when they turn to the doctrine of pure Socialism set forth in its former part. Moreover, the word "socialist" is somewhat unusual to Japanese ears, and is apt to surprise some persons. The word "social" is familiar to Japanese, but when "ist" is added to it, it conveys to minds of uneducated people the misconception that it meant something very dangerous. In other words, "socialism" and "socialist" are liable to be mixed with "anarchism" and "anarchist," respectively, as well among Japanese people as they are misunderstood by the unenlightened people of Western countries. Further, "Democracy" and "Imperialism" are incompatible terms. Where sovereign power has rested upon a single head for thousands of years, where the emperor is declared as "sacred and inviolable" in the constitution, and where most people have never dreamed of the advisability and possibility of thoroughly changing the present form of government, it must be more alarming to statesmen, and still more to the imperial family, that democracy should come into play even in the smallest degree. So far as the

expressed aims of the manifesto of the Social Democratic Party are concerned, we cannot perceive an idea which is detrimental to the further existence of the long revered Dynasty. Nor did the promoters of the Party aim at the subversion of the Imperial government. On the contrary, they are no less loyal to the emperor than any other people; and therefore they conceived the distribution of political rights as well as economical welfare equally and widely among all classes of people, because it will only be thus, they believe, that the masses of people can come into closer contact with and more respect and love for our emperor. It must be born in mind, however, that a tendency of present-day socialism is to carry on democracy to its final end, which will result in the total subversion of Imperialism. If we read between lines, we cannot but recognize that the condemned manifesto implies the realization of democracy to its full extent sooner or later. Indeed, it appears that the word "Democracy" is more feared than the word "Socialism" by conservative statesmen of Japan. It will be remembered that Mr. Osaki had to resign the portfolio of Minister of Education some years ago, because in a speech delivered at a session of the Higher Council of Education he made a reference to Republicanism by way of a perfectly innocent illustration. Whoever aspires to a portfolio of the Japanese ministry should never speak in favor of Republicanism or Democracy.

Even admitting that the platform of the suppressed Party does impliedly or indirectly advocate the realization of Democracy in its strict sense, we fail to see why its publication should not be allowed. It would be unnecessary to discuss the doctrine of social democracy in this article, because our foreign comrades are more familiar with this principle than we are. Suffice it to say, therefore, that social democracy is a grand view of social philosophy, toward which the great and complicated problems of present century turn for their solution. As such it has a claim to the right of free publication of thought. "It has been rightly said that the freedom of conscience must include not only the freedom of belief, but also the freedom of unbelief." In that case the right of freedom of opinion must not be confined merely to the forms of the state; one should be equally free to deny the state itself. Without this extension of the principle, freedom of thought is a mockery. In the United Kingdom and the United States, idealists are allowed entire liberty to give expression to their views without fear of official molestation, even if those views are subversive of the principles of the constitutions of those countries. I deem it more than sad that, in the United States, the recent assassination at Buffalo has brought forth a sign of intolerance toward Anarchism, and that President Roosevelt in his message to Congress passionately and unreservedly denounced Anarchists. Still, I believe that the nation or the government of America would never be so incautious as to establish a press censorship nor to draft a law which empowers the authorities to uproot Anarchists or to suppress any political organization advocating ideas radically opposed to the present political order. The surest way to maintain the security of government is not to interfere with any doctrine however radical. It is notorious that in England, at the present day, there are in existence a number of persons who belong to what is called the Legitimist Jacobite League of Great Britain and Ireland. The avowed object of this body is to aid the restoration of the "legitimate" dynasty as represented in the descendants of the elder branch of the Royal Family. Yet no dynasty in the world is so safe as the British. What would the Japanese government say to a society analogous to the Jacobite League?

Coming back to the proper sphere of my discussion, let me remark another stratum of the socialist movement of Japan. Prior and subsequent to the appearance and immediate suppression of the Social Democratic Party, there has existed an organization under the title of Socialist Association. The association was inaugurated by a coterie of men having for its object social reform on the basis of socialism. Its motto, as that of the Fabian Society of England, is this: "For the right moment you must wait, as Fabius did most patiently, when warring against Hannibal, though many censured his delays; but when the time comes you must strike hard, as Fabius did, or your waiting will be in vain and fruitless." At the present day the society consists of only fifteen members, nor does it struggle to increase the membership, because it welcomes merely those sincerely anxious of social welfare and who truly understand socialism, thus strictly excluding demagogical elements from the organization. In fact, its promoters hope to achieve the same work in Japan that the Fabian Society has and is achieving in England. Thus its field of activity is in education of the people. Its principal means of education is the publication of the doctrine of pure socialism or of socialistic thoughts. The Association has as yet no organ for its exclusive use; but the Rikugo (The Universe), the sole organ of Unitarianism in Japan, has been so generous as to devote a considerable space to the publication of articles produced by the members of this Japanese Fabian Society, so to speak. Indeed, the chief editor of the Rikugo is a leading member of the Association. It is needless to say that the Rodo Sekwai (The Labor World), to which I previously referred, is warmly supporting the cause of the Socialist Association.

The Association entered the fourth year of its existence at the end of last November. Its formal meeting is held monthly in a room of the Unitarian Hall of Tokyo. To show how much this

society resembles the Fabian Society, I will describe some of the phases of the former by quoting a few remarks on the latter from Mr. Wood's valuable work, "English Social Movements." The leading members of the Socialist Association, "all of them educated men, gave close study to Marx and other socialist writers, especially trying to see in what way the socialist idea could be introduced into current politics." With the first public meetings, which was held at a central place of Tokyo, in last April, the society entered fairly upon its work of political education and action. "In the formal meetings of the society the discussions have been mainly upon socialism in its theoretical and historical aspects." "After the introductory papers are read, a free expression of view is had from persons of every variety of economic opinion in the whole circuit." Unfortunately, however, it has as yet no fund to carry on an active and effective campaign in the way of lectures. Nevertheless, its members often volunteer to go out to industrial centers to speak before working people without charge. In fact, the Socialist Association has a great prospect in the future.

When the condemned Social Democratic Party made its appearance, the members of the Socialist Association unanimously passed a resolution to defend the cause of the former. As a matter of fact, the promoters of the Party were all members of the Association. When the Party received the fatal blow from the government, its promoters conferred with the Association on the question what course would be most advisable to propagate Social Democracy in Japan. After deliberate consideration, the conference came to the decision that the pioneers of Socialism in Japan should carefully avoid any measure which is liable to make superficial thinkers misunderstand the true nature of this doctrine. In other words, socialists in Japan ought to be most cautious and law-abiding, and not passionate and violent, in preaching the gospel of Equality and Liberty. This will be a slow process, but at the same time the safest and most certain step. This is especially so in a country where people are sadly ignorant of the doctrine of Social Democracy. Thus the promoters of the unfortunate Party came back to their home of the Socialist Association, whence they are now eagerly toiling to diffuse new politico-economic principles among the masses of citizens. Our Japanese government is singularly indulgent toward socialists when they propagate their thought by way of writing and speaking. But when they go a step further and politically organize under the banner of Social Democracy, our authorities instantly interfere with them. The fact appears to be that the government thinks Social Democracy detrimental to the welfare of the community when it is adopted in the platform of a political party, whereas,

when it is preached from platform and pulpit, or discussed by the press and in books, by an individual or under the auspices of a non-political association, it thinks it singularly harmless. Is it not a rare instance of great inconsistency? What difference does there exist between Socialist propaganda by a political organization and that by an individual or a non-political association? Indeed, it is a laughing stock that, while our sapient government sees fit to strangle a Social Democratic party in its birth, and to prohibit the mere publication of its manifesto, the literature on Social Democracy, both in foreign and native language, is freely allowed to circulate among all classes of the people.

It is of interest to notice what decision the Japanese court gave to the respective editors of the five journals, who were prosecuted for publishing the Socialist manifesto in their respective papers. It is something of an encouragement that our juries are not so corrupt as to be tempted by the all-mighty gold, nor so timid as to be overawed by the authority of the Government. Neither are they so blind as to ignore the freedom of conscience. We thank Heaven that after a short trial our court acquitted the editors all at once! Although the public prosecutor has launched an appeal to the higher court against the decision, there is reason to believe that the latter will respect the decision of the lower court and declare the editors entirely blameless. Here, it would be fair to remark that, according to Japanese law, editors of journals prosecuted for publishing an article condemned as disturbing public peace are not subject to arrest until a decision is given against them. Therefore, the statement, which appeared in the October issue of the International Socialist Review, to the effect that Comrade Katayama was arrested for publishing the socialist manifesto in the Labor World, is a misunderstanding.

Be that as it may, however, Japan remains to be baptized by the fire of liberty. Unless the right of the press and speech, and the freedom of coalition, are extended to a much higher degree, the constitutional government of Japan is an empty mockery. We cannot forbear envying our foreign brethren who were born in countries where expression of thoughts and promotion of a political organization are almost completely free. But the law of progress is inflexible. Let us hope and fight, and the law will surely do what remains to be done for Japan! "The ancient despotisms are condemned by the law of Providence; time the gravedigger, working away in the dark, casts the earth over them; each day as it falls thrusts them further back into nothingness."

The Democracy is the future!

Kiyoshi Kawakami.

The Renaissance of Handicraft.

WITHIN the last decade there have sprung into existence with great rapidity many associations styling themselves Arts and Crafts Societies, or assuming names adapted from that of the London Society of the same name, for the promotion of handicraft. These associations are usually composed of a very small minority of persons who are masters of any craft, and a large majority of those interested in varying degrees and from divers motives. One is forced to suspect in many cases that genuine desire for the exercise of the product of handicraft furnishes but little of the incentive to membership in these societies; that for the greater proportion numerically, this interest has temporarily supplanted, or perhaps only varied, the diversions of Society, the literary club and the charity ball. The rumor that well bred people now-a-days make things and have exhibitions may not infrequently have suggested the relief of ennui.

Another and a pathetic motive toward interest in craftsmanship is that of enquirers the purport of whose plea is this: I must work to support myself and help to support others. I cannot earn a living by sewing. I am too ignorant to teach. For the best of reasons I do not wish to be a domestic servant. I cannot dig, to beg I am ashamed. I have heard that there are new industries, agreeable, genteel. Can I learn one by correspondence? In how many months? How profitable will it be when learned?"*

Of these two classes is the new craft-seeking public partly composed, but not by any means wholly. Even counterfeits and corruptions (and the classes above described are not so) prove the existence of a true thing. Caricatures of the creative craft impulse, successfully advertising themselves and thriving on the desire for real handicraft and its products, prove the existence of a genuine craving for it and impulse toward it. Even for the class which is seeking to kill time, a good craft, thoroughly mastered, would be wholesome and would perhaps clarify the vision and enlarge the horizon.

The causes at the root of the Arts and Crafts "movement" which might be classified as genuine and useful are, I conceive, such as these: the natural impulse to use the hands and to produce something of use and beauty; weariness of useless and frivolous occupations; desire to unite with those who work with their hands and to find a common basis of life and interest with

*Such inquiries concerning book-binding have actually been addressed to me.

them; reaction against conventions which have assumed manual work to be undignified. The ungenuine and worthless motives are: fashion or "fad;" desire to get money easily and without loss of dignity, and the impression that it can be done in this new way; worst of all, the perception on the part of clever and unscrupulous persons of an opportunity to play upon this new foible of the public for their own advantage. The true motives seem sufficient, despite the false ones, to advance a community somewhat toward a reasonable and comely life. A real and persistent love of doing good and beautiful work must, in itself, tend to bring about the conditions of doing it. Let us consider what these conditions are. First, health—physical and mental buoyancy—and wholesome and comely surroundings. A healthy art cannot thrive on a depressed or morbid condition of mind or body. It cannot thrive on bad air or ugliness and squalor, domestic or civic. In order to produce forms of beauty one must see enough to create and feed a love for beauty. A civic or national art will never be manufactured in evening schools of design and handicraft, frequented by youths who have worked themselves sleepy all the hours of daylight over some dreary business, unlighted by a ray of interest except in the week's pay, and surrounded by squalid monotony of walls and streets.

Then to work joyfully, even to work tranquilly—the artist's first requirement—he must be free from the pressure of immediate need. Though it is well that he should have some wholesome sense of obligation as regards his work to prevent his becoming capricious, it is all but fatal to any lovely development that a bit of work must be done at a given time to meet daily needs. How, then, is the artist's work to go on favorably in this day of luxurious idleness and of overwork. Must it be done as play along with a bread-winning occupation or as play by the rich who need no bread-winning occupation? The difference between professional and dilettante work indicates the answer to the last question. Entirely good and beautiful art or handicraft requires the self-control and continuity of work done under some sense of obligation, together with the play feeling of work done for refreshment. That implies no harassment or pressure of need, no pandering to a false ideal of sumptuousness, set up by the rich to display riches. The very best artist's work, I believe, requires that one is doing or has done some useful work beside, of the elemental sort, ministering to common necessities. There is a feeling of weariness and futility about merely ornamental or decorative work, done in a tooth and nail sort of way, as a means of livelihood. The play spirit is quenched in it. If it is underpaid it becomes labor and sorrow; if overpaid, demoralizing. It is usually either the one or the other. The artist to

be an artist, indeed, should come to his work not fatigued, but justified in enjoying himself by having done something serviceable to common needs either that day or at some time not too remote, and by the expectation of again serving others in the natural order of life. It is possible that the fact that the artist's time is devoted wholly to the solace and enjoyment of the community at large might, if the community demanded his entire time as an artist, free him altogether, without loss to himself or the world, from any other work. But the greatest artist would probably still be he who could take his turn at the world's more elemental needs. It is as hard to picture Phidias standing idly by while a block of marble is being lifted into place, as a French miniature painter putting his shoulder to it.

The circumstances, then, which one would conceive as ideally favorable to natural production of good, "artistic" work, are perfect freedom from pressure of personal necessity, combined with a wholesome degree of obligation to the service of others, beautiful surroundings, health and joy. When the conditions have been stated and compared with the actually existing ones the question necessarily arises whether it would not be more economical to devote all energy to making these conditions possible rather than divert any into the channel of an all but hopeless effort to get a fruit artificially grown without its natural soil and elements. Undoubtedly it would be so if we had not to consider at all the individual, who would live and die, as Morris points out, unsolaced by art, while we are preparing for the solace of generations to come; and if we were also to leave out of account the loss to future generations, were Art to die out altogether, and require to be planted anew when new and wholesome conditions of life and work shall have been evolved.

If we grant that it is worth while and effort to keep alive the love of beautiful handiwork, then it is worth while to make certain things as well and beautifully as they can be made.

There is some hope, too, in a nearer view. The indirect value of the really beautiful and well made product of handicraft, through its effect on the ordinary article of commerce, is greater than its direct value to the few who can possess such things or see them. Only the comparatively rich can afford Morris' tapestries, rugs and wall papers. But commercial wall papers, cretonnes and all sorts of fabrics have improved in design to a marvellous degree through the influence of his work, so that he has really done his craft work indirectly for "the masses."

A further and most important consideration in favor of the revival of handicraft is the effect on the life and faculties of the individual who is engaged in making useful and comely articles and his reaction on society. The constant and agreeable use

in his daily work of all his faculties, which lie dormant for the most part, during his day of mechanical work in a factory, or are worn dull behind a counter, must make of him a much more effective social factor as well as a happier and more rational human being.

Working men complain of injustice done them in regard to too long working hours, too little pay, insalubrious surroundings, tyranny of one sort and another; but seldom if at all do they cry out against the indignity of the kind of work they are forced to do in the making of so often worthless things if not worse than useless, destructive.* Nor do they express resentment or indignation at being under compulsion to do bad and unthorough work. This is held to be no part of the workman's concern, nor does he consider it so, so long has he been powerless. How slavish a state of society is this in which the mass of men may not decide whether or not they approve the making of a certain ware, but must perforce go in under a sign of "men wanted" (which should read puppets wanted) and turn some crank as they are bidden, asking no questions for conscience's or reason's sake. There can be, one would suppose, no hesitation on the part of any one capable of understanding this situation in admitting that it is a degrading one. That the general situation can be at all touched, even at its outer edges by the extension of a demand for good handicraft, will not be so generally conceded. The return to the practice of handicraft will be, not by reason of such conviction but because of love for hand work and reaction against commercial philistinism. The product and the craftsman's life must justify themselves. On one side the argument is gaining support that all work, even the artist's, can be done as well or better by machine. The present writer, though practicing a pure handicraft, has no wish to decry the machine, or even to deny that, judiciously designed, beautiful things as well as useful can be made by it. The judicious designer for the machine would consider its limitations and design only such broad and simple lines as the machine can produce without loss. Designs made for machine work have hitherto resulted in clumsy and vulgar imitations of handiwork. The machine can never take the place of the human hand and its cunning in the field of art, major or minor. Nor can there ever be a return to handicraft which shall abolish the machine. Any expectation of such a doubling back of history upon itself would be childish. The fields are two, but each affects the other. If the "labor saving machine" were carried to its utmost efficiency and the labor saving apportioned with justice so that each man might do his share of the community's necessary work and still

*Never, in the experience of the writer, who has often deplored the fact.

have time for self-expression, then indeed would the millennium of both Art and Craft be come. The mass of men are now subjected to the machine instead of subjecting it; and the personal problem for those who face the question at all is whether to join themselves to the number of such and try to modify the conditions, or to go out from among them and live a rational life, working "in the spirit of the future"—that future which shall make common the privilege now exclusive of doing the work one likes to do and expressing one's self through it, which, as Morris so often said is art. The personal problem is solved for each by his individual bent and qualification, and, if honestly decided, doubtless rightly, both as regards himself and his social value.

Miss Ellen Star,
Hull House.

The Coal Miners of The Old Dominion.

A FEW Sundays ago I attended church in a place called McDonald, on Loop Creek, in West Virginia. In the course of his sermon the preacher gave the following as a conversation that had recently taken place between him and a miner.

"I met a man last week," said the preacher, "who used to be a very good church member. When I asked him what he was doing at the present time he said that he was organizing his fellow craftsmen of the mines."

Then according to the preacher the following discussion took place:

"What is the object of such a union?" asked the preacher.

"To better our condition," replied the miner.

"But the miners are in a prosperous condition now."

"There is where we differ."

"Do you think you will succeed?"

"I am going to try."

Commenting on this conversation to his congregation the preacher said: "Now I question if such a man can meet with any success. If he were only a college graduate he might be able to teach these miners something and in this way give them light, but as the miners of this creek are in a prosperous condition at the present time I do not see what such a man can do for them."

Yet this man was professing to preach the doctrines of the Carpenter of Nazareth.

Let us compare his condition with that of the "prosperous" miners and perhaps we can see why he talked as he did.

At this same service he read his report for the previous six months. For his share of the wealth these miners had produced during that time he had received $847.67, of which $45 had been given for missionary purposes.

Besides receiving this money he had been frequently wined and dined by the mine operators and probably had a free pass on the railroad.

What had he done for the miners during this time. He had spoken to them twenty-six times, for which he received $32.41 a talk, and if they were all like the one I heard he was at no expense either in time, brains or money to prepare them.

During all this time the "prosperous" miners were working ten hours a day beneath the ground amid poisonous gases and crumbling rocks. If they were fortunate enough to be allowed to toil every working day throughout the year they would have

received in return for 3,080 hours of most exhausting toil less than $400.

Jesus, whose doctrines this man claimed to be preaching, took twelve men from among the laborers of his time (no college graduates among them) and with them founded an organization that revolutionized the society amid which it rose. Just so in our day the organization of the workers must be the first step to the overthrow of capitalism.

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Then my mind turns to the thousands of "trap boys," with no sunshine ever coming into their lives. These children of the miners put in 14 hours a day beneath the ground for sixty cents, keeping their lone watch in the tombs of the earth with never a human soul to speak to them. The only sign of life around them is when the mules come down with coal. Then as they open the trap doors to let the mules out a gush of cold air rushes in chilling their little bodies to the bone. Standing in the wet mud up to their knees there are times when they are almost frozen and when at last late at night they are permitted to come out into God's fresh air they are sometimes so exhausted that they have to be carried to the corporation shack they call a home.

The parents of these boys have known no other life than that of endless toil. Now those who have robbed and plundered the parents are beginning the same story with the present generation. These boys are sometimes not more than 9 or 10 years of age. Yet in the interests of distant bond and stockholders these babes must be imprisoned through the long, beautiful daylight in the dark and dismal caverns of the earth.

Savage cannibals at least put their victim out of his misery before beginning their terrible meal, but the cannibals of to-day feast their poodle dogs at the seashore upon the life blood of these helpless children of the mines. A portion of this blood-stained plunder goes to the support of educational incubators called universities, that hatch out just such ministerial fowls as the one referred to.

The very miner with whom this minister had been talking had been blacklisted up and down the creek for daring to ask for a chance to let his boy go to school instead of into the mines. This miner could have told the minister more about the great industrial tragedy in the midst of which he was living, in five minutes than all his college training had taught him.

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At the bidding of these same stock and bondholders, often living in a foreign land, the school houses of Virginia are closed to those who built them and to whom they belong by every right. The miners pay the taxes build the school and support the officers, but if they dare to even stand upon the school house steps a snip of a mine boss comes along with pistol in hand and orders them off. "—— free speech," said one of them to me when I protested, "we do not need any free speech. You get off the earth." Not only the school rooms, but every church or public hall is locked against us. On every school board you will find at least one company clerk or mining boss, and it is the business of this henchman of the mine owners to see to it that the school buildings are not used for public meetings by the miners.

Yet these same school buildings are used by the operators for any kind of meeting they choose and any demoralizing, degrading show that comes along has free access to them, as well as all political meetings of the old capitalist parties. But when the labor agitator, or trade-union organizer comes along trying to make it possible for the miner's children to go to school, the school houses are tightly closed.

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In some of these camps the miners are forced to pay as much as $9 a barrel for flour, 14 cents a pound for sugar, 18 cents a pound for fat pork, and $8 to $10 a month rent for a company shack, the roof of which is so poor that when it rains the bed is moved from place to place in the attempt to find a dry spot. Many a miner works his whole life and never handles a cent of money. All he earns must be spent in the "Pluck me." Every miner has one dollar stopped for a company doctor. With 1,200 men working in a mine and a young doctor paid $300 a year, this means a nice little lump for the company. And this is the Divine system the preacher was defending.

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In the closing hours of the baby year of the twentieth century I stood on the soil that gave birth to a Patrick Henry who could say, "Give me liberty or give me death," and a Jefferson, the truth of whose prophecy that the greatest tyranny and danger to American liberty would come from the judges on the bench, has been so often shown in these last few years. I had just left West Virginia with all its horrors, and as I was whirled along on the railroad I wondered if when I stood on the soil stained with the blood of so many Revolutionary heroes, I would once more really breathe the air of freedom.

Well, this is the first breath I received. I arrived in the northern part of Wise County, Virginia, over the L. & N. R. R., to find a message waiting me from the superintendent of the mines saying that if I came down to the Dorcas mines to talk to the miners of his company he would shoot me. I told him to shoot away, and that I did not propose to be scared out by the growling of any English bull-dog of capitalism.

Here is the oath which every miner is forced to take before he can go into a mine or get an opportunity to live.* (The name of the miner is omitted for obvious reasons.)

"I, John Brown, a Justice of the Peace, in and for the County of Wise and State of Virginia, do hereby certify that —— —— has this day personally appeared before and made statement on oath, that he would not in any way aid or abet the labor organization, known as the United Mine Workers of America, or any other labor organization calculated to bring about trouble between the Virginia Iron, Coal and Coke Company, and its employes, in or near the vicinity of Tom's Creek, Wise Co., Virginia.

"Witness my hand and seal, this the 19th day of Dec., 1901.

—— —— J. P.

Yet men who call themselves civilized will continue to vote for a system that breeds such slavery as this and will join in the cry of the mine-owners, against letting "Mother Jones circulate that Socialist literature." For such people it is the worst of crimes to let these poor slaves know that any other state of things is possible.

This superintendent should remember that the shooting of John Brown did not stop the onward march of the Civil War and the emancipation of the blacks, and should know that the shooting of Mother Jones will never stop the onward march of the United Mine Workers toward the goal of emancipation of the white slaves from capitalistic oppression. The laborers will move onward in their work until every child has an opportunity to enjoy God's bright sunlight and until some Happy New Year shall bring to every toiler's home the joyful news of freedom from all masters.

"Mother" Jones.

*The original of this document is on file at this office.—Ed.

Socialism in the Arctics.

THE recent Danish Amdrup expedition to the north-eastern coast of Greenland has revived interest in the social life of the Eskimos dwelling there as heathen.

We have had the ideals of socialism explained to us in a number of ways by many writers. We have been treated to expositions of the benefits which a socialistic state would confer on mankind. We have been advised of the means whereby society expects to approach these benefits. But nobody has attempted to show us socialism demonstrated in a community. Wherever we look within the sphere of civilization we are baffled to find such a community, and our scientists are not given to look for it beyond this sphere. And yet we must not only look beyond it, but above it, and toward the North Pole for a demonstration of socialism such as civilization is not likely to produce, even if the fondest dreams of the reformer were to be realized among us. It may be news to a great many well-informed people that on the ice-packed shores of Greenland exists a race of Eskimos that for centuries has maintained a socialistic community almost perfect in its naive idealism and logical simplicity. A race, moreover, of dauntless hunters and fishermen, incapable of reading and writing, who know nothing about politics, religion, science, the arts or literature. From time immemorial these savages have dwelt together in a brotherhood of socialism without a word in their vocabulary to express the idea of socialism. Centuries before the first missionary, Hans Egede, penetrated their imagination with the light of Christianity, these heathen, not suspecting Christ, worked out His teachings in their daily life as no Christian community can be said to have done. Christianity has added nothing to their moral virtues. It has only confused their simple ideas of life, multiplied their wants without fulfilling them, and it has brought the scourges of smallpox, scurvy and many other pests upon them, not to mention the bad liquor, which always accompanies the bible. So far from being gainers by civilization the Greenland Eskimos have suffered more from its infliction on their community than from all the ravages of the inclement nature in which they dwell.

But let us look at their society before Christianity had been preached to them. The Eskimo is the most cheerful, patient and peaceful of God's creatures. No known race can equal him in these virtues. His love of good fellowship is so acute that when anything is stolen from him, which seldom happens, he does not as a rule attempt to recover it, even if he knows who the purloiner

is. And the very few thefts that occur among the Eskimos are not looked upon by them as thefts, for they consider themselves as owning everything in common, and therefore they are disposed to regard actual thefts as a form of mischievous trickery. Great difficulty was experienced in translating the ten commandments into the Eskimo tongue, for which they were evidently not intended. In order to convey the right impression it was found necessary to write in the Eskimo bible, "Thou shalt not steal—even for fun," for the Eskimo could not understand the criminality of theft, since everything he saw belonged to him or his, whereas he could be made to appreciate the fact that he was to have no more sport of that kind. "Thou shalt not kill" was another commandment that the missionaries had a great deal of trouble in teaching them. Evidently it was superfluous in the Eskimo community, where murder is unknown, or at least of such rare occurrence that when it does happen the Eskimo language is not able to express the deed as murder, but merely as a killing. "If we must not kill, how shall we capture the seal, the walrus, the polar bear, on which we live?" cried out these innocent children of nature, whose thoughts were far removed from the possibility of manslaughter as a crime in their community. They had their fixed laws, customs and traditions, which were observed scrupulously and with a strong regard for precedents. Their little society was well ordered in every respect, and there were established rules for almost every conceivable emergency likely to occur in their primitive environments. They had certain religious beliefs—singularly akin to the Manitou conception of the North American Indian—and they had certain "angekoks," or medicine men, administering to their faith. They do not seem to take much stock in religion; at any rate, their morals are not prescribed by any religious code. They do not permit their religion to tell them what and what not to do, and they seem to treat it merely as a safety valve for their superstitions. The result of this condition is that in the Greenland Eskimos we have a race of human beings entirely moral in their mode of living, but with such a scant religious sentiment that their superstitious beliefs cannot be regarded as a religion, properly speaking. Hitherto our educators have preached about the inseparableness of morality and religion, but in Greenland the moral law does not know the religious law, and yet even to this day, in spite of the disturbing influence of missionaries, there is more morality on the coasts of Greenland than in the great commonwealths of civilization put together.

Egede, who was the first white man to take hold of them spiritually, asserts that there were times when he felt more like learning from, than preaching to, them. The absence of quarreling or hatred among them urged Egede, who otherwise writes

ratherly harshly about them, to admit his admiration of their natural morality in the following words: "It is wonderful in what peace and unity they dwell together. Neither strife nor quarreling, nor hatred or covetousness, abide in their hearts. If a man happens to take a dislike to another, he is careful not to show it, nor, on account of his remarkable tenderness of nature, does he resort to abuse, no matter what the provocation may be. The Eskimo tongue is, indeed, devoid of the necessary words."

Here we have the Eskimo in his proper light. A natural man leading a natural life on natural principles. No law tells him he must not lie, yet he never lies; no law tells him he must not kill, steal, or cause suffering among his tribe, and yet he never kills, steals, or causes trouble. He never quarrels or wrangles; he is even loath to contradict another even if he knows him to be telling a falsehood; and he is very diffident to tell the whole truth when he feels it would be unpleasant for the listener to hear it. What natural refinement, what exquisite thoughtfulness in a people of savages, dressed in thick skins, feeding on blubber, and living in stone-age style! Surely the evolution of man is not merely a matter of better clothing and conditions of life, nor does it depend upon the advancement of knowledge so much as our reformers like to make us think. The struggle for life is probably harder in Greenland than anywhere else. Nature there is stern and relentless. She holds a certain store of game between her paws, and the Eskimo risks his life every time he goes hunting for it. Nevertheless, he is cheerful as a child. If sorrow overtakes him, he may perhaps suffer bitterly at the time, but it is comparatively soon forgotten, and he is once more as radiantly contented with life as ever. He takes no care of to-morrow, as long as he has enough to eat to-day. The missionaries declare that his carelessness makes him inaccessible to civilization, and that they have tried in vain to encourage ideas of frugality and forethought in him. It is, inded, fortunate for the Eskimo that this is so, for Dr. Fridthjof Nansen, Capt. Holm, Dr. Salager and several other explorers, have pointed out that an approach to civilization means to the Eskimo a slow but certain process of deterioration. In almost every instance where the experiment has been tried, such as around the Godthaab settlements, the Eskimo, confounding the virtues and vices of civilization, has ever been made a victim of the latter at the expense of his own native virtues. He has absorbed nearly all the bad traits of the white man to the comparative exclusion of his own original good nature, and he has intermarried with sailors to such an extent that it is questionable if there is now a single pure-bred Eskimo to be found around the settlements of the west coast. On the inaccessible east coast the true Eskimo of olden days still flourishes in all the charm of his

natural simplicity, and there he is a heathen, unspoiled by the baneful influence of the white man, his religion, his wanton wares, and his diseases.

The Eskimo's apparent levity of mind has also its bright side; it is even, in a way, his chief strength. Poverty and want have in our civilized society two consequences,—physical and mental suffering. But it is precisely from this phase of depravement that the elastic spirit of the Eskimo saves him. Even a long period of starvation and endurance is at once forgotten as soon as he is fed; and the memory of bygone sufferings can no more destroy his happiness than can the fear of those which to-morrow or the next day may bring. The only thing that really makes him unhappy is to see others in want, and therefore he shares with them whenever he has anything to share. What chiefly cuts the Eskimos to the heart is to see their children starving, and "therefore," says Salager, "they give food to their children even if they themselves are ready to die from hunger. They live along in the hope of a happy change of fortune,—a hope which really sustains life in them."

The natural helpfulness of the Eskimo is the basis of the socialistic state in which he lives. He will risk his life to save that of another, even his enemy. He will share the spoils of the hunt with his neighbors. If his neighbor dies, and his wife is left alone with children, he will provide for her until she marries again. He does not slander or tell tales; he does not abuse any one; and he does not fight. He is a man of peace. He loves peace for its own sake, and his life is one long, laborious attempt at happiness for himself and his people. No wonder that the fierce Norse vikings, who first landed in Greenland, nicknamed this kind, tender-hearted people "Skrallingar," or cowards, for the Eskimos did not show fight, and when the vikings beat them, they did not strike back. In fact, their natural toleration is so great that many Christian Eskimos, understanding the bible literally, turn the right cheek when hit on the left. There are no chieftains in the Eskimo community. They all regard themselves as free men, with an equal right to hunt and fish and sleep and eat. There is no "boss;" there is no person of authority. Everybody shifts for himself. He is absolutely and unconditionally independent. His only ambition is to be a good hunter, and to rear sons who will inherit his skill with lance and harpoon. He has helped himself against the elements for centuries, and the white man descending on his shores ostensibly to confer the blessings of a superior civilization, has never been able to improve his conditions, but only to detract from the old time happiness and advantages of the aboriginal Eskimo community. With a piece of scrap iron, cut from the hoops of some Standard Oil barrel, the Eskimo will make a lance

out of a drift-wood splinter and a walrus tusk that defies the imitation of our best trained artisans. Give him some seal skins and a few sticks of drift-wood, and with the same bit of iron he will make a skin-boat that has been pronounced by Dr. Nansen and other observers the best available craft for a single man in open sea. Give him a few more pieces of wood, and he will make a dog's sled that will outlast and outspeed any sled of "civilized" make. He stands alone, the supreme craftsman of a natural people. We are no more able to improve his conditions of life with the panacea, which we label "civilization," than we are able to better his hunting gear and outfit. Ignorant of the laws of socialism, he works out its teachings in his every-day life, as he exemplified Christian principle in action and deed long before he ever heard of Christ.

Hrolf Wisby.

Boodle and Cant.

THE editor's request that I should write an article for the "Internationalist Socialist Review" places me in a quandary. I want to obey his behest; but I have no new economic theory to propound. And if I had, my limited vocabulary, which never extends to words of five syllables, would prove an insurmountable stumbling-block. Nor have I any new evangel to preach, being only a common or garden Socialist, unversed in the logical niceties of the school-men. There is, however, one subject upon which I would like to write a few lines. Will readers of the Review pardon me if I drag them down from the heights of the sublime argument to (I tremble as I write the fearsome word)—to—to Boodle?

"Bah!" you say, "an easy task. Damn it up hill and down dale and be done with it." That would indeed be easy. A few apposite quotations from various reverend gentlemen, including Bishop Potter of New York, interspersed with excellently proper remarks from very superior young English "investigators," just back from the modern grand tour—and the job is done in a twinkling. That, however, does not happen to be the purport of this humble little article. For I have to assume the role of quasi-supporter of boodle and boodlers. The task, therefore, instantly becomes formidable. I shall be lucky if I escape with the remnants of a reputation.

But, first, what is "boodle?" The word does not appear in my dictionary, so I am free to adopt my own definition. How will this do: "Boodle is a clumsy, and sometimes an illegitimate, form of remuneration for political services rendered?" I rather like that definition. Perhaps some snarling critic will up and shout in my ears that boodle is always illegitimate and always morally indefensible. Let us see. We might work it on by way of analogy. What is "profit?" I reply: "Profit is a clumsy and sometimes an illegitimate form of remuneration for commercial services rendered." So that if my two definitions are substantially accurate, it would seem that boodle is to the politician what profit is to the business man. "Ah, but," says the Socialist, "even granting your premise, Socialism would eliminate the element of profit in commerce and, for the same reason, of boodle in politics." Granted. But why this outcry against boodle when we hear so little of it against remuneration by profit? Because, of course, boodle is not respectable and big profits are the very pink of respectability. There is a story of H. M. Hyndman, in the old days, that when during a speech he felt it desirable to

have a pause to collect his thoughts, he would casually remark, "I see a top-hat in the audience." Whilst the audience was gleefully engaged smashing that unfortunate silk-topper, Hyndman would recover his breath and be ready to proceed, what time the silk had turned to pulp. It is always popular to denounce "boodle." "Boodle" is to the middle-class what a top-hat is alleged to be to the proletariat. Even in this country, where politicians never, never, speak ill of each other, you have only to cry "Tammany" and we all rush affrighted to our nooks and crannies. But middle-class prejudice, even when supplemented by honest indignation, cannot destroy such a deeply rooted institution as boodle.

If the system of boodle seemed destined to decay or to be purged of its offensive features, we might well wait for its death, merely praying for no undue delay. But I think I perceive signs that the system is crystallizing, not only in America but in every country where the Democracy is striving, in its own rude and uncultured way, to assert itself in the administration of the affairs of mankind. It may, perhaps, quite truly be affirmed that all Democratic work must be inspired by imagination and idealism; that whilst the spirit of Social Democracy must permeate all Governmental and administrative bureaux, yet the detailed work must be left to the professional expert and that our propaganda must be carried on untrammelled by the mechanical responsibilities, necessarily incident to daily contact with the minutiae of the communal counting-house. This theory admirably suits the purpose of the wealthy politician, who is financially independent of politics; but it takes no account of the professional politician—the man who resorts to politics for a livelihood, and whose motives are not less pure than those of other people. Indeed, may we not affirm that as a general rule the professional politician is what he is because of some early enthusiasm or some special aptitude that irresistibly drew him into active public life? Fate plays queer pranks with us poor mortals. What force is it that constrains John to walk the thorny path of politics and William to pursue wealth as a merchant or a lawyer? We may be prejudiced in favor of the man who works for his living with his hands or his brain, and is in politics for absolutely disinterested reasons; but if we fine it down, it will, I think, be found that professional politics is quite as honest a calling as the law, the church, business or journalism. Be that as it may, the professional politician has come to stay. We are dolts if we fail to recognize it.

There is an agreeable delusion in America that politics in England are pure; that the curse of boodle has not reached our inviolable seashores. I meet a good many Americans in the course of the year, mostly professionally, but some with introduction

from Socialist friends in America. Some come with note-books and no appetites; others come without the note-books but with other (and more entertaining) vices. It is always a great pleasure to meet them. But one and all—their unanimity is distressing—throw up their hands with horror—holy, white-lipped horror (the dear creatures!)—at the contrast between British and American politics, so far as boodle is concerned. They tell us we are to be envied; that politics over here must be delightful. Then they enlarge, in their own engaging and graphic manner, upon boodle as a hateful element in American politics.

My friends from Chicago have generally something vigorous to say about Boss Powers; New-Yorkers can say the appropriate thing of Boss Croker; nor are Boss Quay and Boss Platt forgotten, although I sometimes think I detect symptoms of higher regard for Platt and Quay, as being slightly more respectable than Croker or Powers. Perhaps that is mere fancy, on my part.

Now is there not a deal of cant in all this?

Let it be granted that one's gorge rises at the blackmailing of saloons, betting divans and brothels; that there are forms of boodle that, rightly understood, should sear the fingers that touch it. My own gorge rises anyhow; but, curiously enough, I cannot draw any intellectual distinction between the policeman who levies $50 blackmail on a brothel and the highly respectable business man who leaves $50 behind him at the same unsavory place. It is the impurity, the hideous ugliness of the transaction, in either case, that revolts us. But is not this impurity more a phase of our social conventions than a phase of professional politics? It is only as we Socialists resolutely fight and ultimately kill the prevailing mediaeval notions of the function and status of woman, that this nauseous element of practical police administration can be successfully dissipated. I think we may reasonably, if not strictly logically, draw some distinction between the boodler who exercises more or less official pressure on every kind of pleasure-hell and the boodler who lobbies for special and privileged legislation. Tammany is generally understood to charge business-houses heavily for the exercise or the withholding of its political influence. The Platt machine does precisely the same thing. Ramapo proved that without any shadow of doubt. The point of view of both these machines is, as I understand it, that they cannot develop their influence without money, and so they charge their price. If this form of political blackmail is immoral (as doubtless it is) then the business houses that pay the money over are equally immoral. Further, a conference of all the business interests concerned with special legislation might well decide not to pay contributions to these

party war-chests. If they are convinced that it is immoral so to do, then every consideration of honor (not to mention their Sunday devotions) should compel them once and for all to forswear dickering with the political machines. But we know perfectly well that this is a counsel of perfection; that the politician is too strong for the business-man. Personally, I rejoice that this is so; for, although present-day politics may be impure and even revolting, yet Social Democracy must look to it to maintain the supremacy of politics over commerce.

A consideration of these facts leads me to the conclusion that Socialists must frankly face the necessity of cultivating the professional politician. When we look at the growing complexity of our problem; when we remember that as the Socialist idea spreads, so too must state employment; then surely the obvious inference is that we want more, and not fewer, professional politicians— political public servants who depend upon their character, their skill and their perseverance for their livelihood. In England, the same tendency may be observed. Rightly or wrongly, English Socialism has strenuously devoted its energies to the spread of municipalization. Whether that policy is the right one or not is hardly germane to my argument. The result of it is that many hundreds of English Socialists are "elected persons." Most of them are weekly wage-earners. Knowing what inroads upon one's time these public duties entail, it is not surprising when we constantly hear that So-and-So will for the future devote all his time to politics. Now the plain, brutal fact is that Socialist advocates in England are disgracefully sweated. Heaven help those who throw their bread upon Socialist waters; from no mundane source will help come. There are absolutely no emoluments for any elected person in the British Isles. Parliament, no pay; county-councils, no pay; borough councils, no pay; school-boards, no pay; guardians of the poor, no pay. Our representatives must live; we must find the means.

The distinction generally drawn between boodle and pay is that while boodle presupposes something surreptitious—in some sort a bartering of political influence for monetary gain—payment presupposes a fixed sum for the performance of well-understood political services. Thus, if X. Y., with a gift of facile gab, enters local or national politics without any known means of subsistence, and yet contrives to cut a figure, we may presume that there are pickings somewhere. And there generally are, too. We shrug our shoulders and charge the enterprising gentleman with being a recipient of "boodle." If he survives the shock, it will not be long before he, in his turn, becomes a master boodler, nursing a swarm of downy little boodlers. And so a political influence grows out of the weedy soil of poverty or idleness. This

influence may be more or less baneful in proportion to the sharpness of the spur we apply to the tenderest portions of the boodler's anatomy. Are we indifferent to considerations of principle and honest policy? So also the boodler and the boodled. Is there a strong local sentiment for social reform, for honesty and uprightness? The boodler ignores it at his peril. In short, the boodler is an integral and consistent part of the community in which he lives. His color and composition is identically that prevailing around him.

In England, we do not like to see boodle thrust under our sensitive noses. But we have it all the same. Just as religion is influenced by climate, so, too, is boodle. It would be absurd to expect that we do things in England as they are done in America. That would be a denial to the Americans of the gift of imagination. But in our own sombre, beefy way we boodle with quite considerable success. For example, our present Tory Government, being strongly lobbied, passed an Agricultural Rates Act, all in the interests of British Agriculture, but contriving none the less to put £2,000,000 into the pockets of the landlords. That's boodle. Then our House of Commons has much railway business. Some promising Parliamentarian is soon picked out by a railway company, made a director, and votes in Parliament on his own company's bills. Boodle. In England, we call it "voting for the public interests." Evil-disposed persons call it "jobbing." And there is plenty of it. If it be done openly, it is done decorously, solemnly, as one performs one's religious duties. But generally English boodle blushes to find itself known; it prefers subterranean footways.

My argument would thus seem directed against boodle. But we must pay our advocates and representatives. How? Under present conditions, one has to be a very strong man indeed to command even a moderate income for political services rendered to the workers. Trades-union secretaries seldom get £250 for work done which would command £1,000 in commerce. John Burns' wages fund fluctuates and at best I question if it reaches £400 a year. Of that, I expect £100 goes in out-of-pocket expenses, for he is on the London County Council as well as in Parliament. But we have a small army of active and able politicians, whose incomes probably never exceed £75 a year. The result of this is that they exhaust themselves with tragic speed. It is not pleasant to look back over the past ten years and think of those who have gone. A prominent labor leader remarked recently that the Labor Movement was a charnal-house of broken reputations. That puts it too strongly, but, in essence, how true! Perchance equally true of other nations.

The dominant fact which stands out clear from any discussion

of this subject is that those who take a prominent part, either in the Socialist or the Labor movement, being themselves of necessity poor men, have got to be maintained either in meal or malt. The perplex and complex condition of American politics has brought the boodler into prominence. As long as he boodles in such a way as not to affect commercial interests, nothing derogatory is heard of him except in the columns of that journalistic prig, the New York Evening Post. Indeed, if you but boodle on the right side, you are in a fair way to become a statesman. It would be interesting to know, for example, how much ex-President Cleveland made from politics and how much he made out of his own profession. I do not blame Cleveland, McKinley, or any other politician, whether in America or in this country, who, finding himself in politics, plays the game according to the code. The difficulty is that with Socialists the code is different. With both Republican and Democrat it is recognized that the professional politician must mount the ladder just as does the lawyer, doctor or clergyman. Mounting the ladder means a strengthening of the man's personal financial basis, and this can only be done by acquiring political influence. With the Socialist, however, the case is different. If he uses his political power as a lever for financial gain, he ipso facto destroys his political position. It thus becomes obvious that, whatever may be the justification for boodle in American politics to-day and yesterday, to-morrow, by the growth of Socialist ideas, such justification becomes both absurd and obsolete.

I must do the boodler full justice. It is commonly supposed that he is an incompetent tongue-wagger. My own view is that the professional boodler is, on the whole, quite as capable a man as, say, nine-tenths of the British civil service. I left New York just before the declaration of the poll which placed Low in the mayoral chair of New York. I went about a little, listened to Low and Jerome, examined the programs of both the Tammany and the anti-Tammany parties, and it is my deliberate conclusion that Tammany's program was in every respect better, more practicable and more in line with Socialist ideas than that of Low and Jerome. Nor do I forget that whatever nefarious practices may have been brought to light by the Lexow and Mazet commissions, the strictest enquiry into the financial affairs of New York showed an excellent system of bookkeeping and a municipal administration quite as good, if not better, than any other in the United States. Further, I am inclined to think that Low's administration will be marked with incompetence, extravagance and general laxity. Tammany is, without doubt, the most scientific boodling organization in the world; yet so far as I could find out, Tammany has within its ranks the vast majority of New York

municipal experts. Here, then, is a pretty kettle of fish! It really seems as if the boodler comes perilously near to being the administrative expert. It is not, however, any part of my argument to push that conclusion too far. But a stranger visiting the United States is apt to imagine that the boodler is what he is because of verbal glibness. The truth is that the really expert boodler has a profound contempt for the "spell-binder." Many of them, to my own personal knowledge, are "strong, silent men," who might perchance have warmed the heart of Carlyle.

Where are we then? Is the boodler, like the devil, as black as he is painted? Frankly, I do not like him; but the facts in his favor are uncommonly strong. And now I come to the real difficulty of the situation. The whole system of boodle is so much an integral part of American politics, it seems to me, that Socialism cannot become an overwhelming force until the boodler is annexed. So long as the sun shines and water runs, we may be certain that theorists will be impotent creatures in the practical details of political life. Call into being if you will a revolt against present conditions by the creation of a clear-cut class-consciousness; appeal if you will from economy to ethics, from ethics to emotionalism; call upon the gods for their smiles; conjure up in glowing colors human fraternity—even then the democracy has to be organized and the man to do it is the American boodler. How, then, is he to be captured? Obviously, first and foremost by remembering that the professional politician has got to keep in line with the majority of the voters; and so we come back to the point from whence we started. When Socialism is influential enough to shake both the Republican and Democratic machines, the boodlers will rush over each other in their haste to join us. Let the Socialists of America and of England show themselves broad enough and human enough not to antagonize the professional politician; let them stick steadily to a persistent propaganda, not of heresy-hunting, but of a human Socialism liberally interpreted, and I have no fear for the future.

I have now successfully proved, first, that the boodler is a permanent factor in politics; secondly, that Socialism and boodling are incompatible terms, and thirdly, that the boodlers have got to join the Socialists. An absurd paradox! Yes; but wherever Socialism trades in politics its position is bound to be more or less paradoxical. The general purport of this little contribution to the literature of the world is to recall to men's minds the general proposition that these political professionals are a living, vital force in politics, whether we like it or not. Further, that it is hard work fighting against them, and that it is better for us so to contrive our political schemes that the boodler will not find it to his interests to oppose us. It is contended, I think truly,

that the formation of a gigantic permanent civil service would end the boodler's regime. Perhaps; and perhaps not. There is much, however, to be said against the premature crystallization of a permanent civil service. It becomes a vested interest, soon begins to hate innovation, and if manned by those whose sympathies are not with the social democracy, may become a hindrance rather than a help. Although I am myself on the Executive of the Fabian Society, I have no hesitation in saying that I view with the greatest suspicion the bureaucratic tendencies of that very active and intelligent body of Socialists. But there is still the practical difficulty of how to make it worth while for the boodler to come over and help us. "Regularize" is now a popular word both in England and America. We sek to regularize the drink traffic, the music halls, the native problem, and anything and everything of which we disapprove, but cannot prevent. So in like manner, in some way not inconsistent with our principles, we have got to regularize boodle. And here I think I may end with a note of interrogation. Let American Socialists, bearing in mind the development of boodle and boodlers, recognizing them to be an integral part of American life and habits, admitting further that after all they have "done some service to the State," launch out into a little discussion by trying to answer the question—"Socialist, what of the Boodler?"

S. G. Hobson.

American Railroads and Their Employes.

ONE of the best of the lately published socialist books is the last Statistical Report of the Interstate Commerce Commission. To be sure all conclusions are carefully buried beneath a multitude of statistical tables, but the facts are there, and if they are distorted we may be sure that it was not to make them better accord with socialist philosophy. Every Socialist, whether a railroad employe or not, and every railroad employe, whether Socialist or not, should have a copy, and to get it you have only to drop a postal in the mail box addressed to the Interstate Commerce Commission mentioning that you would like it. By the way, the laborers of America can secure the railroads themselves by simply dropping a request into the ballot-box saying they are wanted.

According to this report there has not been more than 5,000 miles of railroad built in any one year since 1890, save in 1900, when it reached 5,808 miles. The average for the past eleven years has been only 3,528 miles, and most of this was composed of branch lines and "feeders." When this is contrasted with the average yearly construction of over 8,000 miles in the seven years from 1880 to 1887, it is plain that the great work of building the railroads of America was finished a dozen years ago and that the army of workers who built them are taking a permanent vacation.

But it is not alone that the army of railroad builders is growing smaller each year. Every year that passes also sees the number of men required to move a ton of freight less than it ever was before. As the report usually compares the year 1893 with 1900 those years will be used unless otherwise specified. These dates are also more capable of comparison than almost any others in that both were years of so-called "prosperity." Each employe in 1893 moved a ton of freight only 107,129 miles, but by 1900 he managed to send that same ton of freight 139,143 miles, an increase of 22,014 miles, or nearly once around the globe, that each railroad worker was supposed to hustle a ton of freight in addition to the work he did seven years before. As might be expected the enigneers were the boys that did the most of this extra work. In 1893 each engineer was required to pull a ton of freight 2,413,246 miles in order to do his year's work. In 1900 his task had grown until he was able to pull a ton of freight 3,305,534 miles, an increase of 892,288 miles, or nearly 36 times around the globe.

Chief Arthur, of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers,

is one of the few trade-unionists who still declares that "the interests of capital and labor are identical." As the owners of the railroads agree with him, we should expect as the natural result of such harmonious conditions, that both "partners in production" should share alike in the advance made, and that wages would be increased in proportion to work done. The increase of labor product, at this point alone, was 37 per cent. The engineers received $3.66 a day in 1893. An increase of 37 per cent would make the wages of 1900 $5.01 a day. To show their love for brother Capital we should have expected the engineers to have been generous enough to throw off the odd cent and only keep the even "V." But we are overwhelmed with their wholesouled generosity when we learn that they insisted upon their "brother" keeping, not only the extra cent, but an extra dollar and thirty cents, while they modestly contented themselves with $3.75 a day. The full extent of their self-sacrifice is realized when we remember that the "day" of the engineer is usually figured as so many miles' run, and that this "day" has been continually lengthening during the past decade.

When we turn to the three most numerous classes of railroad employes, the "shopmen," "trackmen" and "station men" we find that while they have contributed their share to the increase of product their wages have actually decreased since 1893, and this while the cost of living has steadily risen. A little examination of the figures on this point shows that counting 300 working days to the year there have been sufficient "savings" in the way of reduced wages below the standard of 1893 of these classes of laborers alone to amount to $2,136,424 during the year 1900.

But perhaps the owner has generously passed the amount so contributed by his employes on to his dear friend, the consumer. An examination of the revenue per train mile of freight trains, however, shows that this item, so far from growing less, has increased from $1.62 in 1893 to $2.00 in 1900.

Another portion of the report tells us exactly where these economies did go. "Net income" per mile of line operated increased from $654 in 1893 to $1,180 in 1900. Reducing this to absolute figures for the entire railroad system of the whole United States, it is seen that "net income" increased from $111,058,934 in 1893 to $227,260,447 in 1900. That is, during the period when the producing power of the laborer increased 37 per cent, money wages only 3 per cent (actual wages decreased considerable), profits went up a little over 100 per cent. If we take the item labeled "surplus from operations," which is significantly designated in the report as "the one item of importance," the results are still more startling. This item increased

from $8,116,745 in 1893 to $87,657,933, or a little over 1,000 per cent. This is the pure profit, the "velvet," the creme de la creme of capitalism, and it must make every one of the 1,017,653 laborers who are engaged upon the railroads of this country swell with pride to know how successful they have been in increasing this item during the past few years.

"But," someone may say, "surely you forget that in order to thus 'improve the service' so that these laborers could produce so much more wealth, it was necessary for the capitalists owning the railroads to take a large amount from their 'savings' in order to buy so many more engines, cars, etc., and the making of these things 'gave employment' to all the workers who were thrown out by the reduction in the number of workers needed on construction." But when we look at the table of equipment per thousand miles of the line operated, it is seen that in 1894 (figures are not given for 1893) there were 202 locomotives to each such thousand miles of track, but in 1900, in spite of the immense increase in traffic, only 195 were used. Even the number of cars used only increased from 7,275 to 7,535, an imperceptible addition, in view of the fact that the number of tons of freight carried over each mile of road increased from 457,252 to 735,366, and the average number of tons in a train grew from 179.8 to 270.85 during these same years.

In what then did the employes gain during this time? Surely they must have shared somewhat in this great upward sweep. Is there not something concerning them that shows a continual increase? Certainly. Only turn to the table of "accidents" and a most decided growth is evident. Here is a statistical tale of suffering and death for which we must search the annals of savage warfare to find an equal.

The figures are given since 1888, and in the thirteen years from then to 1900 inclusive 28,340 railway employes have been killed and 361,789 have received injuries of sufficient seriousness to cause them to be reported. That is, considerably over one-half of the men who enlisted in the army of transportation, but a little over a decade ago, have been either killed or crippled. Is there any army of equal size enrolled under the flag of militarism that show an equal mortality and casualty list?

But the mad greed for profits has demanded lives at other points. Grade crossings, cheaply built and equipped trains, and "economy in operation" have laid tribute upon the lives and bodies of passengers and others, until the grand total of lives wiped out and bodies mangled in the last thirteen years by the railroads of the United States reaches the appalling sum of 86,277 killed and 469,027 injured.

Worst of all this massacre shows no signs of growing less terrible. On the contrary the last five years have seen the proportion of those killed and injured to those employed grow continually larger.

Yet in the face of these facts Chauncey Depew has the audacity to declare that there are no socialists among railroad employes.

A. M. Simons.

The First Meeting of the New International.

The first meeting of the International Socialist Committee elected by the various national delegations at the Paris Congress in 1900 was held at Brussels on Monday, December 30, 1901, when there were present: From England, Hyndman and Quelch; France, Vaillant and Gerault-Richard, the latter of whom also represented Argentina; Germany, Singer and Kautsky; Holland, Van Kol and Troelstra; Poland, Cesarine Wodjnarowski; Russia, Plekhanoff and Krytchevski; America, George D. Herron; Belgium, Anseele and Vandervelde, and the secretary, Serwy. Vandervelve presided.

Letters were read from the representatives of Italy, Austria and Spain, expressing adherence to the meeting of the Committee and giving explanations for their absence.

The first business considered was the ratification of the constitution of the Committee. It was pointed out that the election of delegates at Paris had been agreed to be submitted to ratification in the different countries; the two delegates from England had been elected from the S. D. F., and the Executive of the I. L. P. claimed that they should have a representative on the Committee. Hyndman and Quelch stated that the S. D. F. were quite willing to come to an arrangement with the I. L. P. for the latter body to have one seat on the Committee, provided that the I. L. P. would meet them for that purpose. That it had hitherto refused to do. They claimed that it was not for the Bureau to decide, neither was it for the I. L. P. alone to appoint one delegate and the S. D. F. another, as the delegates were chosen by the whole delegation, and if each section represented were to claim to send a delegate to the Committee, the latter would cease to be a committee and would become a congress. The delegates elected at the Congress were the delegates for their respective nationalities on the Committee until their appointment had been ratified or amended jointly by the Commttee, and it was agreed that the I. L. P. be written to pointing out that the S. D. F. were quite willing to cede them one of the two seats on the Committee provided they would meet to arrange the matter, and that the Bureau endeavor to arrange such a meeting early in the new year.

For the United States it was reported that an election was in progress for a representative from the Socialist party, and it was agreed to ask the Socialist Labor Party to nominate a delegate for the second seat. The other nationalities were represented as elected at Paris. Supplementary delegates, it was agreed, should

be admitted to the meetings of the Committee, in the absence of those rgularly appointed.

The different nationalities were asked to appoint a correspondent, or two where there were two sections. Either of the delegates could act as correspondent.

On the motion of the Executive Bureau, it was agreed to send the condolences of the Committee to the Swiss Socialist Party on the loss it had sustained by the death of Fauquez.

On the motion of Kautsky and Singer, supported by the Polish and Russian delegates, the Committee unanimously adopted the following resolution: "The International Socialist Bureau, meeting in conference at Brussels, December 30, 1901, expresses, in the name of the Socialist proletariat of all countries its most energetic protest against the policy of Germanisation pursued by Prussia in Poland, which has not hesitated to put in operation against the Polish people the most barbarous methods in order to compel them to abandon their mother tongue.

"The Bureau would at the same time point out the hypocrisy of the Prussian governing classes; which cannot sufficiently manifest their indignation against English barbarities in the Transvaal, yet which, on the other hand, approve and encourage the most scandalous oppression by their Government of the Polish people in Germany.

"The International Bureau calls upon the Polish working class to seek protection against the suppression of its national and intellectual culture, as well as against its economic subjection, in Social Democracy; and to devote all its efforts towards the triumph of Socialism, which can alone secure for it material and intellectual liberty and equality."

The Secretary then reported on the work of the Executive Bureau. Up to December 20 the receipts had been 3,555 francs, and the expenditure amounted to about 1,600 francs. Twenty-two nationalities had given in their adhesion to the International Committee: England, Germany, Austria, Australia, Argentina, Belgium, Bohemia, Bulgaria, Denmark, the United States, Spain, France, Holland, Hungary, Italy, Japan, Norway, Poland, Russia, Sweden, Switzerland, and Servia.

The Bureau has published during the year a number of manifestoes, including one on the troubles in Russia, one on the atrocities in Armenia, and another on the concentration camps, and it has succeeded in bringing about interpellations in several Parliaments and public demonstrations in different countries. The codification of the resolutions of the Paris Congress has been carried out and is now ready for publication.

An international bulletin has appeared from time to time in the Peuple of Brussels, reporting the communications received

by the Bureau on the Socialist movement. There had been twenty-seven numbers of this bulletin up to date. The Bureau had been frequently consulted on questions of interest to the working class, the working-class movement, social legislation, etc. The Bureau was in receipt of the journals, manifestoes, etc., of the various Socialist parties, and with the statistics thus at its disposal was preparing a volume on the development of Socialism during the nineteenth century.

Singer congratulated the Executive Bureau on the work it had accomplished, and pointed out that its duty must be rather that of collecting information and giving expression to the views of the International movement rather than of taking the lead. It was impossible to adopt the same means in all countries. Vaillant followed on the same lines, and the report was adopted. It was further decided to publish the resolutions of the International Congresses from 1889 to 1900, in pamphlet form, and also that the next meeting of the Committee should be held in July next in Brussels.

At its afternoon sitting, the Committee considered the question of putting into application the resolutions of the Paris Congress. It was agreed that the Socialist members of Parliament of the different countries should endeavor to give effect to the resolutions of the dock and maritime workers by legislation. Singer stated that steps in this direction had already been taken in the German Reichstag.

Incidentally, Comrades Serwy, Vandervelde and Troelstra advanced the suggestion that the socialist representatives in Parliament should send parliamentary documents relating to labor legislation to the Bureau.

On the question of the First of May it was decided that the Executive should issue a manifesto.

It was suggested that provisionally the following should form the interparliamentary Socialist Committee: For Germany, Singer; France, Dejeante and Marius Deves; Belgium, Vandervelde; England, Keir Hardie; Italy, Andrea Costa. The other countries were left to nominate their members.

The question of international workingmen's congresses in favor of peace was laid on the table on motion of Comrade Ved. Vaillant, who declared that the bureau might take up the subject later on.

On the question of establishing a regular international bulletin, it was agreed that the magazines of the party in the different countries, that is to say: Die Neue Zeit for Germany, the Mouvement Socialiste for France, the Nieuwe Tijd for Holland, the Social-Democrat for England, the Avenir Social for Belgium, etc., should be requested to make this a part of their regular contents. In the meantime, the bulletin to continue to be published by the Peuple.

Special pamphlets will be issued giving information of practical value, such as lists of labor organizations, lists of socialistic members of Parliament, etc.

With reference to the International Congress to be held in Amsterdam next year, it was decided that it should be held about the middle of August, and should be called the "International Socialist Congress;" that in the present month the Bureau should issue a circular inviting the various working-class parties to be represented, and to forward the questions they wished to be put upon the order of the day; and that the conditions as to admission should be the same as those agreed upon at Brussels for the Paris Congress, i. e., that only those bodies should take part in the Congress who accepted the class war and recognized the socialization of all the means of production as the aim and object of the working-class movement.

On the question of imperialism the Committee adopted three resolutions. The first, proposed by Hyndman, was as follows:

"This meeting of the International Socialist Bureau once more calls the attention of workers of the world, Socialist and non-Socialist, to the policy of imperialism which is being adopted by every country of European civilization, including the United States of America, in order to carry out the economic schemes of the international capitalist class, which, though acting in hostility at times under different national flags, nevertheless as a whole follows the same ruthless methods in every case, in order to maintain its dominance everywhere. If England in South Africa and the United States in the Philippines have shown themselves of late specially guilty, the whole of Europe, the United States and Japan have displayed in China a combination of injustice and cold-blooded cruelty which has left a hideous blot on the history of our time. The terrible economic effects of capitalist exploitation on subject peoples as in India (where 230,000,000 of human beings are being utterly ruined by the exaction of a fearful tribute), in Ireland, in Poland, in Africa, in Asia, and all over the world, reminded us also that these horrors without are accompanied by the degradation and impoverishment of the various proletariats at home. Imperialism and chauvinism are continuously used by the governing classes of all countries to cover the weaknesses of competitive capitalism and to protect themselves against the growing power of Socialism. At a time when a dangerous industrial crisis is weighing upon the workers in many countries and threatens in many more, the International Socialist Bureau appeals earnestly to the workers of the world not to be misled by the calculating manoeuvres of capitalist

statesmen and the unscrupulous misrepresentations of the capitalist press, but to band themselves together in close international solidarity, supporting one another at all times as one thoroughly organized whole against the last and worst form of class domination."

The second resolution was proposed by the Polish and Russian delegates as follows: "The International Socialist Bureau condemns the odious Russian despotism, which once more sanguinarily distinguished itself by the massacre, on May 7 last, of the workers of the Obouchoff factory, in St. Petersburg, during a demonstration in relation to the international festival of May 1, and in afterwards, at the end of September, 1901, through its servile justiciary, condemning twenty-nine victims, chosen arbitrarily from among the demonstrators of Obouchoff, to prison and to penal servitude.

"It sends fraternal greetings to the heroic fighters among the Russian working class, and assures them of the cordial sympathy of international Socialism in the struggle they are carrying on against Czarism, the common enemy of Socialism and Democracy."

The third resolution was proposed by the Russian delegates: "The International Socialist Bureau unanimously protests against the Russian Government, which, in the interests of reaction, has destroyed the constitution enjoyed by the people of Finland, and by a recent ordinance of the Ministry of Education, almost entirely prohibits to the Jews the right of entry to middle and higher schools."

"The Bureau feels all the more strongly called upon to condemn this latter measure, dictated by certain anti-Semites, because the Jewish Social-Democratic workers in Russia have by their services deserved well of the international proletariat."

The Committee, considering the question of assistance to traveling members of the party, suggested that the Executive should invite the secretaries of the various national parties to exchange cards of membership, by which members of their party might be identified, at the beginning of each year.

The meeting concluded at half-past five with thanks from the president to the delegates and congratulations on the good work which had been accomplished, the delegates expressing their appreciation of the manner in which they had been received by the Belgian comrades, and the satisfactory fashion in which the work of the Executive Bureau had been carried out. There was the most complete accord throughout the whole day's proceedings, every resolution being adopted unanimously.

In the evening a large and enthusiastic audience gathered in the magnificent hall of the Maison du Peuple to listen to speeches

from the various members of the Committee. Vandervelde presided, and, having briefly reviewed the work of the day, expressed in the name of the audience their pleasure in welcoming the foreign delegates. He paid his tribute to the valiant men of whom death deprived the International Socialist Party: Argyriades, Schoenlank, Fauquez, Burkli, and Defuisseaux, and to all other dead comrades who, though less widely known, fought with the same courage for our common cause.

Singer thanked the audience for their appreciation of the work of the German socialists. Referring to the great number of young people in the ranks of the Belgian socialists, he exclaimed: "The party which has the future in its hands!" In regard to the fight about the "hunger-duties," he said that they would do their utmost to defeat the intention of the agrarian usurers. If nothing else would avail, he continued amid the applause and laughter of the audience, they would take lessons in obstruction from the Belgians. He praised the strenuous activity of the Belgian comrades to secure universal suffrage. Comrade Vaillant, the next speaker, was received with cries of "Vive la Commune!" He praised the Maison du Peuple as a splendid proof of the vitality of the Belgian socialist movement, but the greatest fundament, he said, on which their final emancipation would rest, must yet be built: universal suffrage. Comrade Quelch said the Belgians had created a great movement in a little country and he was in no way proud to admit that the British socialists had only created a little movement in a great country. The English co-operatives, he went on to say, were little bourgeois establishments, but the Belgian co-operatives were socialist institutions. The English trade unions were labor organizations, but not class organizations. He denounced imperialism as a natural consequence of capitalist production, which kills more victims at home than abroad. Comrade Hyndman translated the speech of Quelch, whom he introduced as the standard beared of the S. D. F. in Dewsbury. Comrade Plechanoff spoke of the movement in Russia, Comrade Troelstra of the elections in Holland. Comrade Herron referred to the Indianapolis convention which unified the socialist forces in America, and gave a detailed account of the economic situation in the United States. When the American proletariat will awake to a consciousness of its own interest, it will be like a mountain torrent, he said, and the social revolution in Europe will have a close follower in the revolution of the New World. Comrade Gerault-Richard dwelt on the growing solidarity of the workers, and Comrade Krytchewsky described the scenes during the recent revolts in Russia. The following resolution, introduced by Vandervelde, was then carried by acclamation:

"This international meeting, assembled in the Maison du Peuple, declares that the industrial crisis which at present exists in all countries of Europe is the fatal consequence of the economic anarchy which characterizes capitalist production. It expresses the conviction that the innumerable evils which result for the proletariat from this economic anarchy can only be ended by the socialization of the means of production and the triumph of international Socialism."

The meeting concluded with loud cheers for the "International," after which the children of the different choirs gave an entertainment, which was much appreciated.

Program and Tactics of the Italian Socialist Party.

[From Le Mouvement Socialiste]

ON principle, the Socialists can never give any permanent support to a bourgeois government. Still under the present condition of Italy and its proletariat, it may be good policy for the Socialist deputies to temporarily assist a certain minister who permits the normal development of the class struggle by respecting the free and legal organization of the proletariat.

We must make a distinction, at the present stage of development, between the absolute and inherent element, the program, and the transient and relative factor, the tactic. This I have done in two of my recent articles in our daily "Avanti," and Turati has done likewise in the Critica Sociale of July 16. Turati is really the most pronounced advocate of ministerialism among us, in so far as he wishes to lend a systematic support to the Cabinet Zanardelli. But in spite of his formidable strength in polemics, he represents the minority in the parliamentary fraction and in the executive of the party. We are nevertheless unanimous and in harmony with one another, for we keep program and tactics apart.

The program of the Socialist party has two inseparable pillars: the aim (the collective ownership of the means of production and distribution); the method (the class struggle). As there is no miraculous charm by which we might pass within twenty-four hours from bourgeois to Socialist society, we must go ahead gradually, pushing the economic and social evolution by the economic organization of the proletariat until we realize our final aim.

On this program all the Italian Socialists are agreed, from Turati to Ferri. And it is the same in Germany, from Bebel to Bernstein, from Kautsky to Vollmar; in England from Webb to Hyndmann, from Keir Hardie to Belfort Bax; in Belgium from Anseele to Vandervelde; and, I believe, in France also from Jaures to Guesde.

As long as the Socialist party is in the first stage of its development, when it has to emphasize simply and solely its class character by standing apart from the bourgeoisie that gave rise to it in forming a proletariat, then the unity and harmony are easy and evident under the pressure of the conditions and necessities of life. But even at this stage, there always exist differences of temperament, habit, inclination, education, etc., among the members of the same party. Just as any part of a piece of crystal shows the characteristic marks of the whole crystal, so does any political

party exhibit the salient traits of the entire collectivity. In the latter, just as in a party, or even in a family or any other social group, there are always an extreme left and an extreme right. There is always the daring, energetic, active individual, and the prudent, thoughtful, timid one; there is the absolutist and the realist, the theorizer and the practical man, the compromising and the uncompromising.

These anthropological and inevitable differences, that are not very evident and disturbing during the first beginnings of the Socialist party, became more apparent and troublesome during the following stages of its growth. Once the Socialist party has obtained the guaranty of the elementary rights, then it can no longer continue to follow simply a purely negative tactic. It must make use of its liberty and keep up with the evolution of the bourgeoisie by organizing the proletariat economically and introducing partial and gradual reforms by legislation. Then arises the question of tactics against the government, in the municipalities, etc. And then the differences between the extreme left and the extreme right of the party break out more or less sharply.

The attitude of Bernstein has caused so much discussion because it made its appearance at the stage when the party was in full process of growing. These phenomena are common to all countries, as I have noticed at our last international congress in Paris. Moreover, the uncompromising attitude of the extreme left of our party claiming to defend the integrity of our program is also justified and necessary. For I believe that Liebknecht saw clearly when at the Hannover congress, between the opportunists who said, "The movement (partial reforms) is everything, the aim (collectivism) is nothing," and the absolutists who answered, "The aim is everything, the movement nothing," he summed his position up in this positive manner: "The aim is nothing, if we don't have any movement to realize it; but the movement is nothing, if it does not lead to the final aim with the class struggle for a compass."

The conclusion to which I also hold is that we must never forget these two inseparable and indispensable terms of our program, collective property and the class struggle. We must not forget them, not only in our words, but also in our daily actions, in our propaganda as well as in our organization, in the parliaments as well as in the communes, in our newspapers as well as in our books. Only by the help of these two factors can we always create that form of the socialist mind which I regard as the strongest revolutionary power.

But apart from this necessity which alone exists during the first stages of the party's growth, we must also recognize in our tactics the transitory and conditional necessities of further advanced stages, which at the same time keep our program intact and uniform.

By following these ideas and making this distinction, the Italian Socialist party retains its unity and harmony, harmony even during the later stages of its growth, on which it has entered after the victorious campaigns of obstruction that secured for the party the elementary and fundamental conditions necessary for its existence and for the organization of the proletariat. The results of the general elections of June, 1900, and the change of the government policy from that of a Pelloux to that of a Zanardelli were due to this fact.

One may disagree on a certain question of tactics and divide over it into a majority and minority. But on the question of the program we agree unanimously, while at the same time leaving every one fully at liberty to devote himself either to the propaganda of the program or to the study of practical reform questions, according to individual temperament and inclination. The division of labor directed by a guiding principle is very useful, even in the life and development of the Socialist party.

The unity of the Socialist party must not hinder the variety of activities, nor the cordiality of relations between Socialists of the extreme right and left.

I hold this to be the inevitable outcome, however slowly and painfully it may be realized. For conditions are stronger than men, and life is stronger than arguments.

Enrico Ferri.

(Translated by E. Untermann.)

Socialists in the Capitalist Press.

SOME idea of the reliability of the capitalist press in reporting Socialist news is gained from the following. The first is a quotation from a recent issue of the Chicago Daily News.

Berlin, Nov. 23.—"The true exponent of socialism is as good a Christian as Archbishop Corrigan," said Dr. Karl Liebknecht, the brilliant son of Germany's late veteran socialist leader and the rising hope of the socialist party, in an interview to-day to the correspondent of the Daily News. The reported assertion of the American prelate that all socialists are infidels, Archbishop Corrigan's denunciation being based on the Pope's encyclical, has stirred the blood of the whole socialist party of Germany.

Speaking further on this subject, Dr. Liebknecht said: 'Archbishop Corrigan's ideas of socialism are badly warped. He either commits the popular blunder of mistaking us for anarchists or he argues from a superficial understanding of the things which he abuses. Socialism and religion spring from a common inspiration and are allies in uplifting humanity. We make a sharp distinction, however, between the church and religion. We decline to recognize Christianity as religion because of its concrete confession of faith. We hold that organized godliness, however labeled, is inimical to religion in the ethical sense in advancing the material condition of mankind.

"We claim that we are working legitimately on Christlike lines by making men better and capable of living moral lives. Socialism is religion with the metaphysical mask torn off. We yield to no Christian in our religious qualities, but we declare uncompromising war on corporate religion which, not being content with works of salvation, misses the real purpose of true godliness.'

Dr. Liebknecht added that the present economic crisis in Germany had weakened the socialist cause. He explained this assertion by saying that the energy, thought and means of the masses are taxed to the fullest capacity by their struggle for existence, while the employing classes, through the process of reducing workingmen to a dead level which is now in progress, are correspondingly strengthened."

In a recent personal letter of explanation Comrade Liebknecht says: "I felt justified in permitting this interview on account of the great importance which church and religion have in the "new world." I did not think it amiss to contribute a little toward dispelling religious prejudices against our party. I did not sufficiently realize, however, that in so doing

I exposed myself to the danger of misinterpretation, etc. I shall be more careful in the future. If the Daily News does not correct its statements soon, I beg you will use my communication as you see fit."

Needless to say, that the following statements of Comrade Liebknecht, sent to his interviewer on Dec. 15, have not yet appeared in the Daily News. In justice to our comrade, they now find a place in the pages of The Review:

"Dear Sir: I regret to state that your report of our interview contains several misrepresentations and misinterpretations.

"1. I did not say that the whole socialist party of Germany has been stirred by Corrigan's denunciation. This denunciation very likely came to the notice of very few German socialists besides myself. It has no political significance whatever for Germany, and will hardly have caused any alarm to American socialists.

"2. I have not alluded to a mistake in distinguishing between socialism and anarchism, not even remotely. For anarchism also assumes generally a neutral attitude toward religion.

"3. The unmodified sentence: 'The true exponent of socialism is as good a Christian as Archbishop Corrigan' may be misunderstood too easily. I have laid special emphasis on the neutrality of our party toward religion—including Christianity—and added that the "practical Christianity" of us socialists is better "Christianity" than mere "verbal Christianity," even though we may not have any religious faith at all. I justified the necessity of fighting certain churches by pointing out their zealous and detrimental activity in the service of economic, social and political reactionaries.

"4. I have not declared by any means that the socialist cause had been weakened by the present crisis. That would be reversing the truth. Never has any crisis strengthened socialism so much as the present crisis by increasing the solidarity, intensifying the revolutionary character, and tending to incite the widest circles of the people. Trade-unionism may anticipate some setbacks, and the number and volume of strikes will decrease considerably. That is what I tried to impress on you.

I request that you will as soon as possible take notice of these corrections in your paper. Yours respectfully,

Dr. K. Liebknecht.

The growing importance of Socialism in the United States has brought us official recognition as a political party in the leading publications of this country. But this does not mean impartial recognition. It will be well for us, therefore, to remember in case of interviews that the private owners of the capitalist press, while

ridiculing the idea of a class struggle, are extremely class-conscious. Hence we cannot expect to be correctly quoted by the enemy at a time when the economic foundations for the old lines of thought have passed away, and when the only hope for a continued existence of bourgeois supremacy is the conservation of obsolete prejudices.

Ernest Untermann.

THE CHARITY GIRL.

By Caroline H. Pemberton, Author of "Stephen, the Black," "Your Little Brother James," Etc.

CHAPTER XXII.

The rumble of the wheels and the roaring, rushing noises of an express train running at full speed suggested to Julian's oppressed senses the booming of artillery and the clashing arms of two great forces. The skill of the physicians and the lavish attentions of the nurses had so far reduced his temperature only one degree; nourishment in small quantities restored him, however, to a semi-consciousness which was less dangerous than the stupor in which he lay at first. But toward evening, delirium set in, and the unnatural muscular strength which often accompanies high fever soon taxed to the utmost the resources of nurses and doctors.

Julian was now distinctly aware that he was lying on a field from which the smoke of battle had not yet lifted. As the train began to run more easily, the mad fury of the conflict began to wane; the defeated army was hastening its retreat, and the victors had withdrawn with their prisoners and their wounded, leaving him alone on the battle-field, overlooked and forgotten!

He struggled to rise from the grassy mound on which he lay, but found himself held down by firm bands, which he divined to be tangled ropes of broad-bladed grass; they had grown to an extraordinary length during the battle and were entwined in inextricable knots across his breast. His screams for help failed to reach his rejoicing comrades, who were still firing their guns in honor of the victory.

"My God, must I perish thus miserably—a prey to vultures and wild beasts!" he shrieked in tones that rang through the car and imposed silence on a group of eager talkers.

Something fluttered over him—something that he did not wish to see and closed his eyes against; yet he caught a glimpse of a flashing of white as it might be a vision of a great bird with breast and pinions of white hovering over him. He shuddered. Were the vultures upon him already? He tried to recall the appearance of these birds from his early lessons in natural history, but he could not decide for a certainty that they were authorized to wear wings faced with shining white. The doubt raised a faint hope in his breast.

To his bewilderment, a soft hand clasped his firmly; a voice spoke in his ear in clear accents, bidding him not to be afraid; that everything would be well with him, if he would only not resist their efforts to save him—he was being taken home.

The shape that was bending over him was not that of a bird; Julian divined this even before he opened his eyes to catch in an

obscure glance the outlines of a white helmet,—a fair cheek and shell-like ear. By intuition he knew now what had happened: he was numbered among the slain and the radiant creature bending over him was a Valkyrie intent on rescuing the dead heroes of battle—to bear them away to a remote region in the skies! The thought impressed him with solemnity, but inspired no terror; confidence and gratitude took possession of him, and he lay back smiling and peaceful in the face of this wholly new, supernatural experience. The fact that it bore no relation to any scheme of Christian theology as yet revealed did not disturb his serenity, for he reflected that the pastors and preachers of the Christian world would simply proceed with renewed zeal to reconcile their doctrines with this very late manifestation of the truth of Scandinavian myth. It would not be half so difficult as the harmonizing of their views with the teachings of modern science—a feat which they had long ago professed to have achieved with amazing success.

The Valkyrie maiden laid her hand upon his.

"Do not be afraid—it is cold,—but it will not hurt you," she said, tenderly. He shut his eyes and waited. The splashing of water sounded in his ears, and knowing that a novel and perhaps terrible experience was to be undergone, he determined to bear it with the fortitude of a hero.

He was lifted from his grassy couch and let down—down—down into what he felt must be a watery grave—there was no other name for it. It yawned to receive him and he wondered if the waves were to close over him forever, or if earth and rocks were to be piled on top of him, shutting out eternally the light of day?

But the hand of the Valkyrie was still holding his; he clasped it convulsively as the icy waters touched him and flowed over his body. Rivulets from unseen sources trickled down his forehead and splashed into his face. He gasped for breath; he shivered and clung with all his might to the Valkyrie's hand.

There was something about the hand that was strangely familiar; it brought to his mind a moment when he had laid his own over a girlish one that was like this in smallness and in the delicate tapering of the fingers. There should go with the touch of that hand, the tones of a young voice that held an echo of loneliness, some mystery of passion not as yet identified with love,—an all-pervading note of self-repression. While Julian was pondering these memories in confusion, he felt himself gently withdrawn from the waters and laid back on his couch wrapped in something exceedingly warm, comfortable and reassuring to one who has been an inmate of a grave—and a grave full of water at that.

The Valkyrie spoke again tremulously:

"Let go my hand, please."

He was still holding it tightly. With joy he recognized that the hand and the voice went together. They belonged to Elisabeth! He opened his eyes and stared into the face of the Valkyrie. It was Elisabeth, but wearing the white helmet of a daughter of the gods—completely clad in white was she, like an angel!

Julian gave no sign of recognition, but closed his eyes, after making this great discovery. Elisabeth had died then; her spirit had taken the form of a Valkyrie, and she had come to his aid. How miraculous, how beautiful, how agonizing was the thought!

Some kind of burning liquid was put to his lips. He swallowed it mechanically; it sent a warm thrill through his veins. Gently the Valkyrie tried to disengage her hand, but Julian resisted. She laid her other hand, which was cool and light, on his forehead.

"Sleep—then—you must sleep." Her tone was one of command, as becomes a being wearing the shining radiance of another world. His hold on her hand loosened; he began to breathe softly, regularly; soon he was asleep.

"We've pulled it down three degrees and a half," said the doctor, looking at the clinical thermometer in his hand. "I thought we'd better take what risk there was without losing time,—of course, it won't stay down long."

Julian's cot was at one end of the car and at the other lay the young surgeon of the regiment; his tongue now running like a galloping horse in spite of the efforts of the nurses to keep him quiet.

"When we get to my village," he was saying, with mingled scorn and pride, about the time that Julian was lifted out of his bath, "you will see a place where the pedestrians have the right of way,—that is its chief characteristic,—the pedestrians have the right of way,—not by law so much as by custom,—it's not carried out anywhere else, you know. That's my experience. The pedestrians represent the plain people. In Philadelphia, we live in houses; we're not Cliff-dwellers. But we're primitive. It's the Quaker spirit among us; it gives us a kind of primeval simplicity. I cannot begin to tell you how simple-minded we are! We think the only way to do a thing is just to go and do it,—and when we've done it, what attitude do you suppose we take? By the holy apostles! Do you know what we think about it afterward? Why, we never think about it at all! We never do. It's not worth mentioning—thanks. If any other city had done this thing, had sent one hospital train after another to care for thousands of sick soldiers from all parts of the Union—this is the tenth, I believe—the whole world would have been rung up by telephone to stand still and admire. But we Philadelphians—this is the way we have

been behaving right along since the town was first laid out. It makes me tired!" He stopped because a nurse laid her hand over his mouth. He kissed it impulsively.

"It's good to see some of you girls again," he said, and closed his eyes with a sigh of deep satisfaction.

The train drew up to a station shortly after daybreak. There was a great crowd waiting to greet the returning soldiers. A cheer went up.

Said the Stonecutter: "These rustic fellow-citizens is makin' a grand mistake,—they allow it's the heroes returnin' from Cuba they're beholdin'!"

The Undertaker's Son poked his head out of the window; the crowd sent up another shout at the sight of his yellow face.

"We're not the ones you think, we haven't seen a battlefield—we haven't been out of the country," he explained, shamefacedly. "We haven't done a thing but live in our tents and eat government rations all summer."

"God knows that's enough!" roared a countryman. "By the looks o' ye, ye've seen worse than battles!"

They cheered more loudly than ever as the train moved off. Similar experiences awaited them all along the route,—"their progress was a continued ovation," the newspapers said.

Finally the traveling hospital reached its destination, and rattled through the city over an elevated railroad. The young surgeon, who had been quiet for several hours, raised himself on his elbow and began to chatter afresh—his eyes sparkling, his cheeks flushed.

"Now you'll have a chance to see my fellow citizens in all their glory! The entire village will turn out—they'll be standing by the gates. I guess they've been here for hours already—the simpletons! Don't be disappointed: they won't have sense enough to send up a cheer for us,—they're so taken up doing the thing itself just right—that's their way, as I've already explained. Half the population are doctors and the other half simpletons—that's why the politicians have such a fine time of it. Oh, I forgot about those politicians—they all but turn the people out of doors! I'll tell you about them another time. And that's why I moved out,—but I'll admit it was mostly on account of the doctors. Do you see that cluster of lights high up in the heavens? It's not a constellation; it's the statue of William Penn on the top of the Public Buildings. He preached the doctrine of non-resistance to evil,—that's why they don't resist anything in Philadelphia—anything evil. The corporations have a splendid time of it in consequence. The Philadelphians despise that statue—that's another of their peculiarities; they're a most singular people! They despise everything they have,—they despise themselves, and each other,—and every reformer that gets up—and yet, O Lord! they're called the City of Brotherly Love!"

This up-town fellow is a disgrace to his profession," muttered the Only One to a fellow officer. "The profession ought to be restricted to gentlemen." Both officers were very drunk.

"A city of brotherly love!" echoed the Cuban, with glowing eyes. He occupied the cot next to the Surgeon, and he was holding an ice-bag luxuriously to his burning forehead.

"A city of love—in the cold North? Yes, I see the light,—I see it. Does it shine all the way to Koobah?" He continued to murmur, "A City of Brotherly Love" with intense fervor, but no one thought it worth while to pay the least attention to a Latin degenerate, who could not pronounce the name of his own island.

There was indeed a vast crowd pressing against the gates of the depot as the train rolled in. The young doctor was right: his sober-faced citizens did not honor the regiment with a cheer; they started to do so, but the sound died away quickly as the stretchers were carried past to the ambulances, which were waiting in the street. The sight of so many prostrate forms indistinctly outlined beneath heavy blankets, with their faces mostly hidden from view, as are the faces of the dead, was enough to choke the heartiest cheer in the throats of the bravest. Few of the men in the throng removed their hats; they simply bowed their heads, while the women wept silently.

Two hours later found the suffering regiment comfortably distributed through the wards of well-equipped hospitals. The great city of rectangular highways and parallel courts and by-ways, with its thousands of right-angled, pigeon-box homes for the proletariat,—in its mediaeval, shortsighted fashion had again put forward its modest claim to deserve the ancient Greek title which the great ethical and Quaker romanticist had selected,—knowing perhaps in his heart that no people on God's earth had as yet deserved it.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Indescribable torments of fever enveloped Julian for many days in flames of anguish. During this interval, consciousness pursued its retreat like a hunted animal vanishing into a hole in the ground. Finally his sense of identity—that which seemed to be his real self—became a mere speck, and to this greatly reduced speck came occasional glimmerings from the outside world when a temporary lowering of his temperature would part the heavy medium of his sufferings.

In one of these glimmerings, Julian looked up and saw with a fearful sense of personal loss the face of Marian bending over him. The thought flashed through him that the apparition of Eilisabeth, which he so distinctly remembered, must have been

an illusion or an impersonation,—probably the latter, due to Marian's skill as a sorceress. He flung himself with all his strength away from her, shouting incoherently that he would not have her weaving spells over him.

But for many days the enchantress hovered near. Her golden hair touched his brow when she stooped to administer nourishment; she smiled upon him always with an air of tender triumph. Julian passionately resented her presence by his side when he lay thus in inexplicable misery. His fever raged more violently than before and his moments of consciousness became blurred and less frequent. Alternating with the face of Marian came the sad, tearful face of his mother, but Julian distrusted this vision also and treated both with equal disdain. The troubled face withdrew finally without receiving a look of recognition.

Julian lay in a darkened alcove, his bed carefully shut off from the rest of the ward by large screens. There had been a change of doctors at the hospital and the nurses were awaiting instructions from a new arrival, who had offered his services on behalf of the soldier patients from his own city.

Through indistinct flittings of consciousness, Julian heard as in a dream, voices, low-pitched and agitated; said one which he recognized as Marian's:

"You have no right to order me to leave! Why may I not perform my duty faithfully here, and receive from you the courtesy due to a stranger?"

A deep bass voice uttered an exclamation of scorn.

"Duty! What right have you to use that word? I say I will not have you intruding yourself into my field of service; I would not trust you to perform the most trifling obligation of a nurse with faithfulness!"

"You are cruelly unjust, as you always were—always!" the silvery chimes of this voice rang through Julian's oppressed senses like the sound of a bell in a fog at sea. "You deprive me of my only chance to earn a living."

"The arms to which you fled in preference to mine are still open, I fancy," said the other in a harsh sneer.

"I call upon Heaven—God will surely strike you down for uttering that slander! I do not expect you to believe me—you have always given a free rein to every low suspicion that your imagination could invent. I fled to no man's arms—I fled only from you."

The voice of the woman had lost its delicate modulations and was now a gasping appeal.

"Be careful—you will disturb the patients. You must be perfectly aware of the interpretation the world puts on your action." He spoke with a slow heaviness.

"Ah, you care only for the world's opinion! Have you no pride—you never had real love for me—to make you wish to protect the name I bear because it is your name?"

"I struggled all my married life to protect your name and mine, and succeeded until—the end came. At this moment my home is open to you"—he corrected himself with bitterness,—"my house is open to you—I have no home—whenever you choose to return to it."

"How magnanimous!—why may I not stay here to do the work that I love dearly?"

The man drew a deep breath; after a pause he spoke hoarsely.

"I could not stand—I could not stand seeing you day after day. I can do my work by forgetting—I have others to think of—not myself alone."

Two or three steps forward were taken by small feet.

"Think of me, for once—Gilbert. Perhaps—perhaps, in this service I may find a chance—to expiate—to expiate——"

"Expiate, Marian? that word—on your lips——"

"Ah! Let me stay! I am seeking expiation—expiation!" The beautiful tones of her voice were more like the sighing of a summer's breeze than anything human, yet faint as they were, they reached Julian's ears. "I wish to bury myself from the world,—forever. I do not forget the wrongs I have heaped upon you, all the unhappiness I have caused. Do not misunderstand me—I am seeking Heaven's forgiveness, not yours, Gilbert. No, no,—not yours, not yours!" The last words ended in a sob; were they smothered in an embrace? There was silence. Julian, turning his head impatiently, passed again into the interior of that strange region to the border of which the voices within the alcove had recalled him.

Not long afterward, a physician sat holding Julian's wrist lightly within his fingers; his deeply furrowed brow was bent heavily forward; his air of abstraction betrayed that he was not thinking of his patient. Julian stirred and passed a thin hand over his face.

"I knew she would weave her spells over me while I slept," he murmured irritably. "I wish you would take away the sorceress! I feel her cobwebs across my face already—I do not dare to sleep!"

The doctor started and looked sharply at his patient; perhaps he became aware that he had seen the face before. A dark flush mounted to his forehead, but he clasped the wrist that he held with a reassuring firmness.

"You can rest easily; the sorceress is not here. She will weave no more spells—over you." His voice broke; he hung his head in profound agitation, and remained in this attitude for some

minutes. Recovering his self-possession, he walked quietly from bed to bed and continued his professional duties.

His words, however, planted themselves securely in Julian's troubled brain; it mattered not by whom they were pronounced, they conveyed an impression of truth, and were further corroborated when he opened his eyes and saw with relief that the beautiful face of Marian was no longer hovering near.

Night came; the hour arrived when Julian's delirium was bound to increase; he spent his feeble strength tossing from side to side in single-handed combat with dreadful phantoms and nameless terrors. He tried to stifle his shrieks that he might not betray the unmanly fear that was paralyzing his heart. A light which he knew was not that of day burst forth somewhere near him; was it a torch? He opened his eyes and beheld Elisabeth. She had turned on an electric jet.

In an instant, the grisly shapes vanished; all the horrors withdrew their ugly heads; the storm died down. He knew himself to be in a woodland scene of singular peacefulness and beauty. There were moss-covered rocks, too, of much grandeur, and on one of these he was lying. He looked up at Elisabeth with a strange light in his eyes.

"You have found your way to me at last, you daughter of the North! I have just discovered how wonderful you are. Your hand can strike music,—you can uplift art and make it sacred because you are touched with the holy fire that belongs to all these races. You look strangely like Elisabeth, my dear, young Valkyrie."

"I am Elisabeth," said the young girl, trembling. What new fancy had seized his poor brain?

"Elisabeth is dead," replied Julian, smiling sadly. "You are her spirit—in the form of Brunhilde, perhaps; it does not matter how it happened; the legend does not explain such details, and it is not for me to inquire too rashly. I am a miserable mortal, still clinging to the bedraggled garments of flesh. Oh, worse—I am a wretched Anglo-Saxon,—untouched by holy fire. I lied when I said I was no Anglo-Saxon!" He raised himself in bed; his eyes, glowing like coals of fire, were fixed on her face. Elisabeth with a cry of despair rushed to him; she flung her arms around him to give his frail body support. But to compel Julian to lie down was beyond her strength. He continued to rhapsodize piteously,—

"I could not reconcile art and morality; so I gave up art; I made the sacrifice,—do you remember that I gave them into your keeping—my musical instruments? I broke them purposely—thinking that I would cheat my conscience,—and that I would live—the higher life afterward. But I did wrong! In my gross materialism I struck at the defenseless instruments and silenced

them forever,—forever! Being an Anglo-Saxon, I silenced the voices in me and in the instruments, and for that I am left here to die—without hope of favor or forgiveness." He paused, groaned and closed his eyes; then opened them to utter softly this petition:

"Will you kiss me before I die?"

He permitted himself to be laid back gently on his pillows. Elisabeth summoning to her aid all the mother-wit and romance that were mingled in her with the blood of two races, leaned toward him, determined to master his disordered fancies; her young face was illumined with inspiration.

"Listen to me! If I were to kiss you, you would never, never die! You would be immortal,—do you know that?"

"It would be the kiss of death!" murmured Julian, again closing his eyes.

"No,—the kiss of life! You must believe what I say, for I am far wiser than you,—what are you but a gross materialist? You cannot hope to understand the things I know."

"You are right—I cannot;" he was already impressed.

"And the instruments! They are broken no longer; I mended them with just one touch of my hand! I am full of that holy fire—even to my finger tips!" She looked at him anxiously to see if he would swallow this pretentious assertion. He accepted it with entire conviction, so she went on:

"Yes,—they are entirely restored and ready for you to play on. How you must have missed them all this time—when you were starved without music; starved—as I was—when I was Elisabeth."

"When you were Elisabeth—yes, I remember you," he spoke as if she had been dead a long while, long enough to be almost forgotten.

"That is why I came to you to-night, to tell you that you are to be broken no longer by suffering! You are to live to be restored—like the instruments!"

"Do I have to live?" he whispered, and closed his eyes again wearily. It seemed to her that she had failed. There was no need then for her to kiss him. Julian had already forgotten his request.

He did not appear to be sleeping, for he soon began to roll his head from side to side. Elisabeth was then forced to leave him to attend to the wants of several other patients in the long ward. When she returned she found Julian sitting up in bed, gesticulating violently.

"They are at me again—I knew they were only hiding from you! Why does that hideous hag point her bony finger at me? She smells of the poorhouse horribly, the old pauper! The purple-

faced one with her hair hanging down is coming at me again with her crutch. If she tries to hit me again, I'll take it from her. What do I know of her multitude of diseases? I'd cure them if I could—but what can I do when she hasn't had enough to eat? Ah! She's got the children hiding behind her; I knew they were there,—I tell you, I can't stand the sight of their faces again, and their sore eyes—how frightful!"

"There is no one here but myself. Don't you know me—Elisabeth?"

"They're asking me for bread—bread—Elisabeth—when I have none for them. What's to be done when they ask for bread like this? It's because the wheels are stopped and the mills are shut down. Can't you get them open for a little while—just a little while? These people, these hideous creatures are coming here to show me the human brotherhood! They're the ones we're supposed to love, but I loathe them."

"Do try to rest—there is no one here—no one."

"Who is that young creature with the painted face? I know her! She said her name was May. There is good in her,—at least there was once, before I turned my back on her cry. I was angry because she would not take my money. She found me out as a hypocrite. What else can an Anglo-Saxon be? It's in our blood, Elisabeth. The Hypocrites of England—how glorious they be! I can't sing any more—now. This May—I must do something for her. I must try to save her. It is not too late. Let me up, Elisabeth. I must get up. I tell you I will get up. Why do you try to hinder me?"

He struggled violently against the pressure of her hands. Elisabeth looked around frantically for the other nurse, but she was nowhere within call.

"You cannot find May," she said at last, with desperate firmness. "She is not to be found in this world. She is gone—she is at rest."

"Ah—she is dead, too,—how terrible, how terrible this is for me!" He covered his face with his hands.

"I was with her when she died—I will tell you about her if you will lie quietly with your eyes shut." She saw that she would have to yield to his mood in the hope of finally controlling it.

Julian composed himself quickly and closed his eyes.

"When I hear your voice, Elisabeth, I can rest easily. Go on—tell me about May."

Elisabeth, sitting sideways on the bed and holding Julian's hand, began her narrative in a low, monotonous voice. She told him she had met the unfortunate May in the street when she herself was penniless and out of work, and that it was May who had directed her to a decent boarding-house and the next day left an

envelope with money in it for her. Every week the envelope was left at the door and Elisabeth could only guess at first that it came from May. Finally a message came that a patient in the hospital erected for the city's poor wished to see Elisabeth at once. She went immediately and found May dying. At her request Elisabeth started out late at night to seek an elderly man, who had at one time befriended May, having met her in the halls of a socialistic club. Elisabeth described minutely her interview with this white-haired stranger; how she had trembled with the fear that he would refuse her request, and how kindly of purpose she had found him. Together they had hurried to the bedside of the dying courtesan and stayed with her until long after midnight. May had died just before the dawn.

Long before the story was finished—and Elisabeth told it in a whisper that grew fainter and fainter—Julian's breathing had become calm and regular. Once or twice he smiled as if in his sleep, and repeated her last words in a whisper. She did not know whether their meaning really reached his brain, but at any rate, she had soothed and calmed him. When she left him, he was sleeping peacefully.

CHAPTER XXV.

Julian being now convalescent, was longing to see Elisabeth. Why was she not with him as before? He called to an attendant who was moving about the ward and asked to see the nurse who had had charge of him during his illness. The attendant mentioned several nurses whose names were unfamiliar. There were also the night nurses, whose names she did not know. He braced himself to await nightfall with patience.

But when evening came and the change of nurses was made, Elisabeth did not appear. This caused him frightful alarm. Had she fled from him again? What mad thing had he said to her in his delirium? But surely she would not hold him responsible for the ravings of fever!

Then slowly there passed before his mind a panorama of past days. He saw himself a follower of false ideals, a deluded egoist whose bubbles were being pricked and burst, one by one. What would be more fitting than that Providence should now crown his wasted efforts with the total obliteration of his dearest hopes! Thus did the gods delight always to punish presumptuous men, in place of reasoning with them to persuade them of their folly!

In the depression caused by great physical weakness, the cruel philosophy of the fatalist took possession of his reason and convinced him that Elisabeth was dead. After restoring him to life through her tender care, she had been seized by a sudden malady

and swept out of life as he was returning to it. His attendants were afraid to tell him the truth, but he divined it,—Elisabeth was dead!

Crushed by the force of this terrible conviction, which was intensified by the memories of his dreams, Julian lay staring at the wall, reading in its blankness the death sentence of his life, as convicted criminals read theirs in the white-washed walls of their narrow cells. So one of his attendants found him an hour later, and though she persistently strove to arouse him to cheerfulness, Julian made no answer, nor did he ask a question.

The busy chirp of the irrepressible Philadelphia sparrow awoke him the next day at early dawn; it heralded the spring and poured into his ear a tale of daily duties, incessant vigilance, and everlasting reform (the sparrows being the only successful reformers in Philadelphia).

The awakening brought back only the dreadful sense of loss,—the loss of Elisabeth. The morning was very early; the chatter of the sparrows soon ceased, and Julian's sad memories faded again into sleep.

When he awoke later, the sunlight was streaming through the window. He seemed to have been listening to strains of noble music through which sounded great trumpet blasts such as occur unexpectedly in Raff's Winter Symphony.

The music was set to heroic verses and their splendor still lingered in his ear. The words came struggling back like a disorderly procession that had forgotten how to march: "Sunrise of the Centuries—Freedom of the Common Fields—Purple shadows of the East—Hushed Voices—Earth's Sobbing—Shameful Markets that sell the Lillies of Righteousness—Oh, Maker of Men, where art Thou, and Thy great overshadowing wings?" Fragments of broken thoughts were they—confused and disarranged like his own life.

He struggled to put them together and to bind them to that glorious melody. It was all in vain; the art that had once woven them together was not of this world; their mystic meaning could not be chained to any form known to earth, and yet they laid a heavy command upon him. What was it?

The sorrowful world was calling to him to forget himself—his happiness—his love. In place of relieving those whom society had wronged, he was to bear arms against the wrongs themselves. This was surely the meaning of that great trumpet blast in his soul!

Vividly there came before him the picture of that new and glorious future which his friend the Undertaker's Son had so persistently held before his eyes. Not for nothing—indeed—had he endured the degradation and horrors of military life,—over

which, surely, all the demons of the universe must have been shrieking during his delirium! Even now, their satanic laughter was ringing through his soul. With a cry, he turned passionately toward the great Ideal which seemed to be beckoning him forward imperiously,—commanding him to give up everything in life that he loved to work for the fulfillment of its promise.

"I accept—I give up everything—even Elisabeth," he murmured, believing that his self-renunciation was now complete. The old theology of sacrifice and atonement still held lingering possession.

* * * * * * * * * * *

When night came, Julian felt that he had lived fifty years in that one day. The screen had been pushed a little aside and he could see from his cot all the way down the long ward. He heard a light, familiar step. Who was coming toward him? He saw and recognized her in the dim light; Elisabeth was coming straight to him, wearing the halo of the resurrected! In her arms were his musical instruments.

She walked evenly, but her depression was increasing at every step. No longer was she the Valkyrie; no longer did she wear the dazzling helmet of Brunhilde. The poor child knew she was shorn of all that unreal glory. She was a slight, young creature, even in the nurse's stiff, white gown; her head was bent and held a little to one side,—an evidence of her accumulating self-distrust. As she reached the edge of the screen, she stopped, raised her head and looked at Julian. He remembered that there was about her always that curious air of self-forgetfulness which contained the very denial of expectation—a negation least of all to be looked for in such a young face. He thought the absence of self-love was told in the very contour of her pale cheek. He adored her for it,—and yet, the glance of her large, dark eyes was wistfulness itself.

He sat up; he leaned forward with eyes sparkling. He called her by name:

"Elisabeth!"

The look that came into Elisabeth's eyes brought back vividly his dream of the Valkyrie. An illumination as beautiful as it was tender shone through her pallor as if her soul were speaking through the network of veins in her body; but she stood motionless; she did not move from her stand by the screen.

"Elisabeth!" he cried—this time with rapture, with entreaty. She moved quickly—she flew toward him and sank on her knees in the attitude that was natural to her as a nurse.

Julian stretched out his arms. They kissed each other tenderly.

(The End.)

SOCIALISM ABROAD

Professor E. Untermann.

Italy.

The cabinet Zanardelli, alive only through the support of the socialists, has not kept its promises of social reform and of absolute impartiality. Our comrades were sorely disappointed by the treatment which the small farmers and farm laborers received at the hands of the police and military authorities. In consequence, differences of opinion arose as to the tactics to be observed by the party toward the government. The advocates of opportunism, led by Filippo Turati, the editor of "Critica Sociale," in Milan, found themselves at variance with the rest of the party, and for a while it seemed as if there would be serious trouble. The bourgeois press rejoiced, as it always does when we have any differences. Prophecies of an imminent disruption of the Italian socialist party, and similar bourgeois thoughts that have wishes but not facts for fathers, made the usual round of the press in all countries. Turati, who resented the charge of opportunism and bossism brought against him, resigned as a member of the Chamber of Deputies and declared in an open letter to his constituency that he did not wish to be the cause of strife and disunion in the party. At the same time he urged the members of his election district to forget all differences and unite all their efforts in maintaining and strengthening the party. He emphatically declined to accept the renomination as candidate for parliament and announced that he wished to remain in the ranks and devote himself to his literary pursuits. The capitalist version of the story, flashed by telegraph around the world, was that Turati had resigned his mandate and left the socialist party.

In the meantime, the socialist federation of Milan did not take the least notice of Turati's wish and nominated him by unanimous acclamation for re-election. Enrico Ferri, the leader of the revolutionary element, who had been held in a great measure responsible for the sentiment against Turati, declared his intention to go to Milan and speak in favor of Turati. Although the latter asked him not to "enact such a farce," and although the General Committee of the party in Milan requested him "in the name of sincerity" to stay away, Ferri went nevertheless, because "his socialist conscience" impelled him to go. He warmly urged the voters of Milan to re-elect Turati. There was room for both sides in the party, he said, and the cause could not afford to

miss the services of his talented opponent in parliament. Still Turati continued to decline the mandate, because he did not wish to create the impression that "the socialists were office hunters like the Camorra politicians." The election resulted in a complete victory for him, 2,657 out of 2,860 votes being cast in his favor. Now he could no longer decline. In an enthusiastic letter to his electors, he thanked them for their love and confidence and accepted the mandate. I have not noticed any capitalist dispatches announcing this fact. Whether these differences of opinion as to tactics will finally lead to such a pronounced opportunism and ministerialism of certain elements as they did in France will largely depend on the character of the economic development of Italy in the near future. That they will not lead to a disruption of the socialist movement in Italy, I can safely assure our capitalist friends.

The disclosures of Camorra corruption in Naples were followed by similar discoveries in Catania and Palermo. In Catania, the socialists scored a moral victory by the help of Comrade de Felice, and the Palermo Camorra found the socialist paper, "La Battaglia," too much for them. The report of the investigating committee in Palermo shows that 300,000 francs were spent within four years on extra salaries, and 150,000 francs for bribes in one single year. All municipal departments are corrupted. Birth registers have been forged. Charity funds were used for political purposes. The department of public works spent 13,000,000 francs for two theaters estimated at two millions each, but not a hospital in town has modern appliances. Sanitary improvements, estimated at 17,000,000 francs, have already cost 10,000,000 and will require 27,000,000 more for their completion.

Of course, all this shows that "the country is prosperous." It also accounts for the reception which Comrade Ferri found in parliament, when in referring to these scandals he said: "In the north of Italy the oases of crime are an exception, but in the South the oases of decency." These words jarred on the sensitive feelings of the Camorra politicians of the south, who probably cannot see that political robbery is any more indecent than the hallowed custom of robbing by economic supremacy, alias "business," "competition," "abstinence," etc. They behaved like furies, threatened personal violence against Ferri, who calmly assured them that they were "good for nothing but howling," and finally forced the chairman to close the meeting. Ferri was suspended for five days, because he refused to retract.

Public opinion is on the side of the socialists, and Ferri is enthusiastically received wherever he goes. Thousands throng to the meetings at which he speaks, and the students of several universities have planned ovations for him. The bourgeois take care, in many other ways, that the socialists are kept in the public eye. Political favorites are exempted from military service by the recruiting department. The socialists find it out. A young girl's body, horribly mutilated, is found by the police. Comrade Todeschini charges an army officer with the foul deed. Although the evidence is extremely unfavorable to the officer, although the prosecuting attorney commits suicide during the process, and although his successor demands only a mild sentence for Todeschini, the court sentences him to twenty-three months and ten

days' imprisonment, 1,450 francs fine and 1,600 francs cost. The money must be raised by the socialists. That explains the sentence of the Camorra judges. The people hissed them, and the courtroom had to be cleared by force of arms.

Ferri demanded that 6,000,000 francs should be struck from the budget of the royal household, but finally withdrew his motion in favor of Bissolati's proposition to curtail the budget of war in order to provide means to improve the condition of the poor in the south. Perhaps this is the reason why the queen of Italy opposes progress and upholds moral hypocrisy by supporting the clergy in their fight against the proposed divorce bill. Civil marriage and civil divorce tend to estrange the people from the religious organization of the church. Socialism tends to take them away from the political organization of the church. Socialism also tends to abolish royalty. Therefore the queen helps to keep the sheep in the fold of the "Santa Madre Chiesa," and the Pope is busy preparing another encyclica against socialism. He gets so much exercise out of this pastime that he does not need any other treatment. At least Curtis, the correspondent of the Chicago Record-Herald, informs us that "the Pope takes no medicine." We can readily understand this. He has his hands full taking the medicine socialism gives him. We also do not share the surprise of Mr. Curtis at the fact that "the inmates of the Vatican are singularly free from illness." Parasites always thrive while their victims pine away. What the households of the Vatican and of the king, and their useless force of political agents, policemen, soldiers and judges, cost in a month would be sufficient to maintain all the starving families of Apulia and Calabria comfortably for a whole year. And because socialism wants to help the poor by abolishing the drones in human society, that is the reason why the Pope appeals to all the "friends of order and liberty" to unite for the purpose of saving society from "worse catastrophes" than the expulsion of the religious orders from France. But the Pope has not a word for the starving women and children of the class that feed him, not a word for their political emancipation. He is on the side of the Camorra and of those who oppose the economic and political organization of the working class. The German government suppresses the mother tongue of the Polish catholics in the public schools. The Pope is not interested in the class that visit the public schools. But the socialist deputy Seuliny feels their woes and demands information, whether the Italian government intends to request its ally to adopt more humane methods in dealing with the children of its poor Polish subjects.

Royalty, the Pope, and the Camorra cannot fool all the people all the time. The people of Italy are shaking off the coils of tradition and superstition. And the socialists help them to the best of their power. A new illustrated socialist paper, Quo Vadis, has lately appeared in Florence and aims to educate the young by word and picture. And the executive committee of the labor exchanges has opened an evening school for workingmen in Padua. "New horizons open for the laborer," says La Camera del Lavoro. "The present is sad, but the future smiles. full of glad promises. * * * Your children, more fortunate than you. will live under more favorable conditions. It will be largely due to the sacrifices which you have brought, and they will bless you for that."

Hungary.

A correspondent of "Le Mouvement Socialiste" gives the following data about the situation in Hungary: "The population of Hungary was 17,463,791 in 1890. Commerce and industries gave employment to 1,210,473, on whom 1,749,716 were dependent. Agriculture employed 4,474,653, on whom 6,430,791 were dependent. So that 16.95 per cent are living from commerce and industries, and 62.45 per cent on agriculture. The percentage of illiterates, who cannot be reached by socialist literature, is 54.56. Only fifty-five out of every thousand have the right to vote. Not only the laborers, but also a large portion of the middle class, cannot express their will at the ballot box. The franchise is based on a direct tax of at least 21 kronen. There is neither the right peacefully to assemble, nor to petition for redress of grievances, nor liberty of press and speech. The authorization of meetings is in the hands of ignorant and narrow-minded police agents. In consequence, about 80 per cent of the announced meetings are prohibited in the provinces. In the capital, however, the meetings are generally permitted, although the police have the right to dissolve them on the slighest pretext. There are still whole districts in the country where no meeting of workingmen is ever permitted. No reform party is in existence. All political parties are exploiters of labor; 9,992,668 foreigners who do not understand Hungarian add another difficulty.

The labor movement began to spread through the formation of trade unions in 1890, which the government permitted because it did not recognize them as weapons of progress. After three or four years there were twenty-four trade unions and five labor leagues in Buda Pest. But the constitution of each union contained the following clause: "In case of strikes, members who take part in them shall not be sustained." And as the collection of funds was also prohibited, the organization of strikes was very difficult.

Nevertheless, several strikes have taken place since 1890, and the hours of labor were reduced from eleven and twelve to nine and nine and a half. There are now 126 trade unions, with 23,603 members. Printers, millwrights, tailors, ropemakers, bricklayers, stonecutters, bookbinders, ironworkers, and bakers have their own press organs, with circulations from 800 to 2,300 copies. During the last year five labor leagues were formed and two political monthlies founded. Socialist propaganda can only be carried on thirty days before election. As elections take place only once every five years, the socialists must improve each shining hour during that happy month of freedom. Lately they have disregarded the order forbidding the collection of money. They have made an appeal for funds in their organ, the "Volks Stimme," and distributed 100,000 campaign leaflets in the Hungarian, Slav, Roumanian and German languages.

Servia.

According to a report of the International Bureau, socialism made its first public appearance in Servia in 1870, when the socialist paper,

"The Worker," was founded. The movement then was of a rather utopian character and gradually lost itself in the snares of bourgeois radicalism that was advocating improvements for farmers and laborers. With the progress of capitalism, the radicals soon dropped their democratic guise and showed their real character. After this lesson the socialists organized as a class-conscious party. In 1890 the "Social-democrat" was founded, only to disappear again under the oppression of the capitalist authorities in 1894. Three years later, "The Workers' Journal" stepped into the arena. The party grew slowly in spite of government repression. Under the more liberal policy of the present administration it has a membership of 600 in Belgrad and a small number of locals in different parts of the country. The official organ has 3,000 subscribers, 1,900 of whom are living in Belgrad. Two other papers, "The Advance" and "The Typographer," also have a small circulation. A people's university in Belgrad gives six courses of lectures per week, and the party is circulating petitions for labor legislation.

THE WORLD OF LABOR

By Max S. Hayes.

The recent gathering in New York between representative men from the ranks of labor and capital is viewed from different standpoints by the working people. The radical element is unanimous in condemning the Civic Federation's scheme to entrap labor, while the conservatives declare that the meeting showed plainly that labor had to be recognized as a power, and they hope something will somehow be accomplished for that reason. On the other hand, the capitalists are also divided upon the question, if their newspapers can be accepted as a safe guide. Some are scolding out of school and pointing out the fact, with considerable emphasis, that the recognition accorded the labor officials in New York will only tend to embolden the agitators to make unreasonable demands and create trouble. Others feel that the meeting will create a better feeling between labor and capital and lessen the number of strikes and boycotts. Meanwhile, unionists in New York, St. Louis and other places have been resoluting hotly against Gompers for allowing himself to be sandwiched between Mark Hanna and Grover Cleveland, and investigations are demanded; while some of the capitalists at least are so pleased at the outcome of the capital-labor harmoniousness that they have presented Mr. Hanna with a costly and beautiful statue called "Peace and Plenty" in appreciation of his work to unite heretofore hostile interests. However, Grover Cleveland and his friends seem to be getting along nicely with the third party to the deal, the "public," which means everybody or nobody—the latter in this case.

In Erie, Pa., the trade unions and Socialist party got together and nominated a strong ticket. The old parties became panic-stricken and are using every scheme imaginable to keep the laborites out of power. In New Castle, Pa., the Socialists also have a fighting chance of electing their ticket at the municipal election this month, despite the underhanded work of the tricky enemy.

Rev. John J. Spouse, a Baptist minister at St. Charles, Mich., made the serious mistake of preaching from the Sermon on the Mount and other interesting passages in "the book." The "best people" in his congregation concluded that he must be a heretic, and they fired him. Now he is getting even by going around the State preaching Socialism.

About twenty speakers have been turned loose on the unwashed by Walter Thomas Mills as a result of the first year's teaching in his socialist school at Girard, Kan. Nearly all of the young orators have branched out into different parts of the country and are laboring indus-

triously to bring the heathen into line. The promoters of the school are highly elated at the success of their experiment.

Secretary Wrigley, of the Ontario Socialist League, reports that a year ago there were seventeen local leagues in existence, while now there are fifty-two. Ontario and British Columbia have also perfected provincial organizations. Mr. Wrigley, who is stationed in Toronto and is giving all his time to the work of organization, speaks enthusiastically of the outlook for Socialism in Canada. The Ontario leagues are now voting on the question of adopting a platform similar to the Socialist party platform in the States.

New York Socialists are planning to establish an English daily paper.

Label counterfeiters have been run to the ground by Indianapolis printers, and the courts are to take a hand.

Social Service is the name of a neat and well-edited little monthly established at Yellow Springs, Ohio, by Fred Strickland.

Milwaukee unions and the Socialist party are going to pull together at the forthcoming municipal election.

The law against company, or "pluck me," stores in Pennsylvania has been so badly crippled by the courts that it is practically a dead letter.

A strong movement is on foot in Boston to bring into one union all the water-front employes as well as those who handle freight for railroads and wholesale and retail stores.

The Mergenthaler Company has placed a new and simple type-setting machine on the market. It is especially designed to chase the hand compositor out of the small country newspaper offices.

A new light, called the "glower," was recently exhibited in Chicago. The claim is made that it can be maintained cheaper than the incandescent, and that it is as much superior to the latter as the incandescent is to a tallow dip. The "glower" can be blown out like a lamp light. The discovery was originally made by Dr. Walther Nerust, a German electrician.

Baltimore Federation of Labor is displeased and has a committee out investigating the charge recently made, it is alleged, by Bishop Potter, who is quoted as saying that "the honest workingmen attend church, but the organized and agitators do not." The Baltimoreans hardly know whether to consider the remark an insult or a compliment. Anyhow, they fired back with a resolution to the effect that "ministers as a whole have not the interest of the laboring people at heart," and the sentiment was applauded to the echo. Bishop Potter is one of Senator Hanna's committee of thirty-six which is going to harmonize capital and labor pretty soon, if not sooner.

Efforts are being put forth by the A. F. of L. to secure a conference with representatives of the Western Labor Union with a view of securing affiliation.

Governor Odell, of New York, wants the Legislature of that State

to enact a compulsory arbitration law, and as a result the unionists are in the denouncing mood.

United Mine Workers spent half a million dollars in strikes last year.

The Cubans are rapidly becoming civilized. Another lockout is announced in Havana. This time the union waiters in all the hotels have been told to take their clothes and go.

Newspaper proprietors of Marietta, Ohio, have formed a combine to destroy all trade unions in the town.

Cincinnati Socialists and trade unionists have established a daily newspaper called the Arbeiter Zeitung, without asking Mr. Madden, at that.

A call has been issued for convention of the iron and steel workers at Wheeling, April 15, and President Shaffer has once more come forward and announced that what he will have to say regarding last fall's strike will be "mighty interesting" for President Gompers.

Over fifty delegates, representing Bohemian unions and political clubs in different parts of the country, held a convention in Chicago, harmonized their factional differences and declared unanimously in favor of acting with the Socialist party.

Ohio Commissioner of Labor issued a report showing that workingwomen in Cleveland, Cincinnati and Columbus average $4.83 per week as wages, while their living expenses are $5.26 per week. This item should be placed alongside of that announcing that the trust magnates cleaned up a half a billion of profits during the past year. Great is prosperity—for those who rob women and children.

Secretary Greenbaum announces that new locals of the Socialist party have been formed at the following places during the past month: Coyoto, Utah; Fallis, Okla.; New Ulm, Wyo.; Norwood, Colo.; Enid, Okla.; Pawnee, Okla.; Two Harbors, Minn.; Chico, Mont.; Goldfield, Colo.; Victor, Colo.; Glencoe, Okla.; Globe, Ariz.; Winslow, Ark.; Hot Springs, Ark.; Arequa, Colo.; Cripple Creek, Colo.; Longwood, Fla.; Augusta, Ga.; Melrose, Ida.; Blackfoot, Ida.; Medimont, Ida.; East Belleprairie, Minn.; Helena, Mont.; Yuma, Ariz.; Burke, Ida.; Hennessey, Okla.; Minneapolis, Minn.; Burlington, Vt. State charters were also issued to New Hampshire, Kansas, Maine and Utah. Speakers and organizers are now at work in nearly every State in the Union, and the outlook is reported as exceptionally bright.

The printers are preparing to hold their referendum election for officers. They usually have as much excitement as is found in an ordinary campaign for President of the United States.

The steel combine is working a shrewd game, by paying bonuses and through other methods, to disrupt the marine engineers' organization on the lakes. The test will probably come when navigation opens.

About a year ago Colonel Wetmore, of St. Louis, one of the original trust busters, started a large tobacco factory and announced with a flourish of editorial trumpets that he would make the tobacco combine

squirm. He put on a union force and organized men all over the country became local boomers for Wetmore's blue-labeled goods. After having built up a business, Colonel Wetmore has done just what a score or more "friends of labor" did before him—sold out to the trust. And there you are!

President Boyce, of the Western Federation of Miners, makes the rather startling announcement in the official journal of the union that a friendly mine-owner recently sent him a letter in which it was stated that the bosses have perfected a strong organization, called the Mine Owners' Association, which extends all over this country and to Europe. It is further declared that the unions of the workers are honey-combed with spies, and that the attempt will be made to gradually destroy organization among the men by laying off large numbers of them and breeding dissension in every manner possible. Boyce follows the expose with a passionate editorial calling upon the miners of the West to join the Socialist party and be prepared to meet the enemy upon his own ground. The matter will undoubtedly come up at the convention of the W. F. of M. at Denver in May, at which Eugene V. Debs has been invited to speak.

The latest in railway trustification comes from New York in the shape of a dispatch to the effect that five huge "security" companies are to be formed to control the leading corporations in different parts of the country, all to work in harmony. Still another security company is to operate some of the big ocean steamship lines. These transportation monopolies will unquestionably also be made to work in harmony with the iron and steel, coal and oil and other combines that have or are stifling competition. At the peak of this mass of wealth will sit the two monarchs of industry, Rockefeller and Morgan, who will have the power to levy tribute on every pound of products consumed by the American people. Still some people fear Socialism!

Injunction was hurled at trade unionists of Fresno, Cal., because they boycotted a bakery.

St. Louis Labor is the name of a new local Socialist paper.

Iron Clippers' Union, at Newark, N. J., has a kick coming. Union complains that the bosses are putting in machines, each one of which displaces six hand-workers.

Centralization of capital still continues, though not as rapidly as a year ago, because nearly all industries are now trustified. About thirty new combines, mostly small ones, were launched during the past month. The most activity is now shown in the absorption of independent concerns by the powerful combines, as in the coal, tobacco and other businesses, and laying plans to form international trusts, and hastening Socialism in our time.

Canadian Socialists and trade unionists report victories in a dozen different towns in the recent municipal elections.

A dual waiters' national union has sprung up in the West; a fight is on between the adherents of the Western Labor Union and the A. F. of L. in Denver; a dual teamsters' national union was formed in Philadelphia; there is a possibility that the carpenters' brotherhood will have a division on account of the suspension of Secretary McGuire, and the railway brotherhoods are troubled by the rapid growth of a new organization started in the West that includes all employes. So there is trouble enough internally.

Twenty-five shoe factories in Cincinnati have adopted the plans of the carriage manufacturers of that city, who locked out several thousand employes several months ago, and the announcement is made that no more "dictation" will be accepted at the hands of the shoemakers.

Socialist party won offices in Sheboygan, Wis., and Canton, Kan. Straws.

Stationary firemen held their national convention in Wilkesbarre, Pa., and called upon the miners to give up the firemen in their unions. The miners will refuse to comply with the request, and so there will probably be more "autonomy" talk.

Federal court at Louisville, Ky., serving a second injunction at the miners of Hopkins County, and the workers are restrained from doing pretty nearly everything but breathing.

Teachers in a New York school objected to a scholar wearing a Socialist party button, but the latter was stubborn and was hauled before the principal. After listening to a long and free lecture on Socialism and Anarchy the student left the august presence of the lecturer-in-chief—still wearing the button, and he continues to still wear the button.

Smelter trust has closed some of its plants in Kansas and given the workers an indefinite holiday.

The sentencing of Pablo Iglesias to three and a half years in prison in Porto Rico for organizing wage-workers and "raising the price of labor" is arousing bitter feeling in union circles all over the country. Iglesias should have applied for a charter in New Jersey.

The Dayton National Cash Register Company has been placed upon the unfair list. The metal mechanics objected and were expelled from the Dayton Trades Council.

A Pittsburg dispatch confirms the report that the billion-dollar iron and steel combine is about to introduce automatic machinery in its tin-plate mills, as was foreshadowed in this magazine last month. It is expected that hundreds of skilled men will be displaced.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Economics of Distribution. John A. Hobson. Macmillan Company. Half morocco, 125 pp.; $1.25.

This is a study of some of the more technical problems in economics. The author points out that while competition fixes prices within certain limits, the actual determination of prices and rewards inside of the limits thus fixed is determined by the strength of the contending parties. The result is that there exists a large fund made up of these "forced gains," which partakes in many ways of the character of a differential rent. He shows conclusively that there is no peculiarity about the rent of land which prohibits rent affecting prices. If land is taken as the fixed factor in a process of reasoning, all that is ordinarily claimed to apply only to the rent of land can be shown to apply in exactly the same way to the "rent" of labor and capital. The peculiar disadvantages which inhere in the sale of "labor power" are summed up with great force, showing that at every point the laborer is subject to all the disadvantages in bargaining that exist anywhere. There is altogether too much of the tendency which is becoming more and more prominent at the present time among economists to talk learnedly of "complexity" whenever a definite conclusion seems necessary. It seems unfortunate, too, that it should have seemed necessary to attempt to justify interest and capital on the very weak and badly wornout ground that there was something of the element of "saving" in the accumulation of capital. It is certain that there is no "saving" in any sense in which that word has come to mean in the English language, in the savings of a Standard Oil Company or United States Steel Trust. In the same way the statement that (page 350) "The typical form of private business to-day is one in which the undertaker buys in the cheapest market each of the factors of labor, capital and land which he requires, and organizing their uses for production, sells the product in the dearest market he can command, is altogether inaccurate." It is very certain that so far from this condition being "typical" it is decidedly exceptional among the great dominant industries of to-day. A much more correct way to state the matter would be to say that the man who possesses organizing ability, like the man who possesses mechanical ability, sells himself to the owners of capital, who dominate the industrial field, and that he receives a return dependent upon his standard of life, modified by the fact that he still possesses somewhat of a monopoly control of his peculiar ability, which monopoly is daily growing less.

What Are We Here For? F. Dundas Todd. Photo Beacon Company, Chicago. Cloth, 142 pp.; $1.00.

This is a series of essays on Education, Work, Disease, War, Morality, etc., in answer to the question which forms the title to the book. In a most charmingly simple literary style, and with no direct knowledge of the literature and philosophy of Socialism, he has succeeded in setting forth many of the fundamental principles of Socialism. One cannot help but wish that a slight study at least of Socialist literature might have given accuracy to his language at some points, which would have made the work still more valuable.

The Doom of Dogma. Henry Frank. G. P. Putnam's Sons. Cloth, 399 pp.

This is an exhaustive historical and critically hostile study of the origin and validity of the various Christian creeds. His especial point of attack is the Westminster Confession, but he pays his respects to all the various dogmas upon which the institutional churches of to-day are based. It is a scholarly work based upon extensive study and certainly approaches the subjects discussed much more nearly from the scientific point of view than most works of this character, whether written from the orthodox or critical point of view.

Among the Periodicals.

Rev. R. Heber Newton has an article on "Anarchy" in the January Arena that has been widely quoted and commented upon, and as a general thing the comment of the radical press was more or less favorable. The Public, of Chicago, undoubtedly voiced the sentiments of many of these when it said concerning the article that its reading would show many people how ignorant they had previously been of anarchy. While this may be possible, for the depth of ignorance of the average reader concerning anarchy is almost unfathomable, it is certain that he would get but little reliable information from the article in question. There is scarcely a line in it that would show that the author had ever seen a book on Anarchy. He has simply taken as authoritative what the bourgeois apologists for anarchy have said about it and based his article on that. In attempting to draw a "fine-spun distinction between philosophic and revolutionary anarchism," he says, among other almost equally ridiculous things: "It is as though we were to refuse to draw any fine-spun distinction between the brilliant French geographer, Elise Reclus, and the Parisian petroleuse who fired the Hotel de Ville in the uprising of the Commune in 1871." Just how much misinformation is crowded into that single sentence can be better understood when we remember, first, that even the governmental committee of France, who investigated the Commune, were forced to admit that no such thing as a "petroleuse" ever existed save in the disordered imagination of newspaper reporters and official traducers of the Communards, and second, that Reclus was himself one of the most active of the Communards, and hence a participant in all that was done there. Finally, Elise Reclus told the editor of this magazine, two years ago, that he had no sympathy

with the Tuckers and other philosophical anarchists of this country, but that he was in full accord with Johan Most, and he urged us to call upon the latter on our return to New York. It would be an easy but ungracious task to point out a multitude of similar errors into which his anomalous position and lack of knowledge forces the Rev. Newton. He lumps together Jeremiah and Kropotkine as "philosophic anarchists," and then gathers together as other "forms of anarchism," "labor strikes" that "have tended to end, as in Homesburg (he must mean Homestead), in the revolver and bomb," "Pinkerton police," bribers of legislatures, and drivers of racing automobiles. We can only conclude by asking the question that has often occurred to us, "Why is no knowledge ever considered a requisite for a magazine writer on either Anarchy or Socialism?" By the way, this is one thing the two doctrines have in common. Any future magazine writer who cares to use this fact to prove the identity of the two has our permission.

How trains are already running over one hundreds miles per hour on a German experimental line forms the subject of one of the most interesting articles in the January Review of Reviews. William E. Smythe discusses "Irrigation in the West." "The conditions surrounding the vast area of grazing lands are not those of law, but of anarchy. * * * The people of the United States are still owners in fee simple of resources—in the form of land and water, of timber and mineral, representing a sum of wealth which is simply incalculable. * * * The issues involved in the future use of the public domain are pre-eminently national in their character." He then outlines a plan by which all public lands are to be withdrawn from settlement and a most extensive system of irrigation works constructed. Then, after having thus made it possible to enjoy all the advantages of commonly owned, co-operatively managed, concentrated farms, he proposes to cut all the land up into forty-acre tracts for homestead purposes.

"Country Life in America" is another example of the interest which is just now being shown in agricultural problems. The January number is a "California number," and tells anew the wonderful story of the agricultural life of that State. A. J. Wells describes the "Trend and Meaning of the Development of the Pacific Coast." California has passed through a series of social stages, much more sharply developed and with a more rapid motion than any other portion of the globe. The Pastoral Stage, Ranch Life, "The Gold Rush," "Bonanza Farming" and then diversified capitalism, with occasional "fruit booms," and all under the influence of that wonder-worker, irrigation. The writer in "Country Life" does not say it, but it would seem probable that a State that had repeated the evolution of the race in a lifetime might be expected to soon move on into the co-operative commonwealth.

"The Craftsman" is the latest notable addition to the field of Socialist literature. The January issue is No. 4, and every number has been excellent. It is published monthly by the United Crafts of Eastwood, N. Y., and, as the name indicates, is devoted to that phase of the movement which is always connected with William Morris. But, unlike many of the alleged followers of Morris, the Craftsman does not wholly ignore the political side of the movement, although, as might be expected, it

can lay but little emphasis on that side. The January number is devoted to a study of the textile industry and presents a mass of generally unknown information in very attractive form. Other numbers have discussed the Guilds, John Ruskin and William Morris. The printing and decoration are in themselves examples of the teachings of the magazine.

The January number of the "World's Work" is a "looking outward number," and is devoted to a glorification of the recent expansion of America. "The New Pacific Empire" gives a mass of information concerning the movement of American commercial life toward the Pacific. "The official figures of exports from Pacific Coast ports show a total in 1890 of $44,500,000; in 1896, $59,000,000; in 1898, $62,500,000; in 1900, $83,500,000." "Our New Horizon," by Frederic Emory, is a most elaborate discussion of the recent expansion movement, and gives some valuable facts and diagrams.

EDITORIAL

National Organization.

The report which National Secretary Greenbaum has prepared for the first meeting of the National Executive Committee is an interesting document. It shows that great progress has been made in many lines since the Indianapolis convention. The membership of the party has grown to nearly 10,000, which is much larger than that of any other Socialist party in America past or present. More encouraging still, the growth is more rapid now than at any other time since the convention. Close relations have been established at many points with trade unions and some extremely effective work has been done among them. Indeed, it would seem as if there had been something of a tendency to over-emphasize this portion of the work. At all events, it is evident that considerable progress has been made in winning the trades-unions to the cause of Socialism.

But along with these items of encouragement the report brings to light many things whose existence is to be deplored. This pointing out of defects, however, is always the first step toward improvement, and hence it may well be considered as another sign of progress that these defects are being studied with a view to their removal.

The burden of nearly all the complaints is the lack of organization of the existing forces of Socialism. Some States have not yet affiliated with the national organization. In others nominal affiliation has not been accompanied with the payment of dues. In others, while dues have been paid, national stamps have not been used in their collection. and there is consequently no continuity or regularity to State payments. The greatest confusion has prevailed as to agitation. States, locals and individuals, as well as the N. E. C., have all been organizing lecture tours. The result has been a plethora of talent and depleted funds for lecturers' expenses at some places and no agitation at all at others-where it was perhaps most needed.

The first defect, that of lack of cohesion between the States, can be quickly remedied if a few active individual members in the various States will but take hold of the matter. It is practically certain that if the question of national affiliation were left to a referendum of the rank and file of almost any State, with the position fairly stated, that affiliation would be carried. It is quite probable that the extensive publication by the Socialist press of the fact that the States of California. Massachusetts, New Jersey and Wisconsin are not bearing their share of

the burdens of national co-operation will sufficiently arouse the membership of these States to secure the proper co-operation.

The lack of proper correlation of the speaking force of the party demands somewhat more consideration and will probably require the creation of some simple but very necessary administrative machinery. The first step to be taken here is to prepare a list of all the comrades who are willing to regularly give any definite portion of their time to the work of lecturing. Such a list, stating how much time and within what geographical limits each speaker desires to work, should be sent out to each State committee at least as often as every three months. Where any speaker desires to confine his efforts entirely to one State, he should, of course, be left entirely under the direction of the State committee of that State. It should be the aim of the N. E. C. to as rapidly as possible perfect the organization of each State to the point where they can handle their own agitation. But the office of the National Secretary should become a center of information concerning speakers, routes, best methods of organizing circuits, etc., which would render its help indispensable to State and local authorities.

The principle here as everywhere should be to keep the governing controlling power as close to the rank and file as possible and to strictly preserve the principle of State autonomy so far as all authoritative action is concerned, but to locate all administrative power where it could be most economically and effectively exercised. In this case we believe that this would tend to give the N. E. C. a large share of the work of organizing agitation, but would leave the "power of the purse," or the payment of all speakers in the hands of the State and local bodies. State autonomy does not mean State isolation by any means. But it does mean that there shall be no authoritarian interference by national authorities in State affairs.

Every speaker or organizer sent out under the direction and with the assistance of the N. E. C., or any State committee, should be required to make regular reports as often as once each week. So important is this feature considered by the Democratic and Republican campaign managers that telegraphic reports are required of each meeting held. Such reports constitute a continual check upon the speaker in their very preparation, and will thus incite him to better work. If the blanks for such reports are properly prepared and filed, they will soon constitute an almost invaluable mass of information for use in planning future campaigns.

It is only through such an organization of effort and co-ordination of information and resources that any intelligent continuity can be given to the work of Socialism in the United States. Unless some such methods as these are adopted, our propaganda will continue to grow more and more confused and disjointed, our all too scanty resources be dissipated and wasted, and the day of ultimate triumph correspondingly delayed.

There has been some criticism of The Review by ultra-fearful Socialists because we have frequently admitted to our columns, without comment, articles which were not in accord with the orthodox positions of Socialism. If these readers will remember, this

is exactly what we stated to be our intention of doing in the prospectus and the first number of The Review. Furthermore, the standing notice that "the absence of such comment, however, is to be in no way construed as an editorial endorsement of the positions in any published communication" means just what it says. We do not pretend to be running a kindergarten, nor to have the guardianship of our readers in our hands. We intend to print the things which will be of the greatest value to Socialists, whoever writes them. We propose to publish criticisms of Socialism if we consider that such criticisms are of a nature to be worthy the examination of Socialists, even if we are personally convinced of their invalidity, because we believe that only by a study of such criticisms can Socialists be prepared to meet them, and finally the Socialist doctrine is not yet fossilized, and it is through criticism that that growth must come, which is the only sure sign of life in any organism, biological or social. So far as the editorial position is concerned, we are firmly of the opinion that the only force in Socialism to-day which is accomplishing anything for the present relief of the laborers, or offers any hope for the future success of Socialism, is to be found in the so-called "left" or "Marxian" wing of the International Socialist movement. But we do not claim to have any especial connection with the sources of infallible truth, and are willing to discuss these positions with those with whom we differ.

All this is illustrated somewhat by the contents of the present number. We do not think that the value of the extremely interesting and suggestive study of the Esquimaux life, given in the article entitled "Socialism in the Arctics," is destroyed by the fact which every Socialist should know; that what is being described is not at all what is to-day meant by the word Socialism, but is really a survival of primitive communism. Neither are we at all alarmed lest the discussion of "Socialism in Japan," which is by far the best exposition of this subject that has ever appeared in the English language, shall "muddle" some weak brain because at some points the author does not accept the positions which International Socialism has found advisable in Occidental countries. Neither do we think that any American will be so dull as to think that Comrade Hobson means that the Socialists of New York and Chicago shall send word over to Croker and Powers and ask their assistance in building up the Socialist party.

The March number of The International Socialist Review will contain an article by Mr. Eltweed Pomeroy on "Why I Do Not Join the Socialist Party." This will be answered by the editor, who will endeavor to give the reasons why the Socialist party offers the only possible hope of the solution of the problems of the present society, and indeed that it is the only party in America with any future before it. Other interesting articles which were mentioned last month will appear in the March number. We have just received a letter from Comrade Paul Lafargue saying that he has an article in preparation for an early number of The Review, which must be added to the many good things the future issues will contain.

PUBLISHERS' DEPARTMENT

Somewhat Personal.

We trust the readers of The International Socialist Review will pardon us if we use a little space to correct a rumor which has come to our notice during the past month. It is from a newspaper which is bitterly opposed to Socialist unity and to the extension of Socialism among the members of the existing trade unions. This paper states that the International Socialist Review is about to die, and indulges in some rejoicings over the supposed fact.

We take pleasure in assuring our readers that the rumor is entirely without foundation. It is true, as we stated last month, that the support thus far received by The Review has been insufficient to pay expenses. The result has been a heavy drain on the other departments of our publishing business, and this has delayed us in the publication of certain books which are urgently needed by the socialist movement.

We have, however, no intention of discontinuing the publication of The Review and have material already in sight which enables us to promise that the quality of The Review during the current year will be even better than heretofore.

On the other hand, we trust that our readers will realize that the growth of our whole co-operative company depends on them, and that a socialist is not doing his full duty by merely subscribing for a single copy of The Review and doing nothing to increase its circulation.

How Socialist Literature Is Published.

We have just issued a booklet with this title, a copy of which will be mailed free of charge to any one who asks for it. It gives the facts in full detail about the organization of the co-operative association incorporated under the name of Charles H. Kerr & Company. The owners, as this booklet explains, are not any one or two persons, but 291 socialists scattered over the world from Scotland to California. Nearly all of these have contributed just $10 each to the capital of the company. No dividends have been promised and the only personal advantage which a stockholder derives from his connection with the company is the privilege of buying socialist literature at cost.

Five hundred shares are for sale, and if every reader of The International Socialist Review who has $10 to put where it will do the most service for socialism will send it on, we shall be able easily to double our present large output of socialist literature.

American Communities.

BY WILLIAM ALFRED HINDS, PH. B.

Nowhere else in the world have there been as many attempts to realize the dreams of utopian Socialism as in America. No other country has ever offered so favorable conditions for such experiments. Now that the day of such colonies has practically passed away the time is here to write their history. It would be hard to find any one better fitted for this task than the author of "American Communities." For fifty years a member of one community, he has personally visited nearly all the others. During these many years he has been carefully collecting material for this book, and the historical value of such a volume to students, and especially Socialist students of American life, cannot be overestimated.

For years American Socialists have read of Saint Simon, Fourier, and Owen, without ever stopping to realize that it was only on American soil that the doctrines of these men were ever actually put in practice. For a century and a half hundreds, and even thousands, of men and women, often embracing some of the ablest intellects of their time, sought to build little impossible Utopias. These communities have been scattered throughout almost every State in the Union. They have met with all possible advantages and difficulties of climate, soil and other natural environment. They have tried well-nigh every imaginable plan of internal organization and experimented with almost all possible schemes of social regeneration. Religiously they have varied from the wildest religious fanaticism to the extreme of atheism and agnosticism. Every form of property holding from almost unrestricted private possession to pure communism has been experimented with. All possible relations of the sexes have existed at some time or place in such communities.

The story of these experiments, with the struggles, strange modes of life, peculiar doctrines, temporary successes, varying failures and final collapse of the movement that inspired them, makes up a story with such combined tragedy and comedy as is never found save in the pages of history. As told in this book, it is far more interesting than fiction, while at the same time it contains stores of information that no social student can afford to be without. This book will be published Feb. 10 in a handsome, cloth-bound volume of over 400 pages, with seventeen half-tone engravings from photographs. Price, including postage, one dollar.

Charles H. Kerr & Company, Publishers,
56 Fifth avenue, Chicago.

THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW.

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Why I Do Not Join the Socialist Party.

PERHAPS I was foolish when Comrade Simons, Wilshire and others urged me to join the Socialist party, and I had given some reasons against it, to promise to write these reasons out for The Socialist Review. Of course the reasons will be derided, answered and I will be jumped on. It will be fun for the partisan socialists who are cock-sure they are always right, to riddle these reasons till they are tatters, and the editor will be troubled with a multitude of replies unless he forestalls these by answering himself; this I advise. But I might, as well as any other, be the sacrificial victim to thus add to the gayety of an off political season when there is little else to denounce.

But of one thing, comrades, be convinced; this article is written in sincerity. I have never held any public office, never been a candidate for one, and do not expect to be. The few positions I have held in organizations have never had any salary or fees attached to them and have always necessitated either work or money. In writing this article, I am going directly contrary to the opinions and feelings of some people for whom I have the sincerest respect. I may be blind and misguided, but do not think me dishonest.

This article rubs the wrong way that feeling in the Socialist party which Prof. Adolf Harnack calls "the old and almost ineradicable tendency of mankind to rid itself of its freedom and responsibility in higher things and subject itself to a law," and he continues: "It is much easier, in fact, to resign oneself to any, even the sternest kind of authority, than to live in the liberty of the good." That feeling develops into partisanship in all parties.

I am not a party man. Partisanship blinds men and is almost always an evil. There is so much partisan feeling in all our political parties that, on the whole, I regard our party system as

doing more harm than good. But I do not regard parties as necessarily evil.

No party has a monopoly of partisanship but in the small parties, the extreme partisans are more apt to dominate and direct. This is true of the Prohibition party where the narrowness, bitterness and denunciation of its extreme adherents has driven away the sane, strong men who might have made it a power. While I respect the sincerity and earnestness of many of the Mid-road Populists, that movement was completely controlled by the partisanship sucked out of the People's party and where is it now —it is not even a name worth remembering, and has expired leaving nothing but an odor. The Socialist Labor party is another melancholy instance of the dominance of partisanship. It has become more and more bitter and hard, lost all of its sweetness, most of its sanity and nearly all of its real strength. In truth, it belies the principles it professes and is now nothing but a raucous voice shouting hoarsely to people who do not heed it.

The same tendency is cropping up inside the Socialist party. I hope the shown strength and sweetness of many in it may defeat this narrow partisanship and that the party as a whole will rise superior to it. But I am doubtful. There is so much hardship required in starting a new party that the workers are apt to get hard and make the party an end and not a means. When that happens they have rid themselves "of freedom and responsibility in higher things" and "subjected themselves to a law." I will not belong to a party where I may be subjected to a partisan trial and expelled as has repeatedly been done in the S. L. P., and was practically done within the last three months in the Socialist party to a most devoted and estimable lady. I will not belong to a party where I will be denounced if I do not vote the whole ticket and cast a vote for a friend whom I know will acceptably fill the office, and who stands a chance of being elected. I want my freedom. I will not tie up with a party where the party ties must be so hard and fast.

At present I hold myself loosely attached to the Democratic party, because, in my judgment, when it has been chastened some more, there is more hope of getting some progress from it than from any other party, but in all local matters I have and shall vote for any candidate I think most fit. In the last election, if I had been in New York, I would have voted for Seth Low, who was nominated by the Independents and Republicans; if in Philadelphia for the Democratic candidate; if in Nebraska for the Populist candidate; if in San Francisco for the candidate of the Labor party, and if there had been an election in Missouri I would probably have voted for the candidate of the Socialist party. You can get my vote if you will be sane, sweet,

strong, put up good men and if it looks as if I can accomplish more through you than through others. I believe this is the position of the majority of the American voters.

I was a warm friend of Edward Bellamy and a contributor to his paper, The New Nation. For more than a score of years I have been associate editor or contributor to many socialist papers, such as The Coming Nation, The Appeal to Reason, The New Times, The Arena, The London Clarion, etc., etc. I have always called myself a socialist, but actually I have recently thought of dropping that name. It looks as if in the near future the words "Socialism" and "Socialist" would suffer at the hands of the so-called Socialist party, a like degradation to that which that grand word "temperance" has suffered at the hands of the Prohibition party. The word "temperance" means temperate or moderate in all things. I know some so-called temperance people who are most intemperate in speech, in food, in drink other than alcoholic. Yet they would resent it if called intemperate. By the best usage of that word, they are. The Prohibition party has almost degraded the fine word "temperance" to mean total abstinence from alcoholic liquors.

Formerly the S. L. P. did all it could, and now many of the Socialist party are aiding them, in degrading that fine word "socialism" so that it means nothing but Marxian, revolutionary, class-conscious socialism. They print in their papers the definitions of socialism from dictionaries, encyclopedias, and acknowledged authorities, and then argue and write as if socialism was the small, semi-fanatic affair they deduce from their dead and almost unread demi-god, Karl Marx. They attract people by the sane reasonableness of the definitions they quote, and then drive them away by the violence of the definitions they assume. I am a temperance man but not a total abstainer. I am a socialist but not a Marxian, class-conscious, revolutionary socialist. Comrade Wilshire at Detroit divided all socialists into scientific and sane socialists. He claims to be a scientific socialist; I am then a sane socialist.

In the Socialist campaign book of 1900, a proletarian is defined as "a worker who does not own the tools with which he produces." By this definition Mr. Schwab, the president of the steel trust, is a proletarian save for the insignificant amount of stock he owns in that trust. He does not own the tools with which he produces. Mr. Cassatt, president of the Pennsylvania Railway, is a proletarian in his capacity of worker. If these men as well as the farmer, farm laborer, merchant, factory director and factory hand are really proletarians, the oft-repeated assertion that the salvation of this country is to come from the proletariat is a truism which every one will accept. It then

means that progress is to come from the workers of all classes which, at least in the United States, compose the great majority of the whole people.

But in practice, the socialist rarely uses the word this way; by it, they usually mean only the manual workers. They address their arguments to these laborers.

For convenience of my argument, let us use the Anglo-Saxon words, working-class, middle-class and wealthy, and define the first as those making a yearly income of less than $800, the second making a yearly income between $800 and $4,000, and the third over $4,000. Of course no fixed amount will exactly place every one but the large majority will be correctly defined by these limits.

Most of the Socialist party speakers and writers claim that the salvation of the future is to come from the working class. Let me repeat, if they mean it is to come from the workers of all classes, I agree with them, but in that case, how in heaven's name are they to get a class-consciousness that will embrace the really influential part of the workers? Mr. Schwab, judged by the source of his income, is far more of a proletarian than a capitalist. To speak of trying to get a class-consciousness among all workers is rot. When the party socialist speaks of class-consciousness, he means the working classes as I have defined them.

If by salvation coming from the working classes, he means their assent to plans done by others, that they will be the ciphers which will multiply the force of the leaders, then I agree fully with him but say that he does not know how to use the English language. Too often the working men who are put into positions of real power where they could serve their own class, act as Mr. Madden, the third assistant postmaster-general. Mr. Madden was a workingman and his appointment was made as a sop to the workingmen, and he is more virulent in carrying out measures against their interests than a man from the middle or wealthy class would probably have been.

In my opinion the economic salvation of the country to is come from the great middle class—they will furnish the bulk of the leaders, the workers, the funds, and above all the ideals. The working-class will assent and furnish some work and less funds. A few of the wealthy will furnish considerable money and an occasional leader. But the bulk of these are to come from the middle-classes. Look over the names of the leaders and workers to-day in the Socialist party, and at least two-thirds of the more efficient come from the middle-class.

Others see this. Mr. H. M. Hyndman, in a letter published in The Challenge, says: "It is useless to try to disguise from ourselves that the mass of the English workers are ignorant, conceited, apathetic, addicted to gambling and drink, and for the most part indifferent to their own welfare. The 'buffer' class here, which is very much larger than in any other country, the class which is educated and has no absolute and direct interest in slave-driving, has been left to the influence of the Fabians and such-like people. * * * If I give up preaching to the converted, or those who are too ignorant and too ill-educated to comprehend, I may do better work than seems at the moment possible. If I can succeed, I say, in getting even a few of the well-educated people who abound in Great Britain, to throw themselves heartily into the genuine, revolutionary Social-Democratic movement, not holding aloof as 'superior persons,' and not, on the other hand, losing their higher education by pretended acceptance of proletarian roughness, I believe a great step in advance will have been taken. There are cultured men and women who unquestionably sympathize with us and would work with us. But I am bound to admit that our methods, hitherto, have been somewhat repellant to such people."

I am sure the American workman and I think the British workman does not deserve the severe stricture that Mr. Hyndman applies, but there is great truth in the latter part of this quotation. I will speak to any audience, but the most of my speaking, writing and work goes to the middle-class, where, in my opinion, it is most needed. Because of their offensive methods, a good share of my audience would be shut off from me should I join the Socialist party. I know of a prominent lecture course that dropped out one of the ablest and sanest speakers in the U. S. because he belonged to the Socialist party and used their methods. Prof. Herron made a tremendous mistake when he took a course of action which allowed his enemies to shut the doors of the churches to his speaking, not because of what he said, but nominally on moral grounds. The place where his voice was most needed no longer hears him.

This is not the only reason which will prevent the growth of the Socialist party amongst the middle-class, where it is most needed, but it is an important one.

Again, as Mayor Jones recently wrote me: "I am coming to think that elections are not of much consequence. I do not believe there was much conscious meaning to the recent election (Fall, 1901). I realize that only a very small portion of the great mass give any serious thought to the subject, that few who do vote have any good reason for their vote; for that and other reasons, I think we ought not to consider elections too seriously whether they go our way or the other fellow's."

The salvation of the country is not to come through the growth of a new political party. Education is the thing. When

the people are educated on any line, one or the other of the political parties will carry it out. Listen to what Josiah Quincy, Gold-Democrat and a Cleveland officeholder, said before the last election to an aristocratic Democratic club in Boston. "Radicalism may become more opportunist as to its form, more moderate possibly as to its demands. But that its spirit will, in the main, continue to dominate the Democratic party, I have little doubt, and there seems to be no use fostering delusions on that score. * * * We may have to accept a larger measure of radicalism than all of us may approve. * * * The tendencies favored by the Republican party will not pass unchallenged and unopposed. The question is whether that opposition shall be carried on under the name and with the traditions of the Democratic party, under the responsible leadership which it can command, or whether the function of opposition shall be handed over to some new party with a far more extreme program, of mushroom growth and irresponsible leadership." This is one of the most significant speeches recently made.

Of course the Democratic party will not give you all you want. But they or some other party will give all the people are ready for. "Man's reach is greater than his grasp, else what's a heaven for." This world would be pitiable if there was not a group of reformers who wanted more than they will ever get. There are two classes in this world, a very small class of idealists and far-sighted watchers of their times and well-wishers of their fellows, and a very large class who do not see any further than the end of their noses. The Socialist movement has in it almost all of the first class. The second class are in the huge majority. To the idealist preaching a great sweeping message, that huge majority after the first flush of his enthusiasm has subsided, seems unconquerable and often he calls them names, as Mr. Hyndman has in the quotation given. That majority can only be won by a program of short steps, and this your idealist with his head in the clouds, scorns. The Socialist party does not give this program of short, practical steps. When the time is ripe, some other party will and it will be successful largely because of the educational work done by the Socialist party, and largely in spite of its political activity. The Socialist party does not understand politics and what a political party can do. It should stop playing at politics and become an educational institution content when political campaigns were on, to take a back seat and rely on doing its educational work all the time, or else it should drop its idealism and have a really practical platform. In my opinion, because of other reasons, the first is the course to take.

Likewise the party socialist forgets that the same development has happened in politics as he is fond of tracing in business and everywhere else in modern life. The great change of concentration, organization and occupation of unoccupied fields which has taken place in manufacturing, commerce, exchange, transportation and all fields of our modern life within the last twenty-five years, has also taken place in politics. A young man finds it almost impossible to become an independent business man where he could easily have done it twenty-five years ago, because great businesses have grown up and filled the fields. The same is true of politics. The legitimate expenses of the 1864 campaign, according to an article in the Literary Digest, were $200,000, and of the campaign of 1896, $5,000,000. Where will you raise even one per cent of that amount for a reform party? It can only be done with a great and strong organization and the prestige of an old organization.

I clip two paragraphs. The Pittsburg Dispatch, speaking of the New York mayoralty campaign of 1901, says: "The campaign lasted twenty-two days. Tammany held 3,700 meetings and the Fusionists 4,000. Tammany employed 1,500 speakers and its opponents 2,500. The Tammany printing cost $60,000; that of the Fusionists $10,000 less. There were spent on banners, fireworks and other displays by both parties $25,000. It cost Tammany for all expenses, $900,000; Fusionists, $500,000. Total Tammany speeches, 7,000; anti-Tammany, 7,100." How is the Socialist to do this? Its activity does not reach five per cent of the people reached by the old parties.

Again City and State of Philadelphia, speaking of the 1901 campaign there, says: "It is estimated that $80,000 will be required to cover all the expenses of the campaign and a large proportion of that sum is required to watch the other side. Mr. Blankenburg says: 'This sum is insignificant compared with the resources of the opposition, who, besides a revenue of $300,000, from a 3 per cent assessment on officeholders (which can be repeated or increased), has favored contractors, protected vice, franchise sales, and other sources of revenue for the perpetuation of their power.' The estimate of expenses is made up as follows: the headquarters in the Lafayette, clerical assistance, telegraph and telephone service and incidentals will require $16,000. Halls and music for at least two public meetings in each of the forty-two wards will cost $17,000. The maintenance of forty-one ward headquarters will mean an expenditure of $11,000 and $8,000 will cover the printing and advertising. The most important expense will be the employment of five window-book men and workers in each of the 1,047 election divisions and for that work $28,000 is wanted."

If the Socialist party raises for its campaign fund of 1904 in

the whole United States, 1 per cent of the amount spent in Philadelphia alone in a local fight in 1901, it will be doing more than I expect. The ground is already covered. There is no room for a third party. The People's party was the last serious attempt that stood any chance of success.

It is possible in some great political cataclysm, a new party might be born which would become a factor and a great one in our political life. No such cataclysm is on us now.

I am confirmed in this view by my belief in Direct Legislation. Because of that belief, I think the people are the real makers of issues, and when any issue gets strong enough in the hearts of the people, one of the two political parties, and perhaps both, will take it up. Although Direct Legislation was in the Democratic platform in the last national campaign, they did not make a real issue of it, and the reason was that not enough people knew about it. If a larger number had known and favored it, it would have come prominently forward and perhaps the Republicans would have taken it up as they have tentatively in Massachusetts. But the way to force them to take it up is not to form a new party to enact it into law, but to educate. Thus, if we could separate the educational work of the Union Reform party in Ohio, which has nothing but Direct Legislation in its platform, from its political activity, we would find that its educational activity advanced D. L., but its strictly political activity retarded it. I think the same is true of socialism and the Socialist party. Its educational work advances socialism; its political activity retards it.

The Socialists are fond of referring to Germany and other countries; possibly if Mr. Simons will allow me, I will show the radical difference between the two countries and the parties in the two countries. In this difference lies the reason for the growth of the German Socialist party and the lack of opportunity for the growth of the American Socialist party. But I have already exceeded the limits I set for myself.

Eltweed Pomeroy, M. A.

Reply to Mr. Pomeroy.

PERHAPS the most noticeable characteristic of Mr. Pomeroy's article is the phrase worship which pervades it as indicated by the frequent use of the outgrown catch words which have served for a generation or more to help stifle independent thinking. This is especially evident in the quotation from Prof. Harnack upon which he lays so much emphasis. "The tendency of mankind to rid itself of freedom and responsibility . . . and subject itself to law" is but a very incorrect and misleading way of saying that in modern times man has found that his ends can be more easily and pleasantly accomplished by co-operating with his fellows than by working alone. In this co-operation he really assumes a much greater responsibility and enjoys a much greater freedom than when he seeks to work in individualistic slavery.

In the same way the criticism of partisanship is nothing more than a repetition of the catch phrases of individualism which have done valiant duty in the copy books of the last three generations and are now certainly entitled to a brief vacation. Joining an organization is simply one way of accomplishing an object. Working alone is simply another, and in these latter days generally a much less effective, way of trying to do the same thing. Such unorganized effort means enslavement for years to a task whose achievement is only possible through organized effort. The illustrations which he offers of the Prohibitionist, Populist and Socialist Labor Party are entirely beside the point, because their failure is directly traceable to the fact that they did not represent vital social classes and economic forces, and not to their "partisanship." Mr. Pomeroy adopts the old and outworn argumentative trick of selecting a word which has come to be associated with opprobrium in the public mind and then proceeding to "damn by label" whatever displeases him. He never seems to think it necessary to offer any reasons why partisanship is necessarily bad. But partisanship means nothing more nor less than the championship of some definite principles, with a definite organization to secure the success of those principles, in opposition to a non-partisanship, which means simply a well-meaning but useless defense of "good" things in general. This latter position soon degenerates into a purely negative relation to whatever anyone else is doing, or else, what is equally pernicious and much more ridiculous, a sort of idiotic smile of general approbation of any sort of movement that may happen to label itself "reform." When either of these stages has been

reached the "non-partisan" is of no earthly use to anyone save to those who need obstructions to place in the way of the alteration of existing institutions. A perusal of Mr. Pomeroy's article, together with the writings of the other apostles of "non-partisanship" will satisfy anyone that such a position could easily, if it has not already done so, become as "narrow, intolerant, bigoted, etc.," as that of any party defender.

But a further perusal shows us that Mr. Pomeroy is not so much opposed to "parties" as to "small parties." The implication which he leaves is that there is more of "freedom and responsibility in higher things" in the Republican and Democratic party. Shades of Tammany, Croker, Quay, Platt, and Hanna, it would have seemed that a sense of humor, if no other sense were present, would have prevented such a ridiculous position from one who pretends to be a student of social and political conditions. Mr. Pomeroy will not belong to a party from which he can be expelled if he votes and works for another and antagonistic party, but will "hold himself loosely attached to the Democratic party," that breaks and ruins men at the turn of a boss's hand, and that accords to the rank and file the same share in determining party policies that the Czar of Russia does to his subjects in the making of laws—in each case nothing but the probability of a revolution produces any effect. It is only the "narrow autocratic" Socialist party that permits its affairs to be managed by the initiative and referendum, of which Mr. Pomeroy claims to be so fond in theory. It would appear that his admiration of direct legislation was considerably less than his partisan admiration for the old capitalistic parties, or of his particular form of partisanship, which he labels "non-partisanship."

The Socialist party, while infinitely less autocratic than the Democratic and Republican parties, finds it necessary to insist that only those who are working for it shall be admitted to membership. I can scarcely think that, confused as Mr. Pomeroy seems to be as to questions of politics, if he were organizing a body of men to lift a weight, he would invite the co-operation of any broad-minded individuals who maintained that the proper way to lift was to sit on the weight and claw at the edges. Just so the Socialists do not care for the co-operation of those who would remain within capitalism and seek to melt off rough edges by the warmth of their brotherly love.

But Mr. Pomeroy seems to think that it would be well for Socialists to work with the Democratic party, with its bosses, its utter lack of policy, its conflicting class interests, its 18th century Jeffersonian (or rather Rousseauist) individualistic philosophy. Blind to the fact that the Democratic party is being torn to pieces by the contending factions, who are expelling men at

a rate that throws DeLeon's efforts in that line into oblivion; unable to recognize that since it represents a decaying class it can have no further vital social function, he asks those who believe in the abolition of wage slavery to unite with a party whose only bond of unity is the perpetuation of that slavery.

He has always been a Socialist, he says, and in proof of this cites his connection with a series of periodicals, not one of whom, during the time at least of his connection was in accord with the great international Socialist movement, and most of which have no earthly right to the name of Socialist. It is as if a student of to-day should offer as proof of his right to be considered a biologist that he had read Linnaeus, Cuvier and Agassiz, but was proud to say that he knew nothing of evolution or had ever read any of the works of that "demi-god," Charles Darwin.

As to the "degradation of that fine word Socialism," had it not been for the efforts of the Socialist party, it is probable that it would have been degraded into the catch-phrase of a narrow, meaningless middle class reform movement. From this worst of fates the Socialist party has rescued this word to make it once more the proud title of a world-wide revolt and an onward social movement of the toiling producing masses of the earth, toward a grander, greater freedom for the race than this old world has ever known before. It would rescue this grand old word from the putrid clasp of a rotting social class to make it the rallying cry of the only vital social class of to-day and the predestined social rulers of to-morrow.

The definition of classes taken from the Socialist Campaign book is the only one ever held by Socialists. In his discussion of this phase he simply imputes his own confusion to the Socialists and then asks them to defend his logic. We respectfully decline the task. He says that, taking the Campaign Book definition of classes, the "assertion that the salvation of this country is to come from the proletariat is a truism." If so, it is a truism whose significance Mr. Pomeroy still fails utterly to grasp, for he at once begins to talk about the "leaders and workers" of the Socialist party who have come from the middle class. As a matter of fact, he would be hard put to it to name a half-dozen Socialists in America, who have attained any prominence as workers, who derive their sustenance from ownership of capital.

Out of this confusion he tumbles into still greater intellectual darkness by a meaningless classification of society according to size of income, and then at once proceeds to discuss the functional position of the classes thus formed. The only intelligent, logical and useful classification of social classes is according to social function as is made by the Socialists. In this way all that he says about the "middle class" becomes meaningless because

of the ridiculous classification upon which it is based, and also because the whole argument rests upon a series of personal opinions and assertions, without the slightest effort at offering evidence.

In view of this fact all that Comrade Hyndman says militates against Mr. Pomeroy's argument. It is the "educated proletariat" of whom Comrade Hyndman is talking and not the little property holders, who really make up the "middle class" in any intelligent use of the word. That the socialists are not shut off from this educated proletariat is seen by the fact that the ablest writers and students of Europe are enrolled among the Socialist speakers and writers. The only place from which a Socialist speaker is shut out by virtue of his Socialism is from the bigoted, half-starved little property holders who are hoping some day to climb into the class of big labor skinners and who therefore seek to toady to them to-day.

I agree with Mr. Pomeroy that elections are of little importance when conducted according to his or Mr. Jones' ideas. Socialists have been pointing out for years that elections are only significant when they reflect class interests. Struggles between factions of a ruling class resulting in a mere change of masters' names from Republican to Democratic, Citizens or Independents, cannot have any far-reaching effect.

His talk of the "responsible leadership" of the present Democratic party contains a humor (even though it be unconscious) that is worthy of Mr. Dooley. Who has that leadership to-day—Croker, Gorman, Cleveland, Hill, Bryan, Altgeld or Tillman? It looks to me as if there was considerable "divided responsibility."

After this intelligent discussion of the present political situation I am willing to admit that the "Socialist party does not understand politics," not that kind at least. With Mr. Pomeroy politics seems to be a question of campaign expenses. If he really believes this why not "move to make it unanimous" by withdrawing the Democratic party in favor of the larger campaign fund of the Republicans. By the way, perhaps it is this line of argument that has caused the Democratic party to quite frequently withdraw in favor of the Republicans in these last few years, whenever the Socialists have become threatening in size.

All through this there is not one word of evidence to show that the Democratic party is not the champion of capitalism, not one syllable of proof that its great campaign fund does not depend upon its close adherence to the capitalist class, not one sign of having ever comprehended the alphabet of socialist philosophy,—the class struggle upon the base of economic determinism. He dare not attempt to overthrow this position, which,

since its statement by the classic writers of Socialism, has revolutionized the historical and economic writings of even their opponents, and so he quietly ignores it. But like Banquo's ghost it "will not down," and Mr. Pomeroy's attempt to ignore it will have about the same effect upon socialist philosophy that President Hadley's "social ostracism" has had upon the trusts. Here is the point which no "Bellamy Socialist" dare discuss. He can sneer, and whine, and abuse, make fun of phrases he either does not understand or fears to grapple with, but he will never attempt to prove that the capitalist class is not now in power, that they are not acting in a class-conscious manner to preserve their domination, and that the workers can only meet this by a correspondingly class-conscious movement. Meet and discuss and overthrow these propositions, Mr. Pomeroy, and you will have said something to the point, and will have done something that the ablest minds of capitalism have never been able to do. Until you do this you are not criticizing the position of the Socialist party.

If this philosophy is true, and it has stood the hostile criticism of a half century and over, then the question of whether there is room for another party depends wholly upon whether there is a class in our present society, powerful enough to maintain such a party, and whose interests are not represented by any existing party. The Socialists point out that such a social class exists in the laborers, by which they mean all those who work either with hand or with brain, but whose existence is dependent upon the sale of their labor power and skill to the owners of the means of production and distribution. The Socialist calls attention to the fact that the class of workers have become, not only the largest class numerically, but also the only essential social factor. Under these circumstances he is quite certain, not only that there is plenty of room for a new party, but that there is neither room nor reason for any party which, like the Democratic party, represents a useless and disappearing social class. He has seen a number of other countries verify this position. He is seeing the same evolution taking place in this country and he has no fear of the great campaign funds of the capitalist parties. He knows the origin of those funds and he knows they will no longer exist when the "goods" can no longer be delivered to those who pay them, that is, when the workers refuse to be fooled into their own slavery. Under these circumstances there is but one place for anyone who really comprehends the course of economic evolution and the function of the working class. When Mr. Pomeroy does comprehend this, when, in short, he becomes a Socialist, he will join the Socialist party, and until then I am sure no one would ask him to become a member.

A. M. Simons.

Universal Suffrage in Belgium.

HOW slow is justice in coming to the disinherited classes! It will soon be 110 years since the National Assembly decreed on the morning after the victorious insurrection of August 10, 1792, "in order to insure the sovereignty of the people and the reign of liberty and equality," that the National Convention should be elected by all Frenchmen 21 years of age, residing in the same place for one year and living from the product of their labor.

Since then, all the constitutions of Europe, wrung from the old powers by revolutions or the fear of revolution, have more or less admitted the principle of the sovereignty of the people. Particularly in Belgium, after the triumph of the revolution of 1830, the national congress voted unanimously in favor of article 25 of the constitution: "All powers emanate from the people."

But the people, that meant for sixty years the 135,000 voters who paid a personal tax of 20 florins. The campaign for universal suffrage, the end of which we are just now perceiving, was not begun until 1866, when a handful of democrats, proletarians and bourgeois launched the "Laborers' Manifesto." For thirty-six years, then, the question of universal suffrage has been debated in Belgium.

Everything has changed in our country. The Goetterdaemmerung of the once almighty liberalism has begun long ago. Official clericalism has fortified itself with all the terrors of the bourgeoisie, in spite of the growing de-christianization of the masses. Socialism has spread and covered the whole industrial region with the solid frame of its organization. But in spite of all these transformations and of the incomplete revision of 1893, the question of universal suffrage is still pending and awaits its final solution.

However, everything indicates that this solution for which we have so patiently worked and which we have so impatiently awaited, will not be delayed much longer. A few weeks ago the government, threatened by a systematical obstruction against its budget, reluctantly agreed to put our proposition, demanding universal suffrage in communal and provincial elections, on the program of the Chamber immediately after the Christmas vacation. Once a discussion is started on the absurdities of the plural vote, and the battle is half won. For who can defend, with the least hope of hoodwinking public opinion, an electoral system which is a veritable museum of horrors, a ridiculous collection of all the tricks which the bourgeoisie of all countries has

ever invented to retard the coming of the sovereignty of the people?

By virtue of article 47 of the constitution, all Belgians 25 years of age are electors for the Chamber, but proprietors, fathers of a family paying a direct tax of 5 francs, and professional dignitaries have two or three votes. So that 915,000 electors with only one vote each are necessarily voted down by 557,000 electors who cast 1,353,000 votes. In communal elections, the situation is still worse. Electors must be thirty years of age, and members of a community cannot vote unless they have resided in it three years. For the senate, provincial councils, members of the board of arbitration, of instruction, and of labor councils, the electoral conditions are again different. In short, the hapless man who wishes to study our election laws finds himself in the presence of five or six different electoral bodies, who elect their candidates by proportional vote in legislative elections, by semi-proportional vote in communal elections, and by majority vote in all other elections. Add to this the numerous subdivisions of former systems—a qualification for eligibility to the senate, a differentiated qualification for the double vote of fathers of a family in communal matters, and election by two classes in provincial electors—and you will understand how it came to pass that our ruler, Leopold II., was suddenly interrupted by a burst of homeric laughter when he attempted to explain the leading principle of our electoral organization to his good friends of the Figaro. But the grotesque character of this system must not lead us to forget the iniquity which imposes the will of an artificially inflated minority on the actual majority of the country.

Nevertheless, this system might have lasted for some time to come, thanks to the connivance of the liberal bourgeoisie, had not the complicated plural vote which makes it almost impossible to test the qualifications of the electors, engendered innumerable frauds, especially in rural communities. Nothing is easier for the clerical administrations that get up the lists of voters than to add a few names to the side of their friends and drop a few from that of their enemies.

Everybody in Belgium now begins to see that there is no longer any relation between the electoral majority and the actual majority of the country, and that all the propaganda efforts of the opposition are neutralized, and worse, by the fabrication of fictitious voters for the benefit of the government. This is one of the reasons which explains the favorable stand of many liberals toward universal suffrage, and it gives hope for such an outburst of public opinion as that which three years ago swept away the administration of Mr. Van den Peereboom.

The Parti Ouvrier has been engaged in active campaign for a

long while. Numerous meetings are held every Sunday. Every fortnight the socialist representatives leave their districts where they carry on a continual propaganda, and meet in a previously determined locality where they organize simultaneously thirty, forty, and sometimes fifty, meetings.

But recently the other parties of the opposition—liberals and christian democrats—have also donned their armor. The parliamentary group in favor of universal suffrage, comprising all the socialist representatives and 25 out of 33 liberals, have created a "Universal Suffrage Fund" for the purpose of intensifying their propaganda by speech and press. Over ten thousand francs were subscribed in the Chamber and Senate alone. In a few days the public subscription lists will be opened, and from now on the promises of support will come fast and thick.

In short, we may hope that next spring, when the Left will demand a revision of the constitution, the effort of the Parti Ouvrier to wrest from the government the dissolution of the Chamber and the introduction of universal suffrage will meet the sincere support of many members of the liberal bourgeoisie.

However that may be, the socialist proletariat counts above all on itself. Without underestimating the difficulties to be overcome and the obstinate resistance to be broken, we have the firm conviction that, being more numerous, better organized, and less isolated than in 1893, we shall soon be able to fight the decisive battle and place another victory to the credit of international socialism.

Emile Vandervelde.
(Translated by E. Untermann.)

The Individual's Struggle for a Substitute.

THE sharpest line of difference between the philosophy of collectivism and individualism is to be found in the estimated sufficiency of the personal interest or happiness only, for the purposes of organized public life and everybody else's interest.

If the pursuit of the personal interest only be adequate in the end (as the advocates of ramrod individualism claim) to the best interests of all, then unquestionably the laissez faire doctrine of anarch commercialism is the true doctrine of the world, tempered with the knife of the anarchist, the sandbag of the highwayman and the injunction of the property judge which keep the too zealous self of others in their places, with respect to my self; let the world of unregulated egos go on trampling each other down until everybody is happy and well off.

On the other hand I, a collectivist, contend that until the individualist can prove that the majority of mankind are happier, and are having their interests better served while being trampled under foot by the fittest, the case is not settled in favor of the sufficiency of the separate personal consideration only, for all the purposes of public welfaring. As yet the collectivist has only reason, a very inadequate experience and a general indictment of failure to urge against the sufficiency of king self for all public purposes. Individualistic laissez fairists do not claim that the scramble of egos brings about the best public results for everybody because that is what they scramble for. On the contrary they claim that the resultant best-of-all-possible societies has nothing whatsoever to do with the definite or deliberate intentions of the scramblers; that it comes of itself in spite of non-intention; nay, a little step farther, by means of inattention to others and an exclusive attention to self, the best interests of the other fellow is finally conserved. The people who hold this doctrine sit upon the thrones of the world and are executing the anarchists of the world for carrying out their common faith in the eternal right of the individual to do as he likes until he is knocked down.

There is, in my opinion, to-day a lamentable confusion among socialists upon this vital question of the sufficiency of the personal. Coming as most of us do out of a reaction from the hypocritical self-denials of old theology, we started out into free thought with a sweeping affirmation to-the-contrary of the self-abnegationists of the churches who did not abnegate; and thus we find ourselves in socialism with a mere anti-theologic protest

instead of an affirmative for our philosophy. It was all right in the early 19th or latter 18th century to say to the priest, "This self of mine upon whose alleged depravity and mortification you have become holy by contrast and fat by the fees of repentance, is not vile, it is clean and good; I will therefore no longer neglect it but I will cherish it." To that point the protest was sound. But when it went farther than the occasion called for, as protests have a habit of doing, it said, "Not only is this self of mine right, but it is all right. Not only is this self of mine all right but it is all the right, and there is no other way of getting to the best society, or getting to heaven itself, only by looking entirely after myself; contrary to the religion imposed upon my childhood by you, commanding me to neglect or punish myself that others might be better off, and that I might get to heaven."

The personal pursuit of everybody of his own happiness alone, the deification of one's own inwardness, the sanctification of self all round, was the opposition doctrine to the church. And with that merely negative philosophy we have been trying to do most of the work of socialism. We have canted as much Jefferson's inalienable right of everybody to pursuit of happiness, as ever the church canted about the sinfulness and vanity of pursuing pleasure.

If the sufficiency of selfism be accepted by socialists it is better not to interfere with its sufficiency in other men's lives. The capitalist, whose own philosophy this is, has some good dollar reasons for interfering with the selfism of the working man, but why should any working man diminish his earning capacity by preaching the future welfare of others without a salary? Why should I preach socialism without being paid for it! Why should I preach it for ten dollars, if I can get twenty, or even eleven, for preaching capitalism. Why should some of us be engaged in the propaganda of a better society which we may never live to see?

Socialists are handicapped, I believe, and can make no progress in the world as agitators while they carry this inconsistency. They are assailing capitalism while themselves lying down in the self-same old mud of selfishness. They take higher ground in their pleading while standing on the very principle that justifies capitalism in all its crimes,—a principle which at the same time gives little countenance to their own plea for fewer hours, less work, better wages, or for any other good which they want and cannot take.

Certainly selfism cannot be the philosophy of two opposites, it cannot be the philosophy of the master and the slave, it cannot be the philosophy of capital and of labor at the same time in the same contest and yet serve both of them. Collectivism, being the philosophy of all, must find some substitute for self, and it must

not be the theologian's substitute of a soul for a body, or of a hereafter for a here; it must be a substantial substitute here and now.

I take the position that the so-called struggle for self-existence which some evolutionists have transferred to organized human society from the animal world and misinterpreted; and with which, in these early days of collectivist philosophy, so many socialists are identified, is a falsehood. I believe the naturalists can more easily find the struggle throughout nature to be of another character. All living creatures are giving their greatest struggle to the finding of a substitute for themselves—another selfhood.

This phrase, "the struggle for a substitute," covers the whole sex struggle of the animal world which really constitutes the most energetic and exhausting activities of all creatures. The mere struggle for self-existence does not cover the sacrifices of the present-self-interest which is taking place throughout all creation for the other self-interest of offspring. In fact, it is so much in evidence everywhere that I venture to assert on the strong testimony of its constant activity that there is an instinct everywhere in operation among all creatures, including mankind, an instinct as strong or stronger than self-preservation, and that this instinct may be rightly named the struggle for a substitute. It is an altruism but not the old altruism of conscious and deliberate self-denial in deference to the interests and welfare of some other; but it is an altruism which seeks some other larger life, in which to invest my own. The altruism of a parasitic plant, if you will, which seeks the great tree, the altruism which seeks to externalize itself in some other. The altruism of all self-consciousness which manifests the development towards manhood and womanhood by its flush of deference to others; that consciousness of self which immediately, from the moment of its birth, seeks a substitute for itself in some other; that consciousness which is always progressive and enlarging in its search for an external, which seeks a family, a clan, a tribe, a nation; and which in this age of economic struggle properly and in due historic order seeks its own class on its way to finally making all mankind its family, its clan, its tribe, its nation, its self. Selfism, as the moralists of commercialism and the competitive private life understand, should have been dead and gone out of the world with the primitive races. This profit-mongering age has retained it too long from among the bones of the savage dead, without a blush, for there is money in it. As a motor for profit it may be all right, as a motor for the creation of aristocracies it has proved effective; but as a motor for civilization it is about as suitable as an old wheelbarrow might be beside a modern locomotive for the purposes of a

modern railroad. It is, in fact, as far apart as civilization is from private profiting. Yet doubtless this unselfishness was the embryonic form of the various larger external consciousnesses through which the self has been passing ever since. When a man was purely and simply a self-supporting creature in the midst of strange and hostile animals, it was the law of his preservation: but when he joined his fellow-creatures in a family or tribe that sort of selfism was defunct and should have passed out consciously to the associate man. Selfishness did put on clannishness and tribeishness, and tribeishness became nationalism, and nationalism becomes the class consciousness of socialism.

We need not apologize for this selfishness at the beginning of the race, for it has justified itself by our physical survival, but its survival of a doctrine among us still, as the law we teach of social dynamics needs more apology than the human brain can ever supply.

If we take the practices of war to which the self-life was obliged to resort in savage days, in order to keep its flesh out of the stomach of a brother cannibal, or to get his other brother inside of him, and turn them both over to a nation or a tribe, we find that, what is odious among friends for one to do, is lawful and right for an organized multitude to do to another enemy organized for murderous reciprocity. The selfishness of one becomes the virtue of the larger social unit, when opposed by an armed counterpart.

When a comrade socialist says that ego's search for its own pleasurable sensations is the activity which ultimately binds society in one, he mistakes the ego sensation hunting of the private debauchee, and the ego property hunting of the private gambler for their multiple by which they are modified as the pleasure and need of a class. Having this distinction clearly in view we may use the selfishness terms of the individualist with propriety and reason. One man should not deprive another: but a nation may deprive any one man. One man is capable of robbing another one; but a nation cannot rob one of its men. In general terms it may, I think, be said that the immorality of one person may be the morality of many in one class. My self-preservation at all costs cannot be conceded to the single person; but it must be conceded to the nation, or class, containing him. Wrong becomes right when it is turned over from the personal to the public life. There are no moral problems for the single life when it has found its true external substitute, when it has found its nation or its class.

Peter E. Burrowes.

An Experiment in the Making of History.*

THAT self-centered poseur, Mr. Herbert N. Casson, has in his time played many parts. That they have not been particularly well played is his misfortune. That he does not learn from experience and refrain from essaying new parts, is perhaps also a misfortune for which he deserves our pity.

His latest effusion bears the pretentious and wholly unwarrantable sub-title, "A History and Defense of the American Labor Movement," and is dedicated to the American Federation of Labor, which he inaccurately describes as "the strongest non-military organization in the world." Evidently he means "largest" rather than "strongest," for he surely cannot so soon have forgotten how a small handful of men organized into a trust proved superior to it in strength only a few short months ago! That, however, does not much matter, since it is equally wrong to call it "the largest non-military organization in the world," as every school-boy knows.

By what strange mental process Mr. Casson concludes that his book should be called a "history," it is not easy to discover. It lacks all the qualities of history, apart altogether from the many inaccuracies with which it abounds. Garrulous reflections without any logical connection, even when interspersed with haphazard quotations and dates, do not make a history. Mr. Casson's book is no more a history of the American Labor Movement than the disordered reminiscences of a mind in the last stage of senility—which it much resembles—would be. One has only to compare it with "The History of Trade Unionism in England," by Sydney and Beatrice Webb, to see the absurdity of calling it a "History" at all. Mr. Casson himself lacks every qualification that may be regarded as being essential to the historian. On page 205 he writes: "Every young visionary or minister-out-of-a-job who has read two or three Socialist pamphlets, and knows nothing at all of the history and development of the Labor Movement, invariably 'offers his services' to the trade unions," and those who know Mr. Casson will feel, that, all unconsciously, he has fallen into autobiography, and in a vain attempt at "smart" writing, revealed his own unfitness for the task he has essayed, and if they have any interest at all in the well-being of the trade unions, those who know Mr. Casson will scarcely congratulate them upon having accepted his "services."

*Organized Self-Help. A history and defense of the American labor movement, by Herbert N. Casson, New York.

Far be it from me to cavil at any man who defends the Labor Movement from the aspersive attacks of capitalists and their hirelings of the press. I cordially agree with Mr. Casson that trade unionism has done much to promote Social Reform, Morality and Education. It may be argued with a good deal of reason that there is no longer any necessity for such a defense, and that the work has already been better done than by Mr. Casson. Little harm, at any rate, however, can come from constant repetition of wholesome truths. But rational defense of trade unionism is one thing; apology for its manifest defects and shortcomings is quite another thing. When a writer becomes the apologist of those defects and shortcomings and sneers at those who are trying to remove them in order that the unions may be fitted to meet the new conditions of industry, with which they are not now competent to cope, he is doing the Labor Movement a great dis-service; he is no longer a help but a hindrance, giving power and encouragement to the reactionary forces and hindering true growth and progress. This is the principal feature of Mr. Casson's book, a better title for which would be "The Apologia of reaction in the Labor Movement."

Although he recognizes in the opening paragraphs of the first chapter that organized labor and organized capital are engaged in a "fight to the finish," that "it is not a private scrap (Mr. Casson is not the only writer who mistakes slang for "smart" writing), but an industrial Civil War," our author intimates in his introduction, that his book is intended to stop the fight and get the combatants to shake hands. In time of labor troubles "Such an atmosphere of passion is created, that arbitration and cool judgment become impossible, because no middle ground of agreement can be discovered."

The aim of the author is "to prevent such deadlocks by removing the prejudices which stand in the way of arbitration, and by presenting in general terms the workers' side of the question." He hopes that by proving that trade unions have "promoted industrial peace (sic) prosperity, education, and morality he will bring "the outside public and more especially the directors of corporations . . . to a more tolerant and reasonable frame of mind." Thus he is like all the utopists from Proudhon to Bishop Potter, except in this only: they do not expose themselves to ridicule by such glaring contradictions. If it were more skillfully done and the method were less slipshod, one would feel that Mr. Casson was playing with his readers, since he so often contradicts on one page what he asserts upon some other. Thus, on page 34, dealing with remedies for the unemployed problem proposed by various Social Reformers, which he designates "petty and ludicrous," he says: "Some demand prevention of immigration, not recognizing that the causes of unemployment are domestic, not foreign." Yet, on page 156, he enters upon a defense of that very "petty and ludicrous" proposal and the "thoughtful labor leader" who is "opposed to having indigestible lumps of foreigners in this country." On page 28 he quotes with approval the distich "whether you work by the piece or the day, Your standard of living determines your pay," which, so far as it goes, is a fairly acceptable statement of the "iron law of wages" which he sneers at on page 88. He ascribes that "iron law of wages" to Lassalle and Marx rather than to Ricardo, to whom it should be credited in a "history." There are many other equally glaring contradictions, but these must suffice.

Of course, Mr. Casson has a theory of wages of his own—brand new from the innermost recesses of his own mystical mind. "The real law of wages," he assures us, "depends on the grade of the workers themselves. Workers get as much of their product as their combined, organized intelligence and courage deserve" (page 89). This is delightfully obscure and one expects to find Mr. Casson some day in his true role as a Christian Scientist. It will be observed that it is not the money wage, but the portion of their total product which thus depends upon the intelligence and virtue of the workers, yet our author himself says (page 87) that they got six per cent less of their product in 1890 than in 1850, and again (page 118) "wages relatively never were so low as in America to-day." These two statements form a strange commentary upon Mr. Casson's panegyric on the influence of trade unions in raising wages. If his "real law of wages" means anything, it is that the "combined organized intelligence and courage" of the workers to-day do not "deserve" so much as the workers of fifty years ago! Truly Mr. Casson's "services" render the cause of trade unionism small assistance!

It is readily apparent that the author of this new "law of wages" attaches far too much importance to the increase of the nominal wages of the worker. He is forever glorifying trade unionism because of it, in spite of the admitted fact that, to quote his own words again, "Wages relatively never were so low." According to Carroll D. Wright, wages have risen during the past five years about seven per cent, but as a set off against that we have the authority of Dun's Review for saying that the cost of the bare necessities of life has increased 39 per cent in about the same time—from July 1st, 1897, to Dec. 1st, 1901. Verily, Ricardo was right when he declared that the increased money wages of the worker does not enable him to live any better, but simply to pay more for the same necessities of life.

In the same way, Mr. Casson lands himself into an embroglio, in dealing with the shortening of the hours of labor. On pages

26-29, for example, he gives a terrible, though by no means overdrawn, picture of the evils wrought by the fierce strain of long hours, and the piece-work system in the New England States when piece-work and longer hours than are now usual prevailed. With a burst of enthusiasm, he refers to the general reduction of the hours of labor as a "great triumph" and then only a few pages further on, he asserts that improved machinery has given "an intensity and strenuousness to industry which has never before been known in the history of the world." But it does not occur to him to set that fact—of the increased strain—against the reduction of the number of hours worked.

The present writer recalls in this connection, a report published some three years ago, by Dr. Samuel Abbot, of the State Board of Health for Massachusetts, containing a careful analysis of the vital statistics of that State for forty years. Those forty years, 1856-1895, cover the period of the greatest intensification of industry, and it is interesting to notice as having an important bearing upon Mr. Casson's ravings, that, in spite of the undoubted advance in Medical Science and skill, and of the improvement in Sanitation—as evidenced in the decline of the number of deaths from typhoid, for instance, which was 92.9 per 100,000 of the population in 1856-65 and only 36.4 in 1886-95—the general death rate increased; the increase being in large part due to the increased strain incident to modern industry—and that in spite of reduced hours! The increase was most marked in persons over forty years of age, bearing plain witness to premature exhaustion of the vital forces.

On the other hand there was a decrease in the birth rate, and the native born population of the State is not self-sustaining. These figures do not on the one hand bear out Mr. Casson's ravings, neither are they, on the other, an argument against shorter hours. It is well, however, to remind our trade union friends that there is little or no real advantage to be derived from working two hours a day less, if they are to be compelled to work harder and faster so as to accomplish as much as, or more than, they did before.

The fact is, there is no escape from the evils of this industrial life, except through the Socialization of industry. That is the lesson the trade unions have to learn. But Mr. Casson has only sneers for the Socialist. It is enough to remember his own pretense at being a Socialist to explain this attitude, for who can sneer like the apostate except the degenerate apostate? It is to the latter class that Mr. Casson properly belongs. On page 23, he gleefully says, that, since 1886, the unions have not been inclined to favor schemes for social reorganization, such as Fourierism (!) and Socialism, schemes that end in politics and disruption. They are more "practical" now, and keep "clear of political traps and idealistic propaganda." He sneers at the "well meaning but short-sighted enthusiast" who proposes to "transform the whole Labor Movement into a Socialist political party."

From this supercilious attitude to lying is an easy transition. On page 204 he says "the most bitter and scurrillous enemies that organized labor has are the revolutionary Marxian Socialists, who have for years been pouring out a torrent of abuse upon what they call the 'pure and simple trade unions' because the latter refused to listen to their hare-brained schemes." That this is low-down lying, Mr. Casson knows full well. A few men in that moribund organization, the S. L. P., have so acted, but in this respect, at any rate, they are anti-Marxists. The Marxist-Socialists certainly have not done so. In any one of the cities where Socialism has an organized strength, it will be easy to find dozens of men in the organization who have done incomparably more for trade unionism, than this incompetent hack who lies with such profligacy. On the following page (205) he regretfully admits, that, in many States the unions have supported the Socialists again and again. They have been deceived into little vest-pocket "Labor Parties" or "Socialist Parties," organized by a handful of well-meaning theorists or self-interested schemers." The bias, the animus, which these outbursts betoken are but further evidences of the author's incapacity to write the history of any movement.

The book has not even the saving grace of being well written. Louis De Rougemont was clever and plausible, but Mr. Casson is neither. On page 149, for instance, he refers to Peter Cooper, General Weaver and Ben Butler as "three men of whom America has reason to point to with pride." This is English as she is wrote by the "historian" who thinks he is the bete noir of the mystics while in very truth he is more mystical than the most mystical of them all.

As against his venomed malignancy towards the socialists, one notices the fulsome flattery of a Broadway manufacturer "who has been noble enough" to write a book in defense of trade unionism (we suspect the author of that very ingenious advertisement "Bugle Calls" is referred to), and of John Burns the English trade unionist, who is described as "that masterly tribune of the people." Somehow Mr. Casson seems to have forgotten, if perchance he ever knew, that when that callous official murderer, Sir H. S. Asquith, telegraphed to the troops at Featherstone in Yorkshire, "Don't hesitate to shoot," and they obeyed his frenzied message, the people cursed the dastardly deed by the blood of those martyred miners. But it was John Burns who defended it in the House of Commons as a reference to "Han-

sard" will show. And recently, when there was a proposal before the London County Council to pay the employes a minimum wage of about seven dollars per week (little enough in all conscience!) it was that same John Burns who opposed it. But Burns, like Mr. Casson, is a renegade, and that outweighs every other consideration.

Really, there is little pleasure in pursuing further our unfortunate critikin-author's vagaries, but a sense of duty demands that attention be called to one other notable example of philosophical history a la Casson. On page 125, he says, "I rejoice to see Europe undersold and outrivaled by America, because the workers of this country represent skill as against muscle, and because there is a fraction more of liberty and justice and equal right on this side of the Atlantic." The diction of this, is not, perhaps, all that it might be, but the sentiment—who could complain of that? On page 189 the difference between the "liberty and justice and equal rights," is no longer a mere 'fraction.' "In Europe, Asia and Africa human equality is a theory, a poem, a dream. In the United States, it is at least a half-accomplished fact. Never in any country, at any time, was it as near accomplishment as it is here and now." Does the reader recognize the America of 1902 in this rhapsody? We turn back to page 21 and we find this picture, "The 5,000,000 wage workers in the large factory cities of America, have absolutely nothing to depend on but their weekly wages. Their Saturday pay envelope is to them what land is to the farmer. It is their life . . . and whether the pay envelope contains much or little it is uncertain. At any time it may be stopped . . . without any guarantee of steady employment, without political influence, without a cent of income from rents, profits or interest, without any home except the one which is hired by the month from the landlord, or without any prospect of an old age pension"—this strongly resembles a description of the British wage-worker by Mr. Frederic Harrison at the Industrial Remuneration Conference held in London about ten years ago. Mr. Casson notwithstanding, there does not seem to be even a "fractional" difference! Again, on page 15, we are told, "The days of 'free contract' between the individual worker and his employer are gone. To-day workers are hired and fired by the hundred and often by the thousand. They have no chance to even enter their employers' office. In most cases they work for an anonymous corporation and are treated by the company as so much raw material and numbered like trucks and drays." And this, forsooth, is human equality half-realized! May the gods preserve us from the other half?

Taking the two pictures our author has given us, it is not easy

to see where the ampler liberty comes in. On the contrary they remind us of Shelley's lines, describing, not liberty, but Slavery.

" 'Tis to work and have such pay
As just keeps life from day to day.
In your limbs as in a cell
For the tyrants use to dwell.

" 'Tis to hunger for such diet
As the rich man in his riot
Casts to the fat dogs that lie,
Surfeiting beneath his eye.

" 'Tis to let the ghost of gold
Take from toil a thousandfold
More than e'er its substance could
In the tyrannies of old.

"And at length when ye complain
With a murmur weak and vain,
'Tis to see the tyrant's crew
Ride over your wives and you—
Blood is on the grass like dew.

"Birds find rest in narrow nest,
When weary of their wing'd quest.
Beasts find fare in woody lair,
When storm and snow are in the air.

"Asses, swine, have litter spread
And with fitting food are fed.
All things have a home but one—
Thou, O Englishman (workingman) has none."

An ancient poet has sung of the primitive geographers, who

On Afric's maps
With savage pictures filled the gaps
And o'er uninhabitable downs
Strewed elephants for want of towns."

Mr. Casson seems to have proceeded upon much the same principle and strewn a few ill-assorted facts over two hundred pages of drivel and pathos. Some day the American labor movement will have its historian. Some writer will essay the task who

possesses the prerequisite qualifications of a capacity for careful and patient research and the ability to sift the wheat from the chaff. To such a historian, Mr. Casson's book will be valueless, except as an awful example of "how not to do it." Meantime, while the dust of oblivion gathers upon this sorry experiment, its author will do well to choose some theme more suited to his talents. After improving his English, he might take up "Is Marriage a Failure?" or compile "A New Anthology of Nursery Rhymes."

J. Spargo.

The Fatal Flaw.

THERE is an old rhyme about the horse shoe nail which caused the loss of a kingdom. For want of the nail the shoe was lost, then the horse, and finally, the rider and the precious news he bore, until the train of mishaps ended in the downfall of a kingdom. The unfortunate nail did not cause all this, but it was the fatal flaw which exposed the shoe to a greater strain than it could bear—and so, destruction came. Numerous parallels in history and in life could be given only to reillustrate the wonderful manner in which all things are balanced and bound together. Remove the smallest weight on one side, and up swings some great beam and down goes the other side. All forces, of whatever kind, are like water—ever seeking a level. Change but the smallest factor one place, and the forces must seek and create a new equilibrium. The failure to do so would be fatal. Life itself may be defined as the perpetual balance between destructive and constructive forces. The failure to adjust the individual to new environment is fatal. Disease is lack of balance towards the side of destruction and decay, and death is the final triumph of the latter. The fatal flaw is failure to conform to environment, or in other words, to balance the contending forces for new situations. As environment is constantly changing, growth and health demand a ceaseless readjustment to the new situation. Stagnation is death because of its failure to do this. This is why nothing in the universe, least of all, any institution of mortal manufacture, can hope to be permanent. All that is, is the water level, so to speak, of the forces now in play. Like a kaleidoscope, these forces change, and like the shifting bits of colored glass we and our proud governments and religions change with them. The ages go by and the powers at play have raised a new level. To that level we must rise, or the penalty is decay and death. Fighting it would be like old King Lear, madly shaking his impotent fist at the storm. Daring it were like another Canute defying the sea. Let us seek, the rather, to ascertain its direction and travel with it.

There can be no doubt that one of the best defined tendencies of the tide is towards concentration and union. "No man liveth unto himself and no man dieth unto himself." This truth is finding fresh illustration each day. The world is getting smaller, its waste places reclaimed, its hidden places found. Trade and commerce are forcing men of all nations to meet on a common level. Education and science are bringing men together. Great combinations are teaching the value of union. The smaller nations are disappearing, but their people remain and come into the wider union of powerful confederacies and share in the material pros-

perity thereof. What does all this mean? Fifty years ago the gifted Frenchman, Lamartine, foresaw this and wrote: "Providence sems to have charged the genius of industry and of discovery with the task of preparing for Him the most complete union of the terrestrial globe that has ever condensed time, space and people in one compact, homogeneous mass. * * * These means (great inventions and discoveries) are so evident that it is impossible not to perceive in them a new plan of Providence—a new tendency in an unknown direction." Fifty years have brought us much nearer that grand goal which the great Frenchman foresaw: the union of thought as well as of nations. He could not tell what new high level that would set up for nations and individuals. Neither can we, but there are many profound reasons for believing that where the philosopher failed, the poet did not, and Burns was prophet as well as poet when he wrote:

"Then let us pray that come it may,
As come it will for a' that;
That sense and worth, o'er a' the earth,
May bear the gree, and a' that.
For a' that, and a' that,
It's coming yet, for a' that,
That man to man, the world o'er,
Shall brothers be for a' that."

The Brotherhood of Man.—Words often used, but not always comprehended. Brotherhood even in blood relationship means so much less to some than to others. The acknowledgment of relationship may be coupled with the query, "What of it? Am I my brother's keeper?" So with this badly abused term, brotherhood of man; it may be qualified to mean very little by such queries as these, "What of it, am I to be made responsible for the sins of my brethren—made to suffer for their misfortunes? Some of them, sad to say, are poor unfortunates—is that my fault? What can I do?" There is one aspect of the relationship that escapes most people who have the term often upon their lips, and that is this: Real brotherhood implies a common and an equal inheritance. The earth belongs to those who live upon it—the wealth of nature belongs to all—truths that should be axioms but are not. Brotherhood means not only the recognition of these truths and their actual application, but it means, furthermore, the absolute right of each individual to enjoy the full fruit of his own labor when performed in lawful fields. Anything short of this, any scheme whereby, like cunning Jacob, you cheat poor Esau out of his inheritance or deny him any natural right which you enjoy yourself, is a denial of brotherhood, no matter how much you

may preach it. A strict belief in brotherhood would make the greatest revolution the world ever saw. Not only would it give to each "brother" his rightful share of the natural wealth of the world, but his proportional part of all values the community make, such as public franchises, etc.

The creation of a new level has always made great changes. In the early ages a man's duty was to his own family. He had no country, no fatherland. Then came the tribe, and the highest duty then sometimes demanded the sacrifice of the individual and the family for the general welfare. This was the foundation of patriotism. It was justified because it was necessary and essential. As long as the tribe—or a confederacy of small tribes could promote the general welfare, devotion thereto was a higher duty than self-preservation or the welfare of one family. At different times all the various forms of government have been necessary and conducive to the general welfare, but when they ceased to be so, they were altered or abolished.

In the language of the immortal "Declaration of Independence," when any form of government became destructive of these rights (life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness) it was the duty of the people to alter or abolish it. This they have done, time and time again, and this they will do again. Sometimes the change was made in blindness and wrath, sometimes by the baptism of fire and blood, but made it was, if the nation was to live and not perish.

Is our form of government, to-day, in harmony with this new level of brotherhood which is drawing upon the world? Is it productive of the common welfare? Does it do the greatest amount of good for the greatest number of people, or are there some who are benefitted more than the others? Does it favor the few at the expense of the many? Does the worker get what he creates by his labor? Have all "brothers" the same opportunities, or are there many handicapped in life's race? If an affirmative answer can not be given to these questions, there must be a failure somewhere to adjust our government to existing circumstances, and a change of some kind is imperative. A government must not only favor the general industrial prosperity of its people, but it must also favor their mental and moral prosperity. When success in the first must be purchased by failure in either or both of the others, there is a fatal flaw somewhere. There are noble men and women living who sadly assure us that this is the case to-day. That the average commercial or professional success is gained at the expense of the best qualities in humanity, and is seldom found coupled with greatness either mental or moral. Your so-called successful moneyed man is often a rogue in morals and a pauper in mind. Why can this be so? Because unlimited competition

sets a premium upon the least honorable of our qualities, encourages selfishness, puts man in unfriendly and deadly strife with man, and crushes all higher aspirations in the desperate struggle for success. And where one succeeds how many do not! What a travesty on brotherhood is it that the success of one brother must be built on the failure of another!

If once simple brotherhood was recognized and common justice done to all, what a change would dawn upon the world. The task of being our brother's keeper would not then assume such terrifying dimensions. It is the present unequal struggle which develops most of the crime, wretchedness and misery of the world. Remove the unjust handicaps and men and women will better take care of themselves. Man is not a creature of darkness rather than of light—he does not naturally cling to the mud and do evil, but would rise if the hindering chains were removed. In the fierce struggle to succeed at any cost, all the baser qualities of human nature are being stimulated and developed. The intense strain upon the nerves which the fear of failure, of poverty and disgrace produces goes far towards lowering the moral tone and thus drives men to drink and to other forms of excess. In a feeble way society does recognize and acknowledge brotherhood without really being conscious of it. But the peculiar truth is that it is to the least creditable of the race that it extends this unconscious recognition. The deserving worker, unless he can show a superior ability to the mass of his fellows, is allowed to fight his battle for bread without a helping hand being held out. But the vicious and the criminal, the utterly bad, society takes up and shelters, feeds and clothes. Daily bread for which some are forced to work until the red blood oozes from finger tips and the palsy strikes both heart and brain is given freely as a premium for crime, for sin and shame. Oh, the pity and the shame of it! It may be said that no thought of brotherhood is in this action, no acknowledgment of responsibility, but merely self-defense. Then why extend the same care to the harmless insane and the paupers? Surely their assaults are not to be dreaded. No, the reason is deeper. Society does recognize, though vaguely, that in some manner she has cheated these unfortunate ones and owes them reparation. She is trying, blindly it seems, to educate the rising generation and prepare it for the great struggle, but as that struggle gets harder and harder as the natural opportunities are cornered, this training is all inadequate. She is working at the wrong end. Let her do something to make the struggle easier, and then, watch results. Of what use are millions of money spent in charity if the causes of poverty are not removed? What signify great universities and magnificent libraries if more leisure time can not be given the people they are designed to aid? What

good towards the prevention of crime have penal institutions and rigid criminal laws accomplished, when the circumstances breeding crime are not changed? Is it small wonder that viewing such failure, great men and good have lost heart and have doubted the people and the ability of the latter to govern themselves! You cannot build a good structure on a rotten foundation, and the fatal flaw of existing institutions is the failure to recognize the basic principle of human brotherhood and building thereon.

How can this be done? That is the great question. Medical men have asserted that if we could only bring about a complete harmony with our environment we should live beyond the century mark. Yet for all that we have little hopes of attaining that doubtful blessing. No one is quite credulous enough to believe that some elixir of life will be discovered that shall solve the whole business at once. No, the adjustment to conditions must be a daily, an hourly task. So with the problem of social regeneration. It must come gradually. No patent elixir of life can be found, the numerous builders of Utopias to the contrary notwithstanding. Life refuses to flow in the artificial channels we cut out for it. It forces its own. Perhaps we may divine the way the current is setting, perhaps not. At present it is, no doubt, towards a disposition upon society's part to recognize more clearly the brotherhood of all men. This is bringing about a kinder feeling towards those who are down and unfortunate, and a growing desire to do more for them than mere charity. Why should my brother—(what a pitying flood leaps into the heart when the sacred meaning of the word dawns upon us)—why should my brother starve when bread is plenty?—why should he be without work when work is everywhere needed?—why should my sister—(God of Heaven, can that poor wretch who creeps in the gutter be my sister?) why should my sister be driven to shame for the necessaries of life? Room, room, more room, do not crowd them to the wall. Fair play! And the demand for fair play may lead society to take over various mismanaged monopolies simply to find work for her children. It will take back the franchises it undoubtedly owns and operate them for the people's benefit, not for a handful of capitalists. This much done, who doubts the result? The powers that be are creating a new level, doubt it not, and all obstacles thereto will be swept away. We may not see a Bellamy Utopia, but we will see the disinherited ones get a portion at least of their own. The people are not ready yet for their inheritance. A little longer will the unjust stewards and the unfaithful guardians have to be borne, but oh! blessed day, when the minority years are done, and the people, grown wise by affliction, educated by suffering, come into their own.

Grace Stuart.

Who Shall Inherit the Earth?

AS a boy in Sunday school, the beatitude, "Blessed are the meek for they shall inherit the earth," was to me a conundrum, and for many a long year afterwards I felt a good deal like the farm laborer in the south of Scotland who was completely floored by the Old Testament text, "The Lord shall make the hinds to calve." To appreciate his mental attitude, the reader should know that in that part of the world the farm servants are known as hinds. At length, unable to get satisfaction from his own cogitation, he ventured to call on his pastor and explained to him his difficulty, concluding with the remark, "If it were not in the Bible I would not believe it, and even now I cannot conceive how it can be possible." As a boy, as a young man, I believed that some day the meek would inherit the earth, but looking at the conditions that surrounded me, I could not conceive even its remote possibility.

Some years ago in the pursuit of my studies I ran across a very reasonable explanation of this text, which proved itself to be a part of the mysticism of the Old Testament. In reading the Bible we are very apt to forget that after all it treats entirely of the descendants of Abraham, their past, present and future. The Hebrews were, from their position, very largely isolated from the rest of the world, and therefore, like the Egyptians of old, and the Boer of South Africa to-day, they developed a very small conception of the world and its human inhabitants. They believed themselves to be a chosen people of God and the entire affairs of the universe centered round them and were regulated in their interests. Like all other nations, they had seasons of prosperity and seasons of depression. When their material interests were good they believed they were being rewarded for their well doing. Whn prosperity failed they supposed themselves to be punished by the Lord for their backsliding. Therefore, in the days of their deepest anguish, when both kingdoms—Israel and Judah—were carried into captivity, it looked like the total annihilation of their independence and existence. But their prophets felt that the cloud would overshadow them but temporarily and that once they had repented of their sins the Lord would restore them to favor, and so they prophesied regarding Israel, the kingdom of the ten tribes, that the Lord had sold them into slavery, but that when they had been sufficiently humbled, become meek in fact, they would be restored to His favor, and have given to them the great destiny which they believed was to be theirs. So we find that the prophets speak of them as having been sold into slavery,

and that some day they would be brought back, that is, redeemed, by a Savior. Christ believed himself to be this redeemer and expressed the whole idea in a very terse sentence. On very few occasions did he specify exactly what he came for, not above half a dozen times in all, and on one of these occasions he said, "I am not come but unto the lost sheep of the house of Israel," meaning by that, that he was the redeemer of the lost ten tribes. Again he said he had "come to save that which was lost."

In the days of Christ the Jewish philosophers were well posted on all the theories as to the future destiny of both the house of Israel and that of Judah, and the location of the scattered tribes was supposed to be well known, as many of the Epistles are specifically addressed to the people of Israel scattered abroad, in fact, it is a question if any of them were addressed to any other people. Christ himself apparently believed in the popular opinions regarding the scattered tribes of Israel, and I think it is undoubted that he pictured in his mind this race repentant and humble when he uttered the words, "Blessed are the meek" (meek at that time) for they shall (sometime future) inherit the earth," thus pointing to the fulfillment of all the prophecies that were uttered regarding Abraham's descendants from the days of Abraham himself through Jacob, Moses, Samuel, Isaiah and all the other prophets.

Coming to modern times, I think it may safely be said that no one at heart believes that such a utopian condition will ever arise when meek individuals shall inherit and control human affairs on this earth. Mark Twain, in one of his cynical moods, expressed the popular opinion very neatly when he remarked that the Anglo-Saxon race must be meek seeing that they were inheriting the earth at a very large number of square miles every year.

I came across a new idea on this text a few months ago, which set me to thinking. There came into my hands a very charming and interesting little book entitled "The Coming People," by Dole, who therein gives a new exposition of the subject. He begins by aserting that if this beatitude were rendered into modern English the phraseology would now be "Happy are the kind for they shall inherit the earth," and proceeds to prove his case by pointing out how all rapacious animals are rapidly being exterminated and how such kind animals as the sheep, sow, horse, dog and cat are becoming more numerous every year. Then he goes further and insists that the owner who is kind to such members of the brute creation is more apt to be a financial success than is the one who is brutal. The farmer who houses his brutes comfortably, attends to their sanitation, gives them a plentiful supply of good, clean food, will be more apt to make his busi-

ness pay than will the one who is careless about the comforts of his animals and who treats them without mercy. He proceeds further and endeavors to show that the business man must to-day be considerate of his help, otherwise he will prove a financial failure.

This was to me a very beautiful thought. It bore on it a certain stamp of sweet reasonableness which is in accord with much of the ideas of the time, but somehow or other I felt that it was not in accordance with scientific facts, and lately there has come to me that the actual truth of the case might be summed up in this form, "Blessed are the useful for they shall inherit the earth." It is not because of their kindness that we protect domestic animals, but because they are useful to us, and it may not be uninteresting to glance back upon the history of the world and see what part usefulness played in the persistence of certain classes of human society. I say classes advisedly, because frequently when we look at the individuals we wonder what on all the earth some of them are here for, but sociology teaches us that the individual is not of much importance in the development of the human race as he is but a member of a particular group. The group is the real unit and the tendency of each group is to defend its individual members against attack from all other groups.

In the early dawn covered by the period of written history we find two great classes, the slaves and their owners, the exploited and the exploiter. The question naturally arises, in what respect were the slave owners useful. If we look back into the mists of obscurity, or, better still, consider the lower types of savages to-day, we find one lesson must be learned preparatory to human progress, namely, each man must learn how to work continuously. The savage naturally supplies his wants with the least possible exertion. Whenever food is plentiful he gorges himself, and then sleeps off the effects for days at a time. Once hunger returns he will exert himself and fill his empty stomach, again succumbing to indolence. In no other way could he be taught the lesson of persistent endeavor than by the whip, and so there evolved in due course of time the two great classes, the owner and the slave. For many long centuries the former was undoubtedly a very useful member of society, while he whipped into the skins of his bondsmen the tendency to work. As wealth in consequence accumulated, he secured leisure which enabled him to think and develop ideas which are to us to-day a precious heritage. But the increased leisure gradually developed into indolence and evolved a form of parasitism. When he ceased to be an active, superintending, that is, useful, member of society,

the world had no further need of him. His end had come, and he vanished.

But human beings, while they had learned much, had still other lessons coming to them, and so there arose a new order of society, that of the feudal lord and the serf. The former gave more liberty to his dependent than did the slave owner, but still he was essentially a taskmaster compelling continuous endeavor. He superintended the serf in his labors and defended him against attack. He was therefore useful, did good work for civilization until he also, like the slave owner, degenerated into a parasite and vanished in turn.

The captain of industry is the modern development of the slave owner and the feudal lord. He also is an exceedingly useful member of society. He is a magnificent organizer and manager, doing the thinking for the workers who positively decline to do it for themselves. As a useful member of society he must be paid, and has been paid handsomely for his services. To-day he is organizing our methods of production so as to eliminate every form of waste in our factories, and so long as he is fulfilling his mission on earth he is bound to persist and be the controlling force that he is to-day. At no very distant date he will concentrate his efforts on our methods of distribution, which are wasteful in the extreme, for, as a matter of fact, at least 50 to 75 per cent of the price that we pay for goods is chargeable to this department of commerce. Until this tremendous leakage has been eliminated the world stands in need of such organizers and managers, and so long as they are needed they are useful and cannot be discarded.

The laborer has always been useful and so we find him a prominent factor in every phase of organized society from the beginning of history until the present moment. In each succeeding age he bulks larger and more important than in the one before, and as he has been, is now, and always will be useful he will always be on earth.

The work of the organizer will undoubtedly some day be done and he will vanish never to return. He will cease being useful. The destiny of the proletariat is written clear and distinct. He will secure his inheritance sooner or later, but when will largely depend upon himself. The forces of nature are compelling him to travel in a certain direction, but by the exercise of reason he may see his goal and by training his brain he can fit himself for his future destiny and reach it sooner than by blundering on to it. He must learn to be organizer and manager as well as worker. The only way to learn to swim is to go into the water. The royal road to managing is to manage. The working classes must learn to manage their own affairs first, then by combination to manage

their politics, their trade organizations, their methods of distribution. Here is where the co-operative store is of greatest value. While its purpose is to supply commodities at a better price than can be secured from a merchant, its secondary effects upon the members are of far greater importance as it initiates them into the great problems of business management and conduct. Until this lesson has been learned by the laborers they will need to pay very handsome incomes to the Rockefellers, the Carnegies, the Morgans, the Armours and the Pullmans, who will be useful so long as the great masses of humanity are useless in the line that these giants have made their own.

We see then that it has always been true, is true now, and always will be true, that the useful—the useful groups—inherit the earth, and that nothing can prevent them.

F. Dundas Todd.

Evolution of Society.*

ONE single fact dominates the whole history of civilization. The different stages of this history—slavery, serfdom, wage system—are marked by a division of mankind into distinct classes; masters and slaves in antiquity; lords and serfs in the Middle Ages; capitalists and wage-workers in our present epoch. The forms, aspects and degrees of this division change from country to country, and from generation to generation, but at the bottom the same fundamental fact remains,—the exploitation of human labor.

A primordial and permanent necessity rests upon mankind, and dominates all manifestations of their existence: the necessity of labor, the necessity of production.

As long as the processes of labor—breeding, cultivation, handicrafts,—are in such a low stage of development as to barely permit the production of that which is absolutely necessary to the existence of each individual worker, there can be no question of the exploitation of the labor of others. The men go frequently into battle; but no one cares for the vanquished, they are killed on the spot. Their flesh furnishes a banquet for the victors. Cannibalism reigns without cant or hypocrisy.

But the productive forces are ever growing, and this growth forms the principal dynamic of history. As soon as man becomes able to produce a surplus beyond his absolute necessities, this surplus is taken by other men. The vanquished foe ceases to become the direct prey of the victor. He becomes instead his slave.

At this moment one class begins to work for another class as a horse is trained to go under the bridle and spur of the rider.

At this moment the great battle began between exploiters and exploited. It is not our purpose to tell the long story of this battle nor to picture its dramatic scenes. We are not here concerned with the heroic deeds, eloquent words, striking attitudes, or rallying cries of the principal religious, political and judicial actors.

Let us remember, however, that as long as possible the struggle was carried on outside the domain of actuality, outside the field of labor, in order to as long as possible keep within the "ideal" world of religion and politics,—the realm of mysticism.

By this ultra-economic transposition the "fact of the crime" did not change, but it remained concealed. The philosophies of

*The above article forms the introduction to Jules Guesdes' "Class State, Politics and Morals," and constitutes one of the most graphic and clear-cut presentations of many of the fundamentals of Socialist philosophy ever published.

antiquity sanctified slavery. The Bible deified surplus labor when it declared, "In the sweat of his brow shall man eat bread." Religion legalized terrestrial suffering by the intangible promise of celestial joys. Only yesterday Guizot has dared to say, "Labor is a bridle," to-day Tolstoi intones with the mujik Bondareff. "In the sweat of the brow shalt thou knead bread." If all this be true, to what purpose was the invention of mechanical mixers.

If mankind takes all these detours, and strays into all these vague and illusory roads, if it will arrive but slowly or not at all at the actual problem,—it is because the material conditions of the solution—the immense increase of productive forces and powerful concentration of all the means of communication—are realized but very slowly with the progress of history.

But the solution grows nearer. Economic facts develop prodigiously and the view of the contradictions born of the capitalist regime grows clearer every day. The exploitation concealed beneath the veil of wages becomes every day more evident to an ever increasing number of the workers. The material basis of the revolution of the workers is now in advance of the individual ideas, and it is utopian to seek to delay the hour of deliverance. This hour will sound whenever the proletariat wills it.

When one considers all the things consumed, utilized or put in reserve each year by the totality of any country, when these things are reduced to their constituent elements, they will be found in the last analysis to consist only of matter, energy supplied by nature, and the labor power supplied by men, and nothing more. No one can lay any particular individual claim to the work of nature. It is human labor alone which gives social value to things. These things ought then to return exclusively to the world of the workers. But the most ignorant knows that the fruits of labor are not thus divided. The blindest can see that the most savory of these fruits are consumed by an idle and privileged class. In our society, as in the society of antiquity, and in the days of feudalism, the pain and toil of one class afford freedom and pleasure to another.

Labor manifests itself by an expenditure of energy,—of muscles, of nerves. To consume the labor of a human being is to consume this energy,—these muscles, these nerves; it is to eat his flesh and to drink his blood. It is the perpetuation in a new form—a final and disguised form—of primitive cannibalism.

The bourgeois, the high flyers and gluttons of the bourse, are then exactly and without metaphor, but living vampires. Their profligacy, pleasures and voluptuousness are woven from the deep sorrows and afflictions of the oppressed class.

Under a regime of exploitation there are only three possible positions—either one receives more, or less, or just as much as his

labor creates. The excess of production due to social co-operation, which properly belongs to no individual but should return equally to all, in no way alters this fact. There are three distinct classes: the large capitalist, the small capitalist and the wage-worker. The first and the last are alone radical. Any midway position is virtually theoretical; its equilibrium is as unstable as that of Blondin crossing the Niagara gorge; for one expert who passes a multitude of inferior balancers fall into the depths of the foaming river.

Everyone knows that the intermediate class—the middle class—the little manufacturers, property owners, merchants, etc., which once constituted a buffer between these two extremes, is to-day buffeted to and fro until it is being pulverized by the competition of the great capitalist. The small capitalists are constantly being scattered to the four winds of heaven by failures and bankruptcies; no sooner do they rise in fortune than they fall again and roll hopelessly into the proletarian host of the damned. Soon there will remain but the two classes: capitalists and laborers.

To each economic class there is a corresponding political party.

On top is the conservative governmental party, with all its factions gathered into one capitalist mass. At the bottom is the revolutionizing socialist party. Between these is the wavering, disappearing party of the small capitalist, a party whose economic base is continually crumbling away, and which, in spite of the names it may call itself, is incapable of playing any radical role.

Just as the middle class falls away with each recurring day, just so every day sees the radical party grow smaller and weaker. The most far-seeing of the radicals are moving toward the socialists; the more cynical, such as Yves Guyot, like clowns in the circus, leap toward the capitalist party, bursting as they bound through the hoop the stretched paper of their old programs.

The undecided ones, the sheep, continue to stammer forth the old formulas in an indistinct murmur. The leader, the vigorous man of the party in France, Clemenceau, stalks on alone, in spite of the prestige of his double talent as writer and speaker, because he pretends to judge the movements of the social struggle from the superhuman heights of the natural struggle.

* * * * * * *

There remains, taking all in all, only two real parties: the party of exploitation and the party of emancipation of labor.

Our existence gravitates around Labor as the earth gravitates around the sun. No sun, no planetary life. No labor, no

human life. No equal labor for all healthy men; no justice, no solidarity, no happiness.

The capitalist world and its partisans would perpetuate, universalize, increase the exploitation of human labor.

The socialist world and its partisans would abolish the whole system of exploitation of human labor.

The first considers labor as a punishment, a muzzle, a disgrace. They do not wish to be punished, muzzled or disgraced. Their glory, their freedom, their honor rests upon the labor of others.

The second considers labor as a normal manifestation of life, as the indispensable condition of human existence, as the "medium of the material circulation between nature and man" (K. Marx), as the foundation for an harmonious development of body and mind, as a spice to enjoyment. They desire this work in an equal amount for all, and continually diminishing in accordance with the progress of technology and its practical applications.

There is no possible conciliation between these two worlds and the parties they represent. Choose between them! Join the ranks of one or the other of these two armies that are now confronting each other—the army of Capital, and the army of Labor.

The battle will never cease until there is no more exploitation of labor.

Then there will be no more classes, nor class antagonisms. "The government of men will give place to the administration of things." In freeing itself the proletariat will have freed all of society.

Edouard Fortin.
Translated by A. M. Simons.

SOCIALISM ABROAD

E. Untermann.

France.

The "Socialist on leave," Millerand, is pursuing his course regardless of consequences. In recent public speeches he tried to justify his entrance into the cabinet by the plea of "saving the republic." According to him, the Socialists "can realize truly democratic reforms in a capitalist republic, if they only have universal suffrage. A party that wishes to transform the world must first transform the environment. Therefore Socialists are forced to take part in all questions of interior, exterior, and colonial politics." This is the old opportunist plea of "practical" politics. But you will search in vain for any appreciable transformations of the environment brought about by the practical opportunists. The revolutionary Socialists reply to this plea, that they have done more for the working class by uncompromising tactics than any opportunist ever did by "positive" tactics. That all the best efforts of the Socialists along these lines are quickly defeated by the class interests of the capitalists as soon as they interfere with private profits. And that the only changes in the environment that will "transform the world" are the transformation of the workingmen into class conscious beings and the abolition of the capitalist system.

"Le Mouvement Socialiste" quotes with approval the following passage from a speech of Bebel in the German Reichstag: "A speaker here has alluded to Millerand and compared his reform work to our prospective child labor law. He has alleged that this law will be infinitely superior to the work of the Socialist minister. We will wait and see what our child labor law will amount to. But I want to say this: If we had a Millerand in Germany, and he would try to offer such reform legislation, we should give him a very cold reception."

The sentiment against Millerand is evidently growing, even in the ranks of the ministerialists. When Cipriani introduced a motion in the General Committee of the Parti Socialiste to exclude Millerand from the party, the vote stood 23 against, 16 for, and 11 abstentions. The 16 minority votes belonged to the Allemanists. Gerault-Richard then moved the order of the day, which was carried by 26 for, 20 against, and 4 abstentions. The question is now before the party on a referendum. The opposition issued a manifesto (later signed by seven autonomous federations) recalling the resolutions of the General Committee against the ministerialist policy and pointing out that the majority of the committee supported Millerand in spite of their resolutions. The opposition will remain in the committee for the purpose of

"opposing the formation of a distinct ministerialist party." This adds to the many varieties of French Socialist the unique brand of anti-ministerialist ministerialists.

Rightly or wrongly, Millerand is charged with the following misdemeanors: Solidarity with his capitalist colleagues who have turned against the working class in all strikes; indifference to the butcheries in China and Armenia; neglect in punishing outrages of soldiers; weak attitude against reactionaries who deceive the workingmen with side issues; complicity in the persecutions of the Socialist press and the suppression of teachers and professors who do not agree with the Minister of Education.

"The Millerand question weighs heavily on the evolution of our party," writes F. de Pressense in "Le Mouvement Socialiste." "It has turned us from our straight course and stopped all progress for the last three years. It lames the conscience and the energy of many of our best militant Socialists and raises problems that could not have arisen formerly. And it threatens to turn the elections into a defeat for Socialism."

One defeat has already become à fact. In the municipal election at Roubaix (near Lille), the Guesdists were almost wiped off the ticket. In the elections of 1900 they had a majority of 2,000. Now they received a minority of 640, the vote being 8,495 for the capitalist candidates and 7,855 for the Socialists. For 10 years the Mayor and the majority of the City Council (23) had been Socialists. Now the Mayoralty and 16 seats were lost to the capitalist party. Without commenting on the occurrence, we confine ourselves to stating the situation: The textile industry is strongly developed in Roubaix and the middle class is losing ground, so that all who are interested in the continuation of the capitalist system, rally to the support of the textile magnate, who controls the economic situation. When Guesde was a candidate for the Chamber in the same district in 1898, he was beaten by this same magnate, although the Socialist vote had then doubled since the previous election. The present election became necessary because the Socialists had resigned after their demand for the abolition of the indirect municipal duties on imported goods had been rejected by the Chamber. The corruptive influence of the textile boss still found enough workingmen ignorant of their own interests after 10 years of Socialist administration. "La Petite Republique" blames the "uncompromising tactics of the Guesdists" for their defeat, while "Le Petit Sou" counts among the enemies of Socialism "the traitors of the republic saving order, the Socialists of the Millerand type." Carette, the defeated Mayor, attributes the disaster to the narrowness of the Guesdist leaders and declares himself in favor of local autonomy. He publishes a manifesto in "La Petite Republique" inviting the Socialists of Roubaix to form a "Socialist Labor Party of Roubaix" and to leave the Parti Ouvrier Francais.

Socialists of the "Millerand type" had to strike their colors to the Guesdists in Cette near Marseilles. In 1900 they had elected a Mayor, Euzet, and the majority of the Municipal Council. The split caused in the Socialist ranks by the Millerand question led Euzet to desert his party, and he was formally excluded, because he took part in the reception of the Tsar. Nevertheless he remained in office and 24 Councilmen supported him. Only 5 Guesdists were left in opposition. But they had one good ally—the character of the renegade Mayor. He took it into his head to bully the trade unions. The five Guesdists took the cue and handled the situation so well that the trade unionists sided with them and forced Euzet and his supporters to resign. The resulting election ended in a complete defeat of the "me-too" Socialists. The Guesdists elected a Mayor and 29 Councilmen, leaving only one seat in the hands of their opponents. The "impractical plans and dangerous utopias" which Euzet had ridiculed in the Guesdists' platform, did not deter the workingmen. Opportunists please copy.

According to Chaboseau, in "Le Mouvement Socialiste," the number of Socialist votes at the last general elections has been rather overestimated. Leaving out all doubtful votes, he computes the following figures from official returns: In 1898, 751,554 Socialist votes were cast, equal to 9.21 per cent of 8,159,912 actual votes and 6.96 per cent of 10,787,470 registered voters. The strongest Socialist vote was polled in the following departments: Seine, 197,851, or 26.38 per cent of the total Socialist vote in France; Nord, 81,369, or 10.83 per cent of the total Socialist votes. The next in order are Pas de Calais, with 41,657, and Bouche de Rhone (Marseilles) with 36,214 votes. This shows that the centers of population and industries are well organized, and as they determine the pulse of national production, their control by Socialists would force the whole country to follow the line of Socialist evolution. The average Socialist vote in these districts was 23.25 per cent of the registered electorate in 1896. It rose to 26.66 per cent in 1898. In 1900 it fell to 22.98 per cent, mainly on account of the dissensions caused by Millerand. The feeling is that the next general elections (1902) will show the disastrous effects of Millerandism still more. A united Socialist front seems to be out of the question for this year.

Germany.

The Socialist representatives in the Reichstag are getting ever new and drastic propaganda material out of the debate of the new tariff bill and the government budget which is closely connected with the bill. While most of the work on the tariff is done by a committee, there is nevertheless plenty of opportunity to discuss these matters in open session. The fate of the bill vacillates back and forth. As long as the clericals, conservatives and liberals had a private understanding to go together, the Socialists were in the hopeless minority. But the Clericals are being so hard pressed in the elections by the Socialists, and the Catholic working men threaten to champion the Socialist cause so openly, that the Clericals have been forced, much against their will, to introduce an amendment demanding the repeal of indirect municipal duties on imported goods. This amendment, if carried, will become part of the bill and thus defeat the whole scheme. At the same time, the Clericals are demanding the re-admission of the Jesuits, and the Socialists are the only speakers who declare that there is no

danger in letting the Jesuits in, and that if anybody is afraid of them, the Jesuits are right in cheating them. Just at this moment, "manifest destiny" had the bad taste to change sides without warning and drop a secret document into the office of the "Vorwaerts," showing that the Secretary of the Navy had deceived the Reichstag about the future intentions of the government and thus obtained concessions to build war vessels which would not have been granted had the truth been known. The connection between the present tariff bill and the necessity to obtain more taxes for carrying out the wild schemes of the Emperor is so plain that the hostile relations between the agrarians and the government now appear as part of a well enacted game to squeeze more taxes out of the working people. The Socialists do not fail to point out, that this mode of taxation has reached its limit and that the only sane and equitable way for filling the public treasury is a progressive income tax that will force the rich to bear the burdens of their policy. Of course, the junkers and the government officials are furious and have arrested the responsible editor of "Vorwaerts," Leid, for complicity in stealing the document. Bebel, however, declared in the Reichstag: "We do not know who sent the document, and if we did, we would not tell you. It came unsolicited, however, and in an anonymous letter. We do not pay such rascals and scoundrels as your police agents who sneak into our party to spy for secrets. Our hands are clean in every way. We have never spent a cent for such purposes and we shall never do so. But we shall continue to make use of such documents as reach us without our initiative, no matter whether you like it or not." And he twits his opponents with the prospect of having the increased navy budget and the tariff bill for propaganda purposes in the next elections.

Propaganda material to burn! The rights of 13 million laborers are sacrificed to the profits of 5½ million bosses. In all processes against Socialist editors, the government did not dare to admit the proofs of the existence of "hun letters" from the China expedition. The factory inspectors are warned by a "secret" government circular not to give any opinion on the expediency of shortening the hours of labor. The government is unable to collect unemployed statistics, and 12,000 members of the Socialist party in Berlin accomplish the task of circularizing the city with census cards in half a day. This census shows that there are 76,029 unemployed, 52,501 working reduced time and 19,239 sick and invalids in Berlin and suburbs. The government has not enforced the eight-hour day, prohibition of child labor, and sanitary conditions in factories and house industries. The coal syndicate is still keeping up the price of coal in the home market and selling cheap in the foreign market, in spite of the industrial crisis. The German princes are making excessive use of their privilege to use the mails free. A demonstration of unemployed in Frankfort-on-Main is attacked by the police. The "Socialwissenschaftliche Studenten Verein" (Students' Social Economics Club) is dissolved by the president of Berlin University and the officers of the club are threatened with expulsion if they hold protest meetings. Laborers are marched to the polls by bosses and discharged if they dare to change their ballot. Many of these ballots are also marked so that they can be identified. A certain machine shop offers to a married foreman 24 mark ($5.47) per month on condition that he leaves his trade union. Since 1886, about 83,000 workingmen were killed in industries. In 1900 alone, 8.567 were killed and over 90,000 wounded. The "heavy burden" of labor insurance, about which the bosses complain, amounts to 3 pfennig per day and laborer, or 7.76 mark per year and boss in 1899, and to 9.88 mark in 1900, according to official statistics. The Socialist vote in Bueckeburg increased from 591 in 1898 to 1645 in 1900. In the Reichstag election in Doebeln-Rosswein (Saxony), the Socialist Grunberg was elected with 11,781 votes against 6,119 Liberal and 5,340 Conservative votes. This makes 58 Socialists in the Reichstag, including Eduard Bernstein, who is sure of election in Breslau.

The rumor that the government will assume control of the Gelsenkirchen coal mines shows a general tendency of this transition period, which finds an analogy in the sweeping nationalization and municipalization of industries to be introduced in Italy. It is the unemployed problem which forces the capitalist governments to resort to such measures as a last refuge. Socialists should take heed of these straws and ponder over these words of "Vorwaerts:" "European capitalism looks with growing anxiety toward America. Over there, a very live activity is still observed in the metal industries. The daily papers are full of new orders given by railroad companies to iron and steel works. But if we take a close look, we see that the same men are behind the railroads and the metal works. They are giving orders to themselves! * * * It looks as if gigantic swinding operations were carried on, as if the great speculators were pretending to push orders for the purpose of lulling the little fellows into security and animating them to buy bad stock. After the big fellows will have withdrawn the greater part of their capital, they will take off their hands, and prosperity will suddenly be followed by a crash, as in Europe. An American crisis will have a disastrous effect on Europe."

In the meantime, an international steamship agreement including the North German Lloyd and the Hamburg American Line is in process of formation and the American Tobacco Trust is buying up the big German tobacco factories. The foundations of the international commonwealth are being laid by the capitalists, a guarantee of universal peace which the Hague farce is powerless to secure.

England

The Social Democratic Federation, though not victorious in the Dewsbury election, gave a good account of itself in spite of severe difficulties. Comrade Quelch, the S. D. F. candidate for Parliament, was opposed by the Independent Labor Party, who wished to put Hartley into the field. But Hartley declared in a meeting which Quelch was to address, that he would support the S. D. F. candidate, and in a letter to the "Clarion" denounced the leaders of his own party, Keir Hardie, Bruce Glasier and J. R. Macdonald, as intriguers. In consequence a considerable number of I. L. P. branches passed resolutions endorsing Quelch. Needless to say, the capitalist papers dragged all

the usual shopworn and dusty lies about Socialism from their shelves, claiming that Quelch, the Socialist candidate, "is in favor of destroying private property by what he calls nationalization of the means of production and does not deserve any consideration." The Irish Home Rule Party also opposed the Socialist candidate and urged the Irish voters in Dewsbury to support the capitalist imperialist.

The vote of 1,597 for Quelch, equal to one-seventh of the total vote, shows, however, that at least a part of the working class in Dewsbury does no longer listen to capitalist advice. In a personal letter to the editor of the "Review," Comrade Quelch says: "We did not win, but the general impression is that we did very well, and I think so, too. Fighting on a straight Socialist program, with not only the capitalist parties to fight, but with so-called "labor leaders" and the official crowd of the I. L. P. using their influence against us, I think it was a good vote to poll one-seventh of the electorate in such a fight. If we can only put in the necessary organizing work there we ought to win the place at the next election."

In Dublin, Ireland, three Socialists were elected in the municipal elections, receiving over 25 per cent of the vote, although the Irish Socialist Party is only about two years old. The Catholic priests vehemently denounced Socialism and threatened to excommunicate all men and women who worked for the Socialist candidates. Nevertheless 1,063 voters seem to be more concerned in escaping from the capitalist hell than from purgatory.

THE WORLD OF LABOR

By Max S. Hayes.

The National Committee of the Socialist party held a most successful meeting at St. Louis. It was shown that the party now has an enrolled membership of over ten thousand, although not all are as yet paying dues to the national organization owing to some misunderstanding regarding "State autonomy." It is expected that all the States will be thoroughly organized during the present year, and with that end in view National Secretary Greenbaum and the local members of the committee (the executive) have been instructed to issue a call for a "National Propaganda Fund," to be used in pushing the work in unorganized localities in an aggressive manner. The membership is now voting on a party emblem, to elect an international secretary, and other important party matters. Hereafter cards, stamps, etc., will be uniform, and the necessity of supporting the party press will be persistently kept before the members. The committee is to choose an official list of speakers, and the members will also be asked to elect a fraternal delegate to visit the Canadian comrades. The position of the party on the trade union question, as promulgated by the Indianapolis Unity convention, was re-affirmed. The old officers were re-elected. With liberal support of the "Propaganda Fund," and early adherence of all party members to the national organization, the outlook for a steady and strong growth for the Socialist cause is exceptionally bright.

Out in Northport, Wash., the workingmen went on strike, and they likewise carried their grievance to the ballot-box. They elected city officers from Mayor down and one-half the Councilmen. As soon as the old politicians saw their game was up, they combined in the Council and a dead-lock resulted. Then they locked out the triumphant workingmen, but the latter caught one of the old Councilmen and held a session in the middle of the street and organized, claiming a quorum was present. Now the trouble has gone into the courts. The workingmen in question are members of the Socialist party; the politicians are Republicans and Democrats, showing that the latter no longer love labor when it strikes politically, and that they have no hesitancy in combining and proving by their own acts that there is no difference between their parties.

During the past month thirty of the members of the "peace committee" of the National Civic Federation met in New York and held another talkfest. The upshot was that Senator Hanna, the chairman of the committee, was given power to select a sub-committee to con-

sider grievances when both sides in a controversy make the request. The Senator professed to be very gleeful and hopeful. He made the happy announcement that henceforth "strikes are doomed" and that it is now "up to me" to bring about harmony between capital and labor. Meanwhile strikes continue to rage in different parts of the country, just as though the committee wasn't on earth. Some time ago the iron workers of San Francisco telegraphed to Hanna requesting that he set his machinery in motion to settle the long strike on the coast. He promised to do so, but that was the last heard from the great harmonizer. The Boston teamsters followed with a request that their strike be arbitrated. Hanna sent his little boy, Secretary Ralph Easley, of the Civic Federation, to Boston to investigate. Easley went, talked mysteriously and looked wise for a few days, disappeared, and that was the last heard from the adjudicators, par excellence. Hanna is a stockholder in the shipbuilding trust on the lakes. Last fall the ship carpenters and caulkers made a demand for the nine-hour day. The bosses promised to grant the concession the first of the year. They deliberately broke their agreement and the men went on strike at Cleveland, Hanna's home. The men petitioned Hanna to come and clean up his own yard. A Washington reporter inquired of the Senator whether he would go to Cleveland to settle the trouble. He replied: "What trouble? I know of no strike in Cleveland." Still Hanna will make a great Presidential candidate, with both labor and capital lined up for him.

The next interesting move on the chess-board of industry is to be made by the miners. At their late convention the bituminous workers withdrew all their demands in order to put up a united front to secure recognition, the eight-hour day and minor concessions for their brethren in the anthracite field. There is strike talk heard in the hard coal region, and quite a few local walkouts have occurred during the past month. At this writing the miners' officials are attempting to urge the operators to come into a conference, but all will depend upon J. P. Morgan's view of the matter. If he refuses to confer, a general strike will quite likely occur, and then Hanna, the harmonizer, will have the center of the stage. If he can succeed in coaxing Morgan to make a few concessions his Presidential boom will receive added impetus, especially since Roosevelt is showing an inclination of desiring to handicap Morgan and Hill in their attempt to gobble the Western railways and draw them into a merger. It's a great game.

It is reported from Washington that the bill to exclude the Chinese is likely to have tough sledding. The play is now to delay consideration, but if the pressure becomes too strong the bill is to be loaded down with amendments and talked to death or passed in such form that it can be easily violated. The "Six Companies" of San Francisco and secret societies of Chinese in New York, Chicago and other large cities are accumulating an immense fund to block the measure, while railroads and large manufacturing interests are also said to have strong lobbies on the ground to aid the "Chinks." The advocates of exclusion have been given an unwelcome surprise by the action of the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce, which was thought to be opposed to the Mongolian invasion. The 'Frisco Chamber smells profits. An elaborate array of statistics has been issued by that body showing the increase of trade with China, and the capitalists on the coast are informed that it would be impractical and against their interests to arouse the enmity of the Chinese people by excluding them from this country. The capitalists of the West and South especially who want cheap labor will leave no stone unturned to encompass the defeat of the bill that the union people want enacted into law.

The Ohio Supreme Court has declared the blacklist a legal weapon. A blacklisted railway worker had secured damages against a road in a lower court. The supreme body decided that an employer has the right to discharge whosoever engages in a strike affecting his interests. Another labor law, so-called, "busted." But there are still some union men who can't see the class lines and vote for their own undoing.

The Supreme Court of Michigan has just handed down a decision that is making union men gasp and employers smile. It is none other than that "suit may be brought against unincorporated voluntary associations." This means that the Taff Vale decision in England has been transplanted a little sooner than was expected. It is undoubtedly the first decision of the kind that has been made on this question by a Supreme Court, and no doubt it will be eagerly grasped by high and low judicial bodies in other States. In quite a few States employers have sued striking workmen for damages, and if they can tie up union treasuries in times of trouble the advantage will be considerable, while the chance of confiscating them in the long run, and perhaps even the little property that strikers may have secured by hard work, is one that the average capitalist will not overlook. The Michigan decision is the outcome of an action begun by a Detroit concern against the Molders' Union.

A plow company at Springfield, Ill., has sued 42 striking employes for $50,000 damages. The company needs the money.

The new United Brotherhood of Railway Employes, which includes all classes of railroaders, seems to be gaining ground rapidly. The chief division held a biennial convention in San Francisco and it was shown that the order was sweeping eastward so rapidly that it was necessary to plant headquarters in a more central locality, and Chicago was chosen. It was reported that 57 divisions had been formed in a few months, nearly all west of the Mississippi, although a foothold had been secured in Illinois, Ohio and Pennsylvania. The officers and the journal of the new organization make no secret of the fact that they are making war on the old brotherhoods. The claim is made that the latter have outlived their usefulness and are controlled by the railway magnates. Rumors are in circulation to the effect that the switchmen are favorably disposed toward the B. of R. E. on account of non-support and actual opposition that they received at the hands of the engineers, conductors and trainmen.

Labor commissioner of Missouri has issued a report in which he shows that 23,970 workers received $11,064,640 as wages in certain

industries in that State during 1901. The employers, on the other hand, received $13,581,229 as profits, or $2,516,565 more than the thousands of toilers who produced the wealth. This is "dividing up" with a vengeance! And it also shows that there is great "prosperity" in the country—for Bro. Capitalist.

Utah Labor Journal of Salt Lake City, is a new one that is pounding away for Socialism. Ditto the Rocky Mountain Socialist of Denver.

New York Socialists have taken preliminary steps to establish a daily paper. They are raising funds.

St. Louis unionists are divided upon the question of boycotting the World's Fair. Some of them have gained concessions, others have not.

It's reported that the Illinois Central railroad will substitute a telephone system for telegraphs, and that if the experiment works successfully other roads will do the same.

Carpenters voted against holding a special convention to consider the case of P. J. McGuire, the former Secretary. The matter will now go over until the regular convention in the fall.

About eighty trade unions of New York held a big mass meeting and denounced the Hanna-Gompers-Cleveland "peace conference."

Melvin Yeakley, an Ohio man who invented the pneumatic hammer and a perfect gasoline engine, is developing a new appliance to supplant rubber tires. It is in the nature of a compressed air cylinder, which can be attached to a vehicle and make rubber tires unnecessary. Yeakley is building an automobile that will seat sixty persons, and with his cylinder attachment he expects to solve the problem of driving large and heavy horseless vehicles. He has made several successful trials.

Labor Commissioner of New Hampshire testifies that the average wages of workers in that State amount to $6.85 per week. No doubt the latter will purchase steam yachts and go to Europe to spend their "surplus" next summer.

The United States Steel Corporation announced, with much "publicity," that it will clean up about $110,000,000 profits this year. Bros. Morgan and Schwab may want a little more, however, as the wages of the rod mill workers of Cleveland and other points have been slashed 15 to 25 per cent. What beautiful harmony and co-operation doth exist in the industrial world. Let's all be brothers!

Organizer Crilley, of the A. F. of L., was driven out of Meridian, Miss., because he attempted to organize negro workmen. The "best" citizens did the ku-kluxing.

New York unionists are already criticising the "reform" government of that city. They claim labor laws are not enforced, and that there is actually no difference between the new administration and Tammany.

BOOK REVIEWS

The French Revolution and Modern French Socialism. Jessica Peixotto. Cloth, 409 pp. $1.50.

This is a comparative study of the doctrines and social conditions prior to the French revolution with present conditions and modern French Socialism. There was a general equalitarian and communistic utopian tone running through all the literature prior to the French revolution. Combined with these was the doctrine of Natural Rights and the Social Contract. The attitude of the nobility toward the literature of the Revolution is strangely characteristic of the attitude of modern bourgeoisie toward the literature of Socialism (p. 82). "The new literary movement of the day seemed to the members of this doomed class subject for an amused patronage or polite ridicule; they appear to have had little idea that it was really a menace to the advantages which they, as a class, enjoyed. Between pride and prejudice, frivolity and harshness, the class as a whole aided blindly in its own ruin." The author seems to think that a change is to-day taking place in the attitude toward modern Socialism (p. 239). "A scholastic world which once scoffed and smiled at the doctrine, has come to treat it with an attention that varies from the apprehensive to the sympathetic; a practical world has passed from regarding it as the aberration of a few exalted minds recognizing that the theory is that of a militant and conspicuous party." The treatment of modern French Socialism is on the whole much less satisfactory. Although the author gives abundant evidence of having read widely in the writings of the foremost French Socialists she shows a hopeless inability to comprehend them and gives expression to such meaningless phrases as this (p. 259): "Socialism is only philanthropy, armed with a philosophy and a political system calculated to cure all social diseases." Then follows a very foolish "refutation" of Marx and some most startling interpretations of economic determinism. The author makes much of the so-called "integral Socialism," which after all is little more than a refined opportunism. The part of the work where the comparison is drawn from which the book gets its title is more interesting than valuable as it is really an attempt to compare two largely incomparable things. The work is copiously annotated with an exhaustive and most valuable bibliography, which, whatever we may think of the reasoning, makes the book in many ways the most valuable work on French Socialism that has so far appeared in the English language.

The Shrine of Silence. Henry Frank. The Abbey Press. Cloth, uncut edges, 270 pp., $2.00.

A series of "meditations" on various subjects from an intuitional and idealistic point of view. The author has an exceptional literary style, the book is elaborately decorated with colored initials and the binding is in a very striking combination of black and red on white.

The Law of Socialism. Frank Hathaway. Paper, 28 pp. 10 cents.

An attempt to discuss Socialism on the basis of existing legal ideas and a rather indefinite doctrine of Natural Rights. Contains some good suggestions, but the author was evidently not sufficiently familiar with Socialism to enable him to properly discuss the questions he raises.

A Voice From England. Rev. T. McGrady. Standard Publishing Co. Paper, 44 pp. 10 cents.

This is a reply to Rev. Rickaby's "Socialism, the Crying Evil of the Age," and there is no doubt that the arguments, such as they were, of the opponent of Socialism are thoroughly demolished. One only wonders if the game was really worthy of the heavy artillery that is employed.

Among the Periodicals.

Among the more notable articles in the "World's Work" of interest to Socialists are "Increasing Railroad Consolidation," by M. G. Cunniff, giving the story of the concentration of transportation in the United States and a map of recent movements, and a discussion of "Agriculture Under Cloth," by Arthur Goodrich, describing a movement which may easily work a revolution of no small dimensions in agriculture. "Marconi's Triumph," by George Iles, tells the story of the latest achievements in wireless telegraphy.

The description of a co-operative experiment in grain buying and shipping, which is described in the "Review of Reviews," under the title "A Grain Buyers' Trust: How Kansas Farmers Are Meeting It," by C. H. Matson, contains some most suggestive ideas. The farmers in the neighborhood of Solomon, Kansas, formed a co-operative and within two months after the association had opened its elevator it had handled over 100,000 bushels of wheat, paying its members from seven to nine cents below the Kansas City price, although the normal price was 10 cents below, while the syndicate price was 14 cents below, a clear gain to the farmers of from five to seven cents a bushel." It is too early to determine whether this organization contains within itself the elements of permanence or whether it is simply another of the thousand and one sporadic attempts at local bettermen such as have come and gone in the last generation.

The February number of "The Craftsman" is largely devoted to a discussion of the life and work of Robert Owen, and is a valuable contribution to the history of Socialism. Edwin Markham contributes

an article on "Traces of the Franciscans in California," a discussion of a little known but interesting phase of American social history.

The "Documente des Socialismus" continues to gather valuable historical material for Socialists. The February number contains original documents of August Becker and Frederick Engels, a copy of the first program ever issued by the Russian Social Democrats and the program of the French Social Democrats, which was issued on the eve of the revolution of 1848.

EDITORIAL

American Socialist Literature.

Two great streams, or tendencies, are just at the point of union in the Socialist literature of America. One of these is of native, the other of foreign origin. Because of the greater scientific accuracy of the foreign stream Socialists have been prone to look upon it as the only source of Socialist writing. This portion has been composed either of direct translations from German and French or else has been written by persons strongly under the influence of such translations. Such writings have been scholarly and scholastic, theoretically correct and pedantically expressed, and in general more remarkable for scientific accuracy than ease of comprehension and literary excellence. Judged by any canons of good English, their literary style has been abominable, while their very vocabulary has been to a large extent foreign to the common speech of the people.

Along side of this body of writings has flowed another stream. As if bent on illustrating the truth of the very philosophy he neglected, the American has refused to see the truth of Socialism until his economic development should teach it to him. So it has been that America has produced a vast crop of utopianism, more colony experiments than all other nations put together, and a mass of muddled reform movements that will afford amusement for all future historians. The literature of these various movements, however, has been to a large degree written by men at least much more familiar with American conditions and mode of thought than was possessed by those who wrote the literature of scientific Socialism. They used the vocabulary of the people to whom they were talking and expressed themselves according to the literary standards of the audience they were addressing. Some of the utopian writings, particularly those of Howells, Bellamy and some of the Brook Farm writers have become a part of the classic literature of America.

Lowell once gave expression to the following sentiment, which might well be pondered by some of those who are writing the propaganda literature of Socialism: "In proportion as elegance of form transcends the value of the contained matter does a work gain in perpetuity." Had Henry George not had an infinitely better command of the English language than he had of political economy the Single Tax movement would not have arisen to count one more in the varieties of economic vagaries to be found in the history of America. Even

the wild harangues and incoherent reasonings of much of Populism were expressed in a form that was easily intelligible to the great mass of the populace, and which exactly fell in with the western spirit of brag and bluster and bravado, which, whatever else it does, always does something.

It is often offered as an explanation of the success of semi-Socialistic publications, that it is because they do not preach clear cut Socialism and hence appeal to other than proletarian class interests. To some extent this is undoubtedly true, but to a still larger degree their success is due to the fact that they are written in a style which attracts and holds the attention of those to whom they are addressed. There is no essential contradiction between class-conscious Socialism and a good literary style, but, so far as this country is concerned, a deep-seated antipathy seems to have hitherto existed between them.

But after all, literary style and pedagogic skill cannot take the place of truth and logical reasoning. Economic facts are stubborn things and cannot be forever concealed by the literary drapery of carefully chosen phrases, any more than economic advance could be long blocked by the fervid rhetoric of a Bryan. Steadily society moved forward, crushing out of existence the economic classes interested in the perpetuation of the economic vagaries this rhetoric and literary drapery sought to adorn. Each recurring extension of the frontier by reviving some dying social stage gave these doctrines a new lease of life. But at last the frontier has disappeared, after having made its longest single extension in crossing the prairie states, and in Populism and the Bryan Democracy giving rise to the largest and the last expression of incoherent revolt that has yet appeared in America.

The time is now ready for an indigenous Socialist literature that shall combine the scientific accuracy and philosophic truth of international Socialism with the best literary style, yet which shall be expressed in that native vocabulary, whose use has done so much to popularize utopianism and muddledom. Too long our Socialist writings have been made up by the application of German metaphysics to English economic history with a French vocabulary. So far has this gone that the French and German Socialist writers are at the present time making more use of United States official documents than the American Socialist writers. European scholars are just beginning to recognize what American Socialists should have known for at least a decade, that American history offers the best examples yet discovered of the laws of economic determinism.

The great task of the Socialist writers of this country for the next few years is to interpret American economic life in the language and style which will best appeal to the American people. The writer who will bring a combination of a clear English style and a thorough mastery of the principles of scientific Socialism to bear upon the history and present facts of American life will have earned the eternal gratitude of the workers of the world and have carved for himself a broad and lasting niche in the temple of fame. There is a crying need at this moment for a mass of books, pamphlets and periodical articles, not so much expounding, as applying, the class struggle and economic determinism to the facts and relations of our present society. It is

not, as philanthropic "investigators" tell us, more facts that are needed, so much as the proper presentation and explanation of facts already gathered and easily accessible.

Never was there so rich a mine of information for the Socialist student as is furnished by the history and present society of the United States. Never have economic forces developed so untrammeled by tradition and sentiment. Our children should be furnished with text-books in history that tell the true story of the struggle of economic classes lying back of the Civil war and the war of the Revolution. It must be to the everlasting shame of American Socialist writers that up to the present time the best account of the long fierce crude battle of the American pioneer with his environment, which can be truly explained only in the light of Socialist philosophy, for which it offers such countless illustrations and arguments, has been written by that synthesis of capitalism, Theodore Roosevelt.

The Socialist philosophy of history rests almost wholly upon the comparative method of historical research, and the United States has been the first and last and only country to simultaneously present the essentials of all other previous social stages, and then maintain this possibility of the geographical study of history for more than a century. Socialist pamphlets are still used for propaganda in America, which depend upon the English economic history of a century ago for their illustrations of an Industrial Revolution, while the native American to whom they are handed has in his own life been a part of a much greater revolution than the one there described.

For more than two hundred years the laborers of America have been continuously fleeing ever further toward the West to escape from the capitalist exploitation that has ever hounded them on. Over and over again the son has been driven forth from his home by the society his father helped establish. Ever and again the workers of the West have risen in armed or peaceful revolt against the crushing capitalism that drove them toward the setting sun, but each time it was only to be again conquered and driven still further out into the wilderness or across the trackless prairie. Now these fugitive fighters are at bay. They can flee no further. If they lose the present fight with their hereditary oppressers only death or eternal slavery confronts them. But with the whole country capitalistic, the geographical line of battle becomes a class line running athwart the whole social organization. Here is a far better illustration of the workings of economic determinism and the class struggle than is furnished by the mills of Manchester or the mines of Cornwall.

We have hoped from the foundation of the International Socialist Review that it might help in creating such a literature. We had hoped to receive analyses and descriptions of American social and economic facts illumined by the knowledge of Socialist philosophy. We have received a few contributions of this character, but nothing proportionate to either the demand or the opportunity. The material for a multitude of such articles is ready to the hand of the Socialist writer. No other government has gathered and distributed a tithe of the valuable economic material that has been published by the authorities of this government. Nearly every state is also doing much, of

more or less value, in this line. The capitalists of America realize, if the Socialists do not, the importance of knowing the facts of economic life. So it is that there are actually thousands of volumes filled with Socialist ammunition being gratuitously distributed each year, and yet it is only occasionally that we see any use made of them by Socialists.

Some day there will come a tremendous awakening, and thousands of Socialist investigators, writers and historians will dig down into this arsenal of facts, that capitalism has accumulated and arranged to its own undoing, and will proceed to arm the militant proletariat with the weapons its masters have prepared. It is in the hope of hastening that awakening and speeding the day when these weapons will be made ready that this editorial has been written. If it succeeds in arousing any hitherto dormant literary energies to the service of Socialism or in directing any of those already active into more fruitful fields it will have accomplished its purpose.

PUBLISHERS' DEPARTMENT

The American Farmer.

BY A. M. SIMONS.

This work has been out only about two weeks and the following quotations from letters and reviews that have appeared in this short time will give some idea of the character of the book and the way it is going to go.

"The American Farmer at hand, and I have it nearly finished. I must confess I started to read your book with many misgivings, and in fact with some prejudice, but I had scarcely finished the first chapter before I discovered that Simons' 'American Farmer' is by all odds the best work that has come from the press relating to agricultural economics. Having been a farmer the greater part of my life, I can the more fully appreciate the service you have performed."

Henry E. Allen,
Benton Harbor, Mich.

I have just completed the reading of your book, "The American Farmer," and hasten to congratulate you on your splendid effort. You have certainly covered the ground pretty thoroughly. When your pamphlet "Socialism and Farmers" first appeared, I was hardly convinced of the correctness of your position, thinking it somewhat a blurring of the class lines, as I had always been taught that the farmer was a middle class man. Your last book has demonstrated the falsity of this view. The chapter on "Concentration in Agriculture," and "The Farmer and the Wage-Earner" are the best I have ever seen on the subject. I wish every farmer and every Socialist in the United States might read your book.

W. J. McFall,
New Albany, Kas.

"Enclosed find $2.00, for which please send me six copies of 'The American Farmer.' I consider it a splendid and timely book, and would like to see it read by every farmer in America."

Jno. W. Gardner,
Dissmore, N. D.

"The work is terse, comprehensive and replete with information and valuable suggestion. It denotes extensive investigation and unbiased opinion."—Kalamazoo Telegraph.

If you have not already ordered a copy, do so at once. Price, 50 cents, to stockholders 30 cents prepaid.

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There has been some confusion regarding wholesale rates on Socialist literature since the Post Office department took it upon itself to amend the laws of the United States by excluding The Pocket Library of Socialism, the Library of Progress, and other similar publications from the second class mails.

We have now entered into an agreement with the Standard Publishing Company of Terre Haute, Ind., which publishes the paper books formerly issued by the International Library Publishing Company of New York, and with G. B. Benham of San Francisco, by which we shall offer the paper-covered books of these publishers, as well as our own, at the following wholesale rates, which apply to every one except the stockholders in our company.

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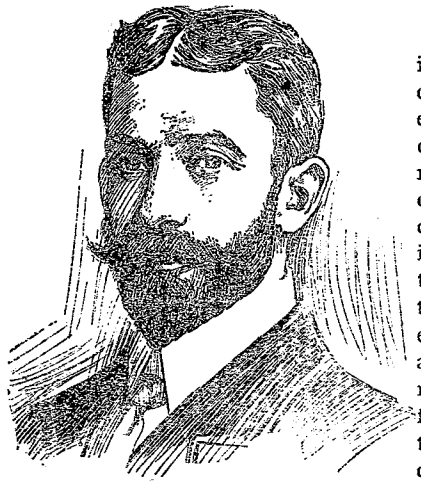
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THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW.

VOL. II. APRIL, 1902. NO. 10.

The Social Utilization of Crime.*

SCIENTIFIC study regards crime as the expression of a biological and psychological personality, acting in a physical and social environment. This standpoint radically changes the mode of thought and feeling in regard to criminals and, consequently, the manner of dealing with them.

From the innumerable centuries of primitive society to the end of the nineteenth century, crime has always been regarded, judged, hated and attacked as an act of wickedness. But according to the scientific facts and abstractions of anthropology and criminal sociology, crime is simply a natural phenomenon, more or less noxious and more or less clearly pathological.

The same revolution of ideas and feelings took place in regard to insanity after the scientific study of mental disease and of the insane by Pinel and Chiarugi. Insanity, until 1801, looked upon as the result of voluntary deviation from "the path of virtue and godliness" (by the physician Heinroth), is now accepted as a natural phenomenon of a more or less noxious and more or less clearly pathological nature.

The two modes of regarding those abnormal bio-social actions result necessarily in a radical difference of social reaction against crime and insanity. Prisons, chains, and instruments of torture correspond to the old conception of insanity. The scientific ideas on mental aberration have happily substituted for them the various asylums, from those without personal and painful restrictions to those in which "open doors" and village colonies with field or industrial labor are the principal factors of sanitation.

The same evolution is inevitable in regard to crime. So long as we regard crime in the light of personal malfaisance, punishment is the logical consequence. The character of the instru-

*Delivered at the International Congress of Criminology and revised by the author for the International Socialist Review.

ments of chastisement may have become milder, as Howard says, especially in their outward appearance, but legislators, judges, and public opinion are for the greater part still led by the same train of ideas which the Laws of Manu determined for so many centuries: "In order to assist the kings in their functions, God created the Genius of chastisement. . . . Chastisement rules the human race, chastisement protects them, chastisement wakes while the human race sleep, chastisement is justice."

However, when we regard crime as a natural effect, the same as insanity, suicide, and disease, then the theoretical and practical conclusions derived are entirely different. Theoretically, all ideas of moral responsibility (the reflection of free will and wilful wickedness) become untenable and nothing remains but the social responsibility of the criminal (and of every other individual for any and all good or evil acts) toward society. Practically, penalties cease to be the universal panacea for crime, and the violent and illusory force of repression gives way naturally to the less easy and less simple, but more effective and useful force for individuals as well as for the collectivity, the force of elimination or preventive attenuation by society of the anthropological, physical and social causes of criminality. Society abandons all ideas and feelings of vengeance, hate and chastisement in regard to criminals and devises means of prevention against crime as well as against insanity, epidemics, alcoholism, and so forth. And penal justice becomes a sort of social dispensary for such crimes and misdemeanors as could not be hindered by the preventive measures of society. Likewise sanitary preventives against infectious diseases do not succeed in doing away with sporadic cases and individual diseases, although they successd in reducing the number and intensity of epidemics.

It is clear that there will be a number of intermediate stages, in theory and practice, between the present conception of penal justice, the survival of long centuries of prejudice, and the future preventive service for the protection of society, which will endeavor to indemnify the victims when the offense was small and committed by a harmless person, and to segregate for an unlimited time a criminal who is unfit for social life and dangerous.

As a matter of fact, a theoretical evolution is felt even in the scientific study of criminality and sets forth different aspects of crime as a natural product of society.

Albrecht maintained at the first international congress of criminal anthropology (Rome, 1885) that crime is a product of "biological conditions."

Durckheim added in 1893 that crime is a product of "social conditions."

Lombroso spoke in 1895 of the "benefits of crime."

And if we call normal whatever is constant, and if we believe that even sickness may have some useful counteraction on the individual and on the collectivity, then it is clear that in these statements, however paradoxical they may seem, there is a grain of truth. The practical conclusion at which we arrive through this conception of crime, apart from all sentimental survivals of subjective aversion, is the possibility of making a criminal socially useful.

The classic Romagnosi said that a decrease of criminality in a certain country may also be due to a decrease of national energy. This is true, and it makes Lombroso's idea of the utilization of criminals more precise and exact, if we make the distinction, which I have made in other places, between abnormities of involution and abnormities of evolution.

Criminals are always abnormal individuals. But there are abnormals by involution, who have degenerate, egoistical and savage tendencies and commit crimes of violence or cunning from which no social utility can possibly be derived, such as murder for the sake of vengeance, for theft, etc., criminal assault, deception of poor confiding creatures, etc. And there are abnormals by evolution who also violate the laws of present society, but for motives of progress and altruism, and who may individually give evidence of these tendencies, which are on the whole useful, by noxious, violent or, perhaps, in rare cases, fraudulent acts.

Evidently criminal energy can be led systematically and effectively into channels that will make it less noxious or more useful for society only in the case of evolutionary criminals. It may also be utilized, but on a much smaller scale, in the case of degenerate criminals. This can be realized during their segregation for an unlimited time after commiting a crime, by abolishing the absurd isolation in cells and employing them at useful labor in the fresh air, with medical and hygienic treatment. This has been done, for some years, with mild lunatics. But it is manifest that the utilization of the criminal through a new social, judiciary, and administrative conception which utilizes human energy for the benefit of society, instead of stamping out the hated and contaminated individual, can be realized on a large scale with evolutionary criminals alone. They are, moreover, much more numerous than degenerate criminals.

At present a countless army of individuals are thrown out of place, socially reduced, persecuted, prevented from developing, and become violators of the law, rebels, "enemies of society," against whom the "public vengeance" and "the sword of inexorable justice" is invoked—merely because they do not find in this society of ours, in this medley of misery, conventional lies, bureaucratic, military, and academical institutions, the open road on

which they may employ their psycho-physical energies in a normal manner.

In the field of physiology we are acquainted with the phenomenon of nervous deviation, illustrated by Darwin. A discharge of nervous energy which finds its normal road obstructed, spreads and makes use of more or less distant side tracks. For instance, if one is hindered by respect, fear, or some other cause, from laughing, he discharges the nervous current by pinching his fingers, legs, etc.

The same thing takes place in the social organism. An individual that is prevented by poverty, family relations, lack of education, unfavorable domicile, etc., from developing his endowments and energies in a normal mode of activity, expresses his individuality through bio-social by-ways, such as crime, insanity, suicide, or alcoholism. For instance, a man who is forced to discontinue his trade as a butcher becomes a murderer (abnormal by involution). A man to whom the sight of blood is not repugnant may become a surgeon, or a man who is prevented from freely expressing his ideas may become a conspirator, a sectarian, etc. (abnormals by evolution). In England we observe, e. g., how spinsters who cannot find expression for their energies and altruistic inclinations in marriage and family life, find an equivalent and a conductor for their energies in works of charity, in temperance propaganda, in protection of animals, in religious devotions, etc. It is also notorious that many soldiers (even the bravest of them) are simply abnormal individuals, unfit for any methodical and useful work, whose moral and social sense is feebly developed, so that for them cruelty is often inseparable from courage.

From these general remarks it is evident that it will not be possible to formulate a list of practical measures by which the social utilization of crime could be realized, such as I have furnished for penal substitutes in order to give practical illustrations of social preventives against crime. The first step toward the social utilization of criminals must be a radical and profound change of public thought and feeling in regard to crime and criminals. This change must begin in the minds of legislators and judges, and can only come by the slow and gradual infiltration of the scientific ideas on the natural and social generation of crime. In spite of the assistance given by partial experiences with reforms of penal legislation, and in spite of the eloquent testimony on the abnormality of criminals which the facts are daily forcing on the attention of the public, this radical and profound change finds much greater difficulties in the way of its realization and extension than were experienced by the ideas due to the initiation of the classic school of jurists (Beccaria) and the

classic school of penal service (Howard). For the latter aimed only at reforms. They did not touch the theory or practice of penal justice, but started from the same old premise of the free will and moral responsibility of the criminal as the condition and measure of his responsibility before penal law. And yet less than a century was required to make the ideas of Beccaria and Howard the accepted standard against the medieval ideas on this subject.

The conception of crime as a natural phenomenon, which may be socially useful (in abnormals by evolution) and made more or less serviceable to society, constitutes a complete overthrow of the traditional mode of thinking and feeling. And therefore we cannot expect that the progress of this new conception in the world of scientists, legislators, judges and public opinion will be very rapid. But every step ahead in this manner of seeing things, however small it may be, prepares the way for the final transformation of the antiquated function of vengeance and chastisement into a social dispensary for the prevention of crime, backed up by the irresistible impulse of daily facts and of the disastrous effects of so-called penal justice.

The social utilization of crime—which will pass first through the phase of unconscious and tentative,* later through that of systematic realization, will have become a social habit and the result of a true conception of life and social arrangement as a whole. Justice will thereupon cease to be a more or less bloody chamber of horors with tools of torture, in order to become an expression and practice of public life and conscience.

This will be completely realized—through partial and limited changes during the stage of transition from antiquated to new penal justice—by a social arrangement which will include economic conditions as well as the normal and intellectual expressions of human life. Such an arrangement will necessarily restrict the antiquated and always violent penal justice to a minimum, and assure an ever broader and deeper space to the realization of a sincere and spontaneous social justice.

Enrico Ferri.

(Translated by E. Untermann.)

*As examples of such empirical institutions, which are the enlightening forerunners of the future, I quote the proposition of Girardin (Le droit de punir, 1871) to abolish all measures of penal repression and to oppose nothing else to crime and criminals but the sanction of public opinion. More recently Morache (Revue scientifique, May, 1901) recommends pardoning as a treatment of criminals. But it is clear that these measures (public opinion, pardon) are not safeguards against all criminals and against the most dangerous of them.

Art and Socialism.

IT is right and just that all men should have work to do which shall be worth doing, and be of itself pleasant to do; and which should be done under such conditions as would make it neither over-wearisome nor over-anxious." So said William Morris.

For the new impulse that he gave to art Morris drew much of his inspiration from the Medieval Ages, and pointing to the products of that time, the beautiful Gothic structures, the marvelously bound books and handsome tapestries, he explained that these were only possible where men worked with a certain amount of freedom to develop the spirit of workmanship and to put into material form the ideas that were in them.

It is upon a physiological basis that this "spirit of workmanship" rests. All organisms present two well-defined states. The normal individual is so constituted that periods of inactivity necessary for rest and rebuilding of tissues must be followed by periods of activity. If either of these conditions is carried to an extreme, that is, if work is kept up frequently to the point of exhaustion, or the body remains in a state of inactivity, the organism is injured, and when this is long continued it fails to act and react normally.

These periods of energy are characterized by a desire to make or create something. Work is then a pleasure until the cells of the body again become wasted and the organs require rest. This creative desire is known as the spirit of workmanship. It is illustrated not alone in the work of constructing buildings or machines of wood and steel, or the weaving of yards of fabrics, but also in the work called play of the child, piling up its heaps of sand or blocks.

Where freedom to thus exercise this creative instinct exists men combine three elements in their work. The object they produce serves first some useful purpose, it has at the same time the power of giving pleasure to others, through its beauty of form or color or texture, and, finally, the maker has had pleasure in addition through the process of putting into action his power of creating.

It was to such work done by the free-associated medieval gildsmen that we owe the cathedrals, with their curious combinations in wood and stone, their great rose windows with the simple but beautiful traceries and their quaint figures and gargoyles. In the brains of the craftsmen the plan of the work was evolved, with tools and materials they wrought day after day to complete their

plan; time was not taken into consideration, profit on the labor was unknown. The object of the work was to produce something that, while it pleased the eye of the observer, served also some useful end and had been created with labor pleasant and interesting to the worker.

It is true that the gildsmen suffered from the restrictions of oppressive lords and too stringent gild rules. We find Morris deploring this and showing where, in consequence, their work was often defective, but pointing out that, on the other hand, they were free to plan and work out in wood and stone, in leather or thread, their original designs.

In the center of Brussels is located the city square that Victor Hugo called the most beautiful square in the world. On one side stand the Gild buildings erected in the 15th century, and on the other the City Hall, one of the most perfect remaining examples of Gothic architecture. From top to ground this is one vast piece of art. Nothing can be more delicate than the lace work in stone that covers this building. Carved figures occupy every niche, and on close examination they are found perfect in every part.

> "In those elder days of art
> Builders wrought with greatest care
> Each minute and unseen part."

Visit some old cathedral, as Notre Dame. Here is a structure that took generations in its building and was never completed. Vast in size, it has a dignity and beauty that is unknown to modern structures.

Of this period Morris said, "I have come thoroughly to understand the manner of work under which the art of the Middle Ages was done, and that it is the only manner of work which can turn out popular art; only to discover that it is impossible to work in that manner in this profit-grinding society. So on all sides I am driven toward revolution as the only hope."

Art no less than literature, ethics and education has been the product of its surroundings. Taine, in handling the philosophy of Art says, "The productions of the human mind, like unto those of living nature, can only be explained by their environment."

What was it that made possible the beauty of Greek sculpture and architecture? It was due partly to the fact that nowhere else in the world were there to be found such white and rich quarries of marble. But it was due, also, to there existing in Greece a populace that appreciated and intelligently criticised and understood the statuary and the buildings.

The creator of any of these things knew that he created not for a favored few but for all the citizens of the Republic. Such

another time of popular art will only exist when conditions have made possible a like intelligent people. There was no exclusiveness about the Greek art; even the slave that Aristotle regarded as little more than a machine could see the beauties of the Panthenon.

In all this, Greek and medieval art differs widely from the so-called art of to-day. The conception that arises in the mind of the mass of the people at mention of the word art is of art galleries, with their collection of pictures and statuary, or of private collections of these shut up in the homes of individuals, or of the opera, with its orchestra and singers. Art represents to the laboring man the work of a small part of the leisure class, who are able to produce or hire produced for them, these pictures and statues and operas, because they are freed from more irksome toil by the labor of the great body of the people.

Genuine art is rare to-day. A good part of what is said to be art was created with no attempt to please the eye or meet the criticism of the people, but to appeal to the taste of an exclusive few and while away their ennui. Under these conditions the larger part of the "artistic" things are fads or playthings, and show none of that deep universal spirit of creativeness that marked the products of the 13th and 14th centuries.

Whether we speak of art in the narrow meaning as consisting of the making of beautiful pictures and tapestries, or in the broader sense that dwells on the necessity of original deliberative work on the part of the artisan that would enable him to take pleasure in and add beauty to his products—in either case the divorce between art and the common life is well-nigh complete.

If we turn from the work of the artisan to his home and daily life, it is at once plain that no opportunity exists to-day for the worker to surround himself with anything but ugliness. Take for example the buildings in which the laborer lives. Go into that part of the city where the workers reside, and note the deadening, dismal effect of the long rows of red brick flats so similar that one must count the doors to find his own home.

In the furnishing of his house lack of means compels the worker to buy only the cheap and shoddy carpets, and the disagreeable stuffed furniture. On his walls are found gaily-colored chromos, seldom or never any picture of merit.

The amusements of the laborer are of a like character. The plays of Shakspeare, Ibsen or Hauptmann, works of dramatic power, are beyond his reach financially. He must content himself with some cheap farce, poorly acted. If it is music, completely lost to him are the great compositions of Wagner, such as the Gotterdamerung, and he is forced to pretend to enjoy the last popular song at some music hall.

What is the reason for all this that, as William Morris said,

"The world is everywhere growing uglier and more commonplace, in spite of the conscious and very strenuous efforts of a small group of people toward the revival of art."

Ruskin early pointed out the effect of our modern commercialism upon art. Commercialism has destroyed the artist workman. He showed that the one and only object of life to-day is to produce goods for commercial profit.

The employer looks upon the process of production as a means by which he may secure surplus values and thus avoid labor. The laborer must look upon the process of production as a way in which he may obtain the wherewithal to live.

The artist that begins life with dreams of putting himself and his best into his pictures, soon finds that there is no sale for his wares, and with feverish haste he forgets art, and in order to live paints the things he finds an uncultured public demand.

The employer looks upon this absence of art in the productive world as a thing impossible to avoid. Under capitalistic production an all-pervading art is impossible, and this is a positive injury to mankind as it proves that the general happiness is thereby decreased. It shows that the working man can have no pleasure in his labor, for art is "the expression of pleasure in the labor of production."

The tendency of the age is to lessen the amount of human labor necessary in production by turning more and more of the processes over to machinery.

We can believe that this will continue until few men comparatively can supply the needs of life. But if this point were reached and society had passed on into the socialist state where profit were unknown and a free higher handicraftsman were again possible we should expect to find men leaving those processes that can be done as well or better by machinery to machinery, but taking back to hand work certain parts of industry that can be far better done by hand. In anything like their old form or completeness the handicrafts can never be revived. Modern civilization has propounded such colossal tasks for industry that they cannot be accomplished at all with the implements and methods of handicraft. The manufacture of a locomotive, a steam crane, or a rapid press, or the building of a river bridge or railroad with its rails and rolling stock, cannot be carried out with anything but powerful mechanical appliances.

The possibilities of education under the changed conditions would be great. While to-day, in order to give proper training to hand and brain it is necessary to establish manual training schools and workshops, under the new regime the production of the standard goods might be utilized in giving such training, lay-

ing a foundation for the more difficult work of designing and executing included under the handicrafts.

For the realization of such an all-pervading art, it is necessary that there exist a public that appreciates and understands its productions; that the artist and the artisan, the designer and maker should be the same; that time be no longer money, but that the workman have sufficient leisure to allow his plan to grow gradually, and that he be supplied with materials, various and of suitable quality, to meet his needs. Such an art is then only possible when the element of profit is removed from labor and economic freedom exists. The futility of all efforts to revive popular art or the handicrafts under present conditions is evident. They may flourish among the few, but they can strike no roots into the life of the people until an economic change has opened the way.

The tendency toward revolt in literature, education and science against existing conditions is accompanied by a like revolt in the field of art. This is seen in pictures like those of Millet, that more and more depict the life, burdens and distresses of the laboring class, and the adverse criticism that such works are subjected to. At a recent dinner given by the German Emperor he is reported as having expressed his repugnance to the works of realists who paint the lives of the poor, such as Liebermann and Uhde. His class bias and consequent dislike of the Social Democracy explain this.

Most consciously revolutionary of all the movements in art was that led by Wm. Morris. Its history is beyond our space. Saddest of all, though, is the fact that the beautiful rugs, rich in colors, and simple in pattern, the choicely bound books, and the furniture, made after the designs of this revolutionary Socialist, are the possessions to-day of that ruling class that he hoped within his time to see lose its power.

May Wood Simons.

Open Letter from a Catholic to Pope Leo.

TO his Holiness, Pope Leo XIII.

We most respectfully beg leave to present to Your Holiness the following dissertation suggested by your Encyclical of January 18, 1901. We will point out a few of the inaccuracies contained in the Encyclical, and will also state plainly and at some length the true principles of socialism.

Socialism is a material, an economic science, and its basic principle is expressed in four words, to wit: "Economical production; equitable distribution." By "Economical production" we mean that a system of the best methods for the management of all public utilities should be adopted, and the best appliances, tools and machinery, should be employed, so that we may produce the crop on the farm, the finished article in the workshop, and the product of the mine with the least outlay of human labor. All adult persons shall be required to contribute the necessary minimum time of useful service according to each one's ability. By "equitable distribution" we mean that all persons shall be supplied by the community with an equitable share of common products according to their needs. We will now proceed to point out the only means by which it is possible to put these wise and humane principles into actual practice. God decreed that labor is the only means by which the necessaries and comforts of life can be produced. His command, "Thou shalt earn thy bread by the sweat of thy brow," applies to every member of the human race, and renders it indispensably necessary that every individual shall possess unlimited freedom fully to comply with this divine injunction. No person or class of persons shall ever have, or be given, the power to monopolize or control the means or instruments by which labor is made productive of the necessaries and comforts of life.

The above are socialist principles which in your Encyclical Your Highness opposes. Your opposition is absolutely wonderful in view of the great self-evident fact that the private ownership of property is exactly what gives the capitalist employer the power by which he takes from the toiler the necessaries of life. The capitalist owns the means by which the laborer produces these necessaries, and does not allow him in wages enough to keep his family from suffering, and is continually cutting his wages smaller. What will be the feelings and thoughts of Your Holiness' spiritual children when they thoroughly understand the fact that Your Holiness is in favor of the system that places their means of sustaining life in the hands of the greedy capitalist, and that you complain bitterly because they angrily denounce and re-

sent capitalistic oppression. We do not believe that Your Holiness favors such oppression or that you do not desire to promote the best interest of all classes, but you approve the system that leaves it in the power of the avaricious to profit by such oppression. Will the proposition of Your Holiness to "close the controversy" stifle the famishing child's cry for bread, or render the heart of the father insensible, or his ear deaf to those cries, which have, up to this moment, thrilled his being with excruciating agony? Or, rather, will not that "father-love" with which God has filled his heart, irresistibly impel him to redouble his determination to fearlessly fight to the death the colossal injustice? Will not the fact of his finding in Your Highness so unexpected though formidable an adversary, be an additional strong incentive to greater and greater activity in his efforts to secure industrial freedom for the toiling portion of humanity? Your "Christian Democracy" is not democratic, because you make it tolerate "class distinctions;" and it is positively un-Christian because you make it approve of the system that places the laborer in the power of those who can and do take from him the greater portion of the products of his labor.

Your Holiness may ask how we will prove all these statements to be true. We will prove it by the fact that Your Holiness approves of the system of the private ownership of the means of production and distribution, the system under which such things are possible, and under which they are also inevitable. He who owns the means by which the necessaries of life are obtainable, owns the life of the user of those means, and the laborer thus owned is a veritable wage slave, and Your Holiness approves of this, the most complete system of human slavery that was ever devised by the ingenuity of human greed. The master has entire control of the wages of the laborer and also of the prices of all that the laborer consumes, and what he fails to extort from him by cutting down his wages, he takes by raising the prices of the things on which the toiler must live. Of the things necessary to sustain life are, first, food; second, clothing; third, shelter. Our Savior complained that "the foxes have holes and the birds of the air nests, but the son of man hath no where to lay his head." The private ownership of public utilities or capitalism, the present system, forces the toiler of to-day down into that hungry, homeless condition of which our Savior complained. "As ye did it unto the least of these, ye did it unto Me." On the "last day" to whom will the great Judge of Heaven and Earth address these terrifying words: "I was hungry and you gave not to eat. I was naked and you did not clothe Me, I was homeless and a stranger and you took Me not in?" Will it be to the socialist, who imperatively demands that every human being, without exception, shall have unlimited freedom to use the means by which the products of his or her labor will enable them to feed, clothe and harbor themselves; or will they be addressed to the "upper class" who rob the toilers of from seventy to eighty-three per cent of what their labor produces?

Your Holiness says: "No political tendency must be given Christian Democracy." This advice will be very pleasing to the wealthy, and if all who live by labor are strictly obedient to Your Holiness, the capitalists will have no opposition to their exploitation. They will continue to hold and control the law-making power, and by going through the farce of popular elections, in which they obtain their majorities by deceiving, bribing and intimidating the voter, and by fraudulent count of the votes, they pretend that they are the choice of the people. Notwithstanding these excessive corruptions the existence of which Your Holiness admits and deplores, you say "the word Christian Democracy must have no political signification only that of beneficent Christian action on behalf of the people." Your Holiness forbids the proletariat making any effort to inaugurate an economic system, an industrial form of government, under which such corruption could not exist. Your Holiness condemns the wish and effort of the socialists to own even "the very implements necessary for gaining livelihood." Is it possible that your Holiness thus proclaims to the toiling Catholics of the world that it is wrong for them to own, or even wish to own, the means by which they are enabled to earn, the necessaries of life for themselves and their families? Will they be willing to suffer without protest, the hardships and privations that are inevitable under the system of the capitalist ownership of all the productive industries? That the private ownership of the means of production and distribution is the cause of all poverty and the suffering resulting from it, all dishonesty in dealing, and all crimes committed for the gain of money or property is easily seen and known by every observing person.

If one but takes careful note of the vast areas of the most valuable land owned and kept out of cultivation by the wealthy, the exorbitant rent charged the tiller of the soil by the land owner, the smallness of the wages paid by employers in the factory and mine, the exorbitant prices the consumer has to pay for the necessaries of life, the heartless cruelty with which mines and factories are closed and laborers are thrown out of employment in order to check production and raise the price of the stock on hand, it is easily seen how complete the control of the life and death of the laborer is in the hands of the capitalist, and how mercilessly he makes use of it. Under public ownership the possibility of such robbery could not exist. Dives would not have the power to refuse "Lazarus" the crumbs that would 'fall from his table."

Lazarus, as Your Holiness says, would feel that "he is a man, not a brute," not a pagan but a Christian. He would be treated free of charge by specialists trained for their work by the public. Under proper sanitary conditions, such cases as that of Lazarus would be very rare, and probably would not exist at all, as they result from a lack of cleanliness. Public baths and sanitariums would soon become common under socialism and their operation would prevent most of the diseases resulting from unsanitary conditions.

Again Your Holiness says, "In like manner it is necessary to separate from the idea of the Christian Democracy that other anomaly which consists in making it full of zeal for the welfare of the lower classes and yet neglect the upper, although they are of no less importance for the preservation and perfection of society." "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." Socialists are most assuredly full of zeal for the welfare of the lower classes, the weary toiler, the downtrodden, the hungry, the cold and homeless, whose labor has produced all the wealth that is in existence, and who alone are in need of sympathy and assistance. The upper class, who live in luxurious idleness, whose principal occupation is to devise means by which they can enjoy themselves and manage to spend the millions they have extorted from the lower class, seem pretty well able to endure the neglect of which Your Holiness so sympathetically complains. This "lower class," who have toiled for the "upper class" three-fourths of their time, quite fail to discover this debt imposed upon them by the laws of "Christian Charity," which Your Holiness fears and foresees they are planning to neglect. The socialists are wisely and humanely striving to inaugurate an economic system that will easily and abundantly supply the means to gratify every legitimate material want of every human being without exception. Thus is the socialist willing to include the "upper class" as full and equal sharers in the material boon he craves for himself. This fact is universally proclaimed by socialist writers as the beneficent and inevitable result of the collective ownership or co-operative principle. It is therefore unaccountable that Your Holiness should fail to recognize so important and so notable a truth. "Although they are of no less importance for the preservation and perfection of society." Just how the idle rich are of importance, and in what manner they add perfection to society, Your Holiness did not explain. God has condemned them in every way, saying: "Woe be to you rich, for you have your consolation in this world." "It is easier for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of heaven." This is God's terrible indictment against them, and we fail to see what good purpose they serve. We know that their evil example in vanity of worldly

show has a very wide and baneful influence on the poorer portion of the community.

"Modern industrial inventions, and the marvelous increase in labor-saving and wealth-producing machinery have, under the circumstances but seemed to embitter the conflict." In this, socialists agree with Your Holiness most perfectly. Labor-saving and wealth-producing machinery which, under public ownership, would be a very great blessing by increasing the production of the necessaries of life, and by making "less hard the lot of the toiler," under capitalism or private ownership become instruments of the most galling oppressions. "Finally, through the guilty aims of the turbulent, the strife between the rich and proletariat has become envenomed to such a point that States, already disturbed by frequent upheavals, are menaced with the greatest misfortunes." The guilty aims and acts of the robber capitalist class are at once the cause and the alleged excuse of the turbulent 'Anarchist,' for his use of the explosive bomb of destruction, and the poisoned bullet of assassination. The centralization of wealth into the hands of the unscrupulous few is the colossal misfortune that now, more than ever since the downfall of the Roman Empire, menaces society, States, nations, the entire race! "It requires that relations between man and man must retain the form and character God their author gave them." If God gave the rich the character they now and always have had, why does He condemn them and limit their reward to the consolation their riches may afford them? Why does He exclude them from the kingdom of heaven? This sweeping condemnation of the rich by God himself proves to the socialist that their great wealth results from a very dishonest use of the faculty of freewill, and that God is as far from being the author as he is from being the author of any other crimes of which the class of human beings may be guilty. It would be hard indeed if God authorized them to be rich and at the same time closed the gates of heaven against them, "For it therefore justice is absolutely inviolable." Your Holiness knows that it is absolutely impossible for justice to "be inviolable" where one man becomes rich from the proceeds of the labor of others. Your Holiness knows also that it is by paying the laborer less in wages than the value of what his labor produces that wealth is centralized, and men become rich. It is therefore impossible for a man to become rich, without trampling down the laws of justice; for, by one man becoming rich, many are, unavoidably, kept in poverty. This upper class, whom Your Holiness so defends, is guilty of three of the sins crying to heaven for vengeance: "Wilful murder, oppression of the poor, defrauding laborers of their wages." They are the cause of all wars. All wars are inaugurated for financial gain, and are therefore wilfully murderous in their purpose, and in the

fiendish manner in which they are executed. Every human life that is sacrificed in those inhuman conflicts, every home destroyed by them, the hardships and sufferings of all, the families that are ruined and broken up by them, all the privations resulting from the enormous burden of taxes levied on the products of the labor of the toiling class, to pay the collossal war expenses are items in the category of capitalist crimes. The capitalists are also guilty of the crime of "oppressing the poor" by monopolizing all the means by which it is possible to procure the necessaries of life, so that the laborer has no possible alternative but to work for them for the starvation wages they will agree to pay. They are likewise guilty of defrauding laborers of their wages, by taking advantage of the working man's necessities, which compel him to accept wages that are only about one-fifth of what his labor produces, and are inadequate to support himself and family. This is the catalogue of terrible crimes of which the "upper class" stands convicted, and whom Your Holiness tells us "are of no less importance for the preservation and perfection of society," than the producers of all wealth, who toil and struggle and die under their system of wholesale exploitation.

The attitude of Your Holiness towards the laboring class, and your mistaken ideas about Socialism, have caused much of the unjust censure of the Catholic Church by socialists, who are prejudiced and, being unaware of its divine origin, fail to distinguish between the truthfulness of its teachings and the mistakes of its members. They look upon it as the greatest human institution on earth, actively opposing the God-given right of the toilers to live by the fruits of their labor. The fact that Your Holiness defends the rich and approves of the system by which the cunning few become wealthy, and the toiling multitude are kept in poverty, makes it appear to them that the Catholic Church is the friend of the rich, and an enemy to economical justice towards the "lower class." Socialists know that their wish and effort to secure to the laborers industrial freedom, are in perfect harmony with the command to "love one's neighbor as one's self." Catholics who oppose socialism, in the opinion of non-Catholics, place the church in the attitude of antagonism to economic justice, which is a very great impediment to the spread of Catholic truth. Those who thus scandalize the church may well fear the "woe" with which the scandalgiver is threatened.

"It seeks only corporal and earthly goods, and to the acquisition and enjoyment of these it limits all human happiness." Yes, socialism "seeks only corporal and worldly goods," for there its jurisdiction absolutely ends. It is strictly and exclusively a material, a bread and butter question. It is the science of economically producing and distributing the necessaries and comforts of

life for the whole human family, in the same way, and to the same extent, that God's law requires and permits, in the family of "father, mother and children," of which He was the author. As God, in His family, has established the principle of "From all according to each one's ability," and "to all according to each one's needs," and evidently intended it to be of universal application to all people in all time, as He threatened with hell and exclusion from heaven every person who should violate it; the socialist proposes to bring society back to that condition of universal justice and brotherhood in which God designed it to exist. The diversity in individual capabilities fits different persons to fill the different positions necessarily open and requiring suitable service in every department of well-organized society, and makes people satisfied and pleased with the duties of the position they are best qualified to occupy. The assertion that socialism tends or desires to reduce or bring all people to a "dead level," is a wicked and an extremely absurd slander. Socialism proposes, with the help and permission of God's providence, to restore and to secure forever to every human being the God-given liberty to earn his bread by the sweat of his brow; and to free him forever from the tyranny and robbery that is now practically used by the so-called "upper class," the capitalist parasites of society. The anti-Christian, the "heaven on earth" idea contained in the writings of some socialists, is not socialism, and is as far from being socialism as Dr. Mivert's "happiness in hell" is from being Catholicity. Socialism will, incidentally, be of great benefit to the Catholic Church by making "less hard the lot of those who live by the sweat of their brow, so that they may little by little succeed in insuring the necessaries of life," in order "to fulfill freely their moral and religious duties;" "to turn more easily and with greater order to the one thing necessary," that is to say, the supreme good for which we have been created." This quotation from Your Holiness' Encyclical is true, and is a good socialistic argument. It proves that Your Holiness fully recognizes and appreciates the baneful effects of the degrading servitude forced upon the "lower class" by capitalistic oppression. As long as the present system of exploitation by the wealthy continues, the chasm between the rich and the poor will continue to widen, and the toiling millions, the oppressed, whose numbers are ever increasing, can never, by force or by persuasion, be compelled or induced to cease their opposition to it, or to be satisfied with it.

It has long since been known also, that to urge upon the wealthy employers the "duties imposed on them by the laws of Christian charity" and justice is absolutely fruitless, and all the admonitions and anathemas of Your Holiness will be entirely disregarded by them. We have a number of publicly-owned institu-

tions, among which are the city sidewalks and streets, the public highways, the public schools, the city fire department, the postal service and the church. If public ownership is wrong, those utilities should be sold or given into the hands of corporations, who should hasten to place toll gates on the walks and highways, charge those able to pay for education, and exclude from the schools those not able to pay. A good price should be charged for every fire alarm, and the effort to extinguish fires. Postage should be increased so as to pay the owner a fair rate of interest on that enormous cost of the post offices, and a good salary for owning them. If private ownership is the best for the "lower class," the church, the place that ought above all others to be in the proper hands, should be privately owned, so that it could yield a handsome revenue to some capitalist benefactor of the poor. If the advocate of the "inviolability" of private property concede, and perhaps even assert, that the principle should not include institutions of such common and vital necessaries as sidewalks, streets, highways, schools, post offices, fire departments and churches, and that these should be supported by the public and open to the free use of the poor and rich alike; what good and sufficient reason will they give for permitting the wealthy capitalist to monopolize and withhold from the laborer the necessaries of life, the food, clothing and shelter which his labor has created? The laborer could sustain his life without the use of any of these utilities that are now secured and left open to him by public ownership, but without food and clothing of which he is robbed by private ownership, he cannot live. This is exactly the reason why those things are monopolized. The fact that human life cannot be sustained without them, enables the capitalistic monopolizer to extort a tribute for their use that is both exhorbitant and perpetual. The socialist demands universal or collective ownership for the all-sufficient reason that it is the only system under which it is possible for the toiling class to secure to themselves any ownership at all. In the power of overwhelming numbers, and in no other way, can the laboring class hope to successfully compete with the almost irresistible money powers in the hands of the capitalistic trusts that are so thoroughly organized against them. The principle of collective or public ownership is so simple, its necessity so great, and its advantages so self-evident, that it is absolutely incomprehensible that the larger portion of the Hierarchy of the great Catholic Church, with Your Holiness at their head, should fail to at once recognize so stupendous a fact!

W. I. Brown.

The Professional Outlook.

EVEN the ordinary student of history will note that heretofore social progress has been slow, being in most essentials a matter of generations. Now-a-days, since the railway, telegraph, telephone and a thousand inventions have made the nations of the world a constantly narrowing circle of neighbors, the changes of social status and environment are necessarily much more rapid. In a single average lifetime it is possible to recognize and study a remarkable series of transitions in various lines of thought and action.

In such times of transition, when many complex causes combine to bring about social changes, those who first feel the added burden are those most hopelessly crushed under the social mass, the very poor, "the submerged tenth," about whom so much has been written and said, and, until very recently and now very inadequately, so little actually done. Their burden is greater because of the increased stress and struggle of their lives consequent upon the new host of dependents that economic and social changes force downwards into their ranks.

For years after the battle of Waterloo, England supported more paupers than now and at nearly five times the present cost. In 1898 (see Statesman's Year-book, 1899) Great Britain maintained 1,025,104 individuals at public expense, being 10,000 more than she cared for in 1888 (Mulhall). The annual expense of caring for her 102,000 paupers for London is one million pound sterling, which sum takes no account of the probably larger amount spent in private charity. Evidences of the outbreak of these forces, the struggling masses of the very poor who "disgrace Christian civilization," are seen in the "bread riots" periodically occurring in all European countries, in the "machine breakings" enacted at the instigation of British workmen, and in the opposition of the ignorant poor to all things that tend to make a living harder—a blind outcry against a time-honored and cruel injustice.

While these are still smarting, little knowing why, (as is well depicted in "No. 5 John Street") those who are lucky enough to have steady employment, the workers of the world, also begin to find work more uncertain and wages smaller; the skilled workman chiefly because of the mighty displacement of his class by improved machinery, privately owned. Then the mercantile class, the legitimate shop-keepers and traders who depend upon the workers for their business, feel the pinching change. Here also should be mentioned the middle-men who live by commissions;

if sales cease, their incomes cease likewise. Then, as the effects of change permeate all classes, the professional people, for similar reasons, are slowly squeezed. Finally, last and least of all, those who have surplus capital, the idle rich, are cognizant of the social upheaval.

The classes just specified are mentioned as a matter of custom, but are entirely arbitrary and merely for purposes of illustration, since in a purely capitalistic society, such as all "civilized" countries now present, all who do not possess capital, i. e., money or its immediate equivalent, are workers. There are no other classes but these two, capitalists and workers!

Most professional people, whether ministers, lawyers, physicians, teachers, journalists, architects, etc., are workers for their daily bread, as much as those commonly so-called, and considered socially beneath them. Yet these same professional people, being able by the exercise of their capital, i. e., brains, to command larger incomes than ordinary workers, do not like to be classed as such, but rather with the other capitalists as exploiters of the workers.

This article will attempt to show some of the causes that are constantly depressing the professions, socially speaking, so that by the sheer force and stress of events and from no inherent fault of their own, their former position as exploiters is fast becoming mere pretense. The only exceptions to this general fact are those individuals attached in some way to huge corporate interests, those who exploit their own kind, or have combined to exploit the people in wholesale lots.

While all professionals generally speaking suffer from the causes about to be mentioned, the medical profession is the one most familiar to me and therefore the one to which I will refer hereafter.

For several generations after "the three learned professions" began to have representatives in each community, these represntatives were counted with the gentry. Each well-established position in theology, law or medicine was equivalent to a landed estate, and indeed often led up to that desideratum. Only fifty years ago and still in a few isolated towns, the local physician ranked with the clergyman, teacher, and perhaps the lawyer, as one of the monitors of the place, looked up to and consulted upon all public and private occasions. Now-a-days and for a decade or more all this has changed, or is rapidly changing, into a society from which the old-time professional man has altogether disappeared.

Some of the causes for these changes are as follows; causes that are constantly gaining importance and momentum, like a snow-ball rolling down hill in soft snow:

First. The constantly increasing number of physicians, their ranks being filled from all walks in life by those who are seeking what has heretofore apparently been "an easy way of earning a living." Physicians have themselves to blame for accepting the apparent commercial demand for more and yet more doctors by establishing colleges in every large city until in each community there is an over-supply. In round numbers from the 150 medical colleges of the United States and Canada—graduates of the latter country overflow into this—over 5,000 medical men and women go forth each year to encompass the land and its people. The only official directory of this territory, published every three years with great accuracy, gives over 100,000 names of the three leading schools of medical practice, i. e., Allopathic, Homeopathic and Eclectic, but of course makes no mention of the nearly equal number of "irregular" practitioners of all sorts—of whom more anon. If these 100,000 physicians did all the medical and surgical business for America's 76,000,000 there would be an average of 760 citizens apiece for each one, an average that would afford a fair income to each practitioner.

But many circumstances tend to cut down that average, even to 300 or less apiece in many large cities; and these circumstances are among the further causes I am trying to enumerate as constantly dragging down our profession.

Second. The constant abuse of business decency and common ethics by a large class of so-called "irregular" practitioners. Everyone knows, and none better than the physicians themselves, how widely this is true and that our profession probably suffers more than any other.

The constantly increasing pressure for the elusive dollar, and the easy gullibility of the average person in matters medical, makes such practice common everywhere. In all the cities, and in smaller towns by itinerant venders, numerous advertisers, promising all sorts of quick and permanent relief for all the ills of the flesh without regard to "age, sex or previous condition of servitude," rake in the shekels at every down-town corner. Each legitimate advance in science is immediately seized by these people as bait for the ignorant and unwary. For instance, an X-ray machine is made to deceive quite intelligent people with the idea that through it can be seen the exact condition of the lungs, liver, kidneys and other soft organs, for an ample consideration; whereas the honest physician knows that but little except bony tissues or other solid substances can be shown by this instrument and that by very shadowy outlines.

Third. The methods of some of the respectable and regular members of the profession in their mad chase for revenue are not always on a high ethical plane, and have therefore tended to dis-

credit the whole profession in the eyes of the public. The offices of such too often present the appearance of a curiosity shop, being bright with nickel-plated machines and instruments so arranged and displayed as to impress the beholder, and not always accompanied with the necessary skill and knowledge in application. Then, too, surgery and surgical work has been so advertised in the public press that people have been actually frightened into allowing themselves to be cut up in any and all parts and for all purposes, under the specious plea of a thorough investigation and understanding of the disease and removal of diseased tissue. If disease were purely a material and objective affair this would bring remarkable and ideal results and the triumphs of modern surgery, which I would not belittle, would indeed be complete. But, because the world is beginning to perceive that disease is based upon moral or psychic conditions, there is setting in a healthy reaction from this cutting which will result finally in the stranding of many surgeons upon the beach of Mr. Cleveland's "innocuous desuetude."

Moreover, under this count, even the simple medical man, the old-style, most useful and worthy family physician comes in for a share of the blame, and is certainly receiving his share if not more than his share of the punishment. His sin has consisted in pouring quantities of nauseous medicines into his patients for so long, and with such indifferent results, that the people have begun to repudiate, not only the drug given but the one who prescribes the drugs. His patients have learned that the physician has no belief in drugs himself, and are imitating his agnosticism very closely. Hence the success of all the drugless systems of healing, such as mental, divine, magnetic, the osteopaths and Christian Scientists. The only ones who still have faith in medicines are the homeopathists, who prescribe upon a definite law of cure. But many people see very little difference between their minute doses and no medicine at all. So rife is this agnosticism and empiricism, at least in the cities, that a recent investigation in my own city by a friend, a well-known dentist, showed that ninety per cent of prescriptions sent to certain popular drug stores called for proprietary medicines (not patent medicines).

What respect can people have for those who so abuse drugs, using such as have an unknown composition in a most careless and lazy manner?

Fourth. Another prime reason for the decay of the medical craft is the immense capital and enterprise of the wholesale and retail drug trade. These are constantly engaged in inducing both the doctors and the people by all manner of advertisements (some of these most shamefully indecent) and all sorts of street literature to use whatever drugs they, the manufacturers, find

to bring the most profit or are the most seductive in their origin and appearance, without regard to their well-ascertained or authenticated effects. Unless one has actually seen the bushels of penny literature which yearly come to each physician's office he will doubt the methods of the drug-pushers, all "inside strictly professional and ethical lines" as each advertisement is careful to tell us. This latter phrase means that the dear public are not supposed to know of these medicines until the doctors choose to tell them, but the financial pressure is generally so great that the laity soon learn to use them of their own accord, and from a commercial rather than a scientific standpoint. It is probably a fact that no people on earth, civilized or otherwise, use so many drugs or maintain so many drug stores as Americans. Incidentally, it seems strange that we who boast of being the most civilized nation in the world should sell the most whisky, drugs and tobacco (arranged in the order of their harmfulness)! Does this constitute civilization, and should drugs also be crowded down the waiting throats of the uncivilized?

Fifth. The several cults, or so-called fads, that have arisen in protest against the physicians and their associated follies and hypocrisies, also plainly threaten the very existence of the profession. Some only are mentioned.

The "Ralston Health Club," which claimed two years ago over a million membership, inculcates the first principles of diet and hygiene in such a fantastic and ingenious way that it attracts an increasing number of sensible people, although it also teaches several errors. People who follow its tenets need a physician semi-occasionally, and drugs seldom if ever.

The rapidly increasing Osteopathists, who have modified and adapted to their needs the established Swedish-movement cure, the rubbers or masseurs, the clairvoyants and a hundred more, are all distinct workers in the medical field, not counted regular, whose gleanings necessarily draw from the harvest of the so-called medical profession. These people accomplish apparent cures, else people would not employ them any length of time, and will probably, many of them at least, ultimately find a legitimate place among true healers. Yet their very number and popular credence is, from historical data, prime evidence of the decay of the pre-existing medical art.

Most prominent in this list, and most rapidly increasing among those who are able and heretofore willing to employ physicians, are the Christian Scientists. From incomplete knowledge only, I judge that these most threaten the practice of medicine because they practically train the divine mind in man to absolutely live without the thought of evil or illness, and therefore, as this mind governs everything and is the only real thing, sin

and sickness do and will continue in increasing ratio to disappear utterly from the earth.

All these elements are aggressively destructive of old medicine, boldly oppose and ignore all medical legislation and literally have "no use for doctors."

Sixth. Nothing has so debauched and pauperized the people, medically speaking, in the cities at least, and taken away utterly their inclination to properly recompense their physician, as the medical charities, the hospitals and free dispensaries, established generally by college teachers to gain material for their students. This evil the doctors themselves have fostered until like the camel's head in the tent, it is likely to be followed by full occupation. Yet it is probably a step towards socialism that will never be retraced, since people once accustomed to free medicine, whether by private charity or by municipal or state gratuity, will never wish to pay individually for the same. Indeed, this is the actual position taken by the Socialist party everywhere, a plank in their international platform, i. e., free medical advice and treatment to all. If "socialism is coming, and coming soon," as Dr. Herron says, the profession must be prepared for this radical change in their business.

Not to prolong this enumeration of causes to too great length, last, and for the average practitioner the greatest, is

Seventh. The constantly lessening incomes of the "middle classes," and their consequent inability to pay physicians' fees. The man who is supporting his family upon $100 or less each month, and this is unfortunately true of four-fifths of the population, has no money left for the unusual and always unfortunate expenses of illness; and by the present squeezing-out process the number of small incomes increases every week. It has always been difficult to collect physicians' fees among every-day people, mainly for the patent reason that their money barely goes around when they remain well. This is more true every day, and will continue to be true, until the social machinery is so changed as to work justice to all. This fact is recognized by the railroads and other great corporations when they take out from their employes' wages a certain small sum per month which entitles them to free medical and surgical care individually and for their families at half or less the usual rates. So also where men are employed temporarily in large numbers on various constructions.

With these and other causes tending to depress the practitioners of medicine, socially and financially, and all other professions as well, what is the duty of the individual suffered therefrom?

It seems to me, and this is the reason why this article appears in an avowed socialistic instead of a medical journal, that the

physician is better placed to view the social changes from an impartial standpoint than almost any other person, and that therefore he should, while his occupation still remains to him, be a missionary of the new social gospel that the world must learn, and that right quickly, if our present civilization is not to perish from earth in the most violent revolution of the ages.

"A Practitioner."

Minneapolis, Minn.

Sociological Laws and Historical Fatalism.

THE materialistic interpretation of history has lately been assailed from many socialist quarters. The literature on the subject of "historical" materialism in German, Russian and Italian is growing hourly, and a sentiment is steadily gaining strength in favor of a "return to Kant."

What is the cause of this reversion towards Idealism? It is the seeming contradiction between the theoretical materialism and the practical idealism of Marxist Socialism. On the one hand, the theory of Marx teaches that the mode of production, with the economic relations corresponding to it, is the primary factor in the growth of society; all other phenomena of social life are but the derivatives of that primary cause. As the mode of production changes, all institutions and ideas must change, in obedience to inexorable "historical" laws.

On the other hand, Socialist parties are busy all over the world spreading the ideas of Socialism, which implies the assumption that their propaganda is itself a factor in the transformation of capitalist society. No one thinks of organizing a society to assist in the eclipse of the moon—says Stammler (author of "Wirthschaft und Recht"). If Socialism is as inevitable as the movement of celestial bodies, where is the sense of hustling about it, let alone making personal sacrifices for it? It will all come in due time.

And now comes the orthodox commentator, the rightful successor of the theologian who in bygone ages strained his ingenuity to reconcile divine omniscience and omnipotence with divine mercy. There is no contradiction, he says. History is not made automatically; it is made by men. The development of the mode of production shapes the minds of men, and the minds of men then reshape economic conditions. Capitalism begat the Socialist party and the Socialist party will beget the co-operative commonwealth.

Granting it, for the sage of argument, is it not evident that it means letting in Idealism by the back door? It substitutes the reciprocal action of material and ideal factors for the monistic view upheld by uncompromising historical materialism. It makes little difference that Engels "himself" suggested this amendment in the early 90's. His suggestion merely implied the admission that the early presentation of the theory by Marx and himself allowed of a more rigorous construction and, at any rate, of one differing from that expressed in the amendment.

Let us examine whether the earlier—call it the "crude"—view is really in conflict with the practice of Marxism.

The distinctive feature of nineteenth century philosophy is the proposition that the development of human society is subject to certain laws, which must be discovered by the study of society. In this the nineteenth century view differs from the rationalistic political philosophy of the eighteenth century, which considered all past history a series of blunders due to lack of correct comprehension of the true needs of society. From the rationalistic point of view the fabric of society can be remodelled at any moment, to suit the plans of the social reformer, provided he can find a sufficient following. This belief underlies all the revolutionary movements of the first half of the nineteenth century, which followed the traditions of the French revolution; and even to-day it expresses the view-point of what might be termed in Marxian phraseology "vulgar" socialism. The opposite view originated with the German historical school of jurisprudence in the beginning of the nineteenth century, as a conservative reaction against the revolutionary tendencies of the day, but it gradually gained universal acceptance and was ultimately made the corner-stone of scientific socialism by Karl Marx.

The views of students differ as to the nature of the laws of social development; the positivists take the development of human ideas as the basis of their study of society; Buckle, the development of science; Marx, the development of the mode of production. They all agree, however, in the fundamental proposition, viz.: that society follows in its development certain laws, which must be discovered by science.

This naturally raises the question, What is the status of the individual before the laws of social evolution? If every step in the development of society is predetermined by a social law, then no room seems to be left to the individual; an attempt to change the laws of social evolution must prove as futile as a rebellion against the law of gravitation, while adjusting individual activity to the ascertained laws of social evolution means no more than trying to assist in the eclipse of the moon. This leads to Oriental fatalism and acquiescence in things as they are. It may be urged as an objection that Idealism, which holds that human ideas are the motive power of social progress, must stimulate an active public spirit. It seems obvious, however, that if the development of our ideas and our resultant activity are determined by immutable "laws of history," then it really matters not whether the origin of our ideas is psychological or economic. To put it bluntly, if the inevitable course of history produces a sort of a mental epidemic which impels the multitude to play their parts in the carnival of history, where is the sense for a student of the "laws of

history" to don the harlequin's garb and join in the procession? Unless the effort of the individual can add something which may affect, be it to an infinitesimal degree, the movement of society, acquiescence in things as they are is the only "scientific" course of conduct. It may be said, perhaps, that those who do things do not waste their time in "worthless discussions" over such philosophical subtleties; an idealist, however, would scorn this argument, which would mean that only lower forms of consciousness (social sub-consciousness, so to speak) would be considered among the factors of social progress. A critical mind, to be active, must believe that his personal acts are productive of effects, which must fail to materialize if he abstains from acting. But that which may be done or undone at the discretion of the individual is obviously beyond the pale of "historical necessity." Let it not be said that the individual is not "free," that he is impelled to act by psychological necessity. One of the constituent elements of this psychological necessity is the belief of the individual that his personal efforts are an independent factor capable of shaping the course of events. Any theory (whether materialistic or idealistic) which destroys this belief, deadens the psychological impulse to act and lays the foundation to Oriental fatalism.

It is quite plain that the blame is indeed not against economic materialism alone; the stigma of fatalism attaches to all theories alike, whether materialistic or idealistic, which maintain the existence of "laws of history." Does it not seem perplexing, however, that while every discovery of a new law of nature has so wonderfully increased the power of Man over Nature, the discovery of the laws of social evolution should have the contrary effect of making Man a helpless chip on the sea of history?

The confusion proceeds from the ambiguous use of the term "history." On the one hand, it denotes a chronicle or record of past events; on the other hand, it stands for "philosophy of history," as understood in Germany during the first half of the nineteenth century, or for what has come to be known since Auguste Comte, as "sociology."

History as the chronicle of past events never repeats itself, and where there is no repetition there can be no law. Our so-called "laws of history" are generalizations from a number of similar phenomena; like every other generalization, it is a scientific abstraction, which disregards all concrete variance between actual phenomena. It is precisely through this disregard for variations in particular cases that the law is made applicable to all cases. The botanist who studies the growth of a plant does not undertake to account for all the variations in the shape of its leaves; his laws are general, all that which is particular is beyond the scope of scientific laws. So in philosophy of history we disregard chronology, biographical episodes and all matters of detail which are noted by the chronicler. All that is left beyond the pale of the "laws of history;" it is consequently not governed by the laws of history. Suppose Columbus had died in childhood; America might have been discovered fifty years later. Suppose the Philippine revolt against Spain had not coincided with the uprising in Cuba; Admiral Dewey would in that case not have gone to Manila; American expansion would have halted at Porto Rico, and might now have a long wait for an opportunity to "plant the American flag" in the Philippines. And who knows but the morsel might in such an event not have escaped "us" altogether.

No one who is not a believer in supernatural determination will maintain that it was "historically necessary" for the uprising in the Philippines to have broken out about the time of the Spanish-American war, or that "historical necessity" saved Columbus from shipwreck on his way to America. Such occurrences are mere accidents, of which Philosophy of History takes no cognizance, but History as a chronicle is all made up of such accidents.

"Looking backward," in the year 2000, upon our present struggles, Dr. Leetc will confine himself to a dispassionate review of the general tendencies of the process of development from capitalism to socialism, but we in the year 1901, standing near the starting point of that century race, will find in the "laws of history" no weather forecast for every day, because those laws, like any scientific abstraction, do not deal with concrete events. Yet we do not live in abstraction, the laws of social development can unfold themselves to us in no other way than through the accidents of our individual or collective careers. We cannot make or unmake sociological laws, but as each individual is shaping himself the actual events of his own biography, so do we all collectively "make history," the composite biography of mankind.

The "laws of history" are silent on the question whether the main branches of industry will come under public control within twenty-five, or fifty, or a hundred years; a difference of twenty-five or fifty years is a mere accident. Still the life of the present generation is all bound up within that accident. By a conscious application of the ascertained "laws of history" we may smooth and shorten that accident, or, to use a classical phrase of Marx, we may "shorten the birthpangs of an old society pregnant with a new one." On the contrary, ignorance of the "laws of history" may lead to acts which must fail of their effect for lack of suitable environment, yet may more or less effectively "clog the wheels of history" for a generation, with all the sufferings and waste of energy involved in the delay. Still these insignificant oscillations of time are not registered on the great observatory clock of Philos-

ophy of History, where "a thousand years is like one minute." ("Poems in Prose," by Tourgneneff.)

The term "laws of history" has been retained in the preceding pages solely because it is accepted in current Socialist discussion. But it is tainted with the ambiguity of the word "History," and should be discarded. From the foregoing remarks it is apparent that there are no laws of history in the ordinary sense of the word, the so-called "laws of history" being meant for sociological laws. The inevitable confusion resulting from the use of ambiguous terms is responsible for the misconception of "historical fatalism," which originates from unconscious substittuion of the popular meaning of "history," as a chronicle, for the conception of "philosophy of history."

If the distinction between Sociology and History is clearly kept in mind, the main objection to materialistic philosophy, as applied to social evolution, falls to the ground.

Marxist.

Labor, Capital and China.

AT the present time, perhaps no other topic is of more immediate interest to the American laborer or to the American capitalist than that presented by China and the Chinaman.

The American laborer sees in the Chinaman a deadly competitor—a man who, like himself, has for sale labor-power and in almost inexhaustible quantity and at prices with which the American cannot compete and live. This is not a theory. It has passed the experimental stage and been demonstrated on our own soil. About the only interest the average laborer takes in China is based upon the fact that China is the country that furnishes—or could easily furnish—an innumerable horde of these dread competitors. He imagines that if these Chinese can only be kept in their own country, the American labor market will remain in immunity from their poisonous touch.

While the American laborer is certainly to be applauded in his efforts to exclude the Chinese from this country; while all admit that he could not do otherwise, under the existing conditions, than demand his exclusion, without violation of the first law of nature; if he will but glance into the history of the last few years, even superficially, he may learn that the Chinaman, even in China, is rapidly becoming as deadly a foe as the one that bids against him directly in his own market. To develop this thought more clearly we must view this great people from the standpoint of the capitalist.

The capitalist's interest in the Chinese people is identical with his interest in every other people of the earth—he is interested in them as a market for his surplus goods (goods that American labor has produced but cannot buy)—and he is interested in their country as an opening for the investment of his net gains. In these two things, with him all interest begins and ends—a business proposition.

If we are to believe Hon. Chauncey M. Depew and others of equally good authority, American labor produces annually about two billion dollars' worth more goods than American wages can pay for—"than America can consume." These goods must be sold in a foreign market or "stagnation and poverty" must be the reward of the producer. (See Depew's speech in nominating Mr. McKinley at St. Louis.) As this is also the condition that obtains in England, France, Germany and such countries, the reason for the contention over foreign markets is obvious; and

the Pacific islands and the awakening Orient furnish enviable fields for operation.

But the vast empire of China, with its four hundred and fifty millions of industrious, ingenious and, in their way, intelligent people, lacking in so many things that we consider essential to humanity's well being, naturally becomes the great battle-ground of those who have much to sell and millions to invest.

Capital seeks not only to sell goods in China, but to build railroads, establish telegraph and telephone lines, build factories and supply all manner of machinery in whose manufacture America, England and Germany so excell. And why not? Once the "proper spirit" is there awakened, the rest of the combined world cannot present such an opening.

Now, the Chinese are a "peculiar" people—almost as much so in many respects as are we Americans. They do not want our machinery. They battle against its introduction, just as the English weavers fought the introduction of the Arkwright loom; just as the Boston tailors fought the use of the Howe sewing machine; just as the farm laborers of the East opposed the use of McCormick's reaper; just as the grain shovelers fought and struck when the machine shovel took their places; just as the California printers and politicians said "no" when an attempt was made by the Legislature to put linotypes into the State Printing Office—and for the same reasons.

There are probably ten millions of laborers in China whose sole occupation—whose sole means of gaining their daily rice—is transporting burdens (and passengers) over that empire. "What," they ask, "will railroads do for ninety per cent of us?" There are millions more who have been trained from youth for the carrying of messages over China. What will telegraphy and the telephone do for their business? A thousand Chinamen sit carving out pieces of work by hand. Uncle Sam and John Bull come along and suggest that they can furnish a machine that will do more of that work, under one man's hand, than the whole thousand. "Let us alone," they answer, "we are making a living. We do not need your machine. It might make one of us, but more likely an American, a millionaire; but it would send nine hundred and ninety-nine to compete with laborers in some other field. Your machine may be a great labor saving device, but we also realize that it is a labor displacer and a labor competitor. It might make a few millionaires; but it would make just as many million paupers. We don't want it."

The Chinese Minister to England told us about a year ago that while the wolf was suckling Romulus and Remus, China tried machinery. They were forced to abandon it for the reason that it would destroy their country by amassing its wealth into

the hands of the owner, while it of necessity impoverished the masses. But even the shrewd minister did not seem to discern that it was not the machine that wrought the mischief, but its ownership and the power thereby vested to amass the empire into a few hands. He did not discern that while the increased power to produce with little labor was used only to fill the coffers of the few who owned the machinery, the consequences he enumerates must needs follow; but that if the machine had been used as a real labor-saving device and had been made to do the labor of the empire for the good of every being in it, the result would have been very different. He discerned that machines are channels through which wealth flows; but he did not discern that his people were cursed solely because these streams all emptied into the laps of the few owners—that countless billions more of wealth would have been produced and billions of years of labor actually saved his people by retaining the machine, but changing the ownership; by doing away with the capitalistic (parasitic) owner and putting the machine in charge of the people's business manager. In other words, he failed even to think what the socialist demands. And so did the smashers of the looms and sewing machines and reapers; and so do the men who fight the introduction of the machine-shovel, the department store and the trust.

But to return to our own Chinaman and his relation to the American laborer. In spite of all his arguments and use of force to exclude the machine, machinery is going into China, even though it go as opium went there—at the mouth of a foreign cannon. The die is cast; a market and the investment of capital demand it and the demand is imperative.

Now, a Chinaman has in his make up several characteristics that are very marked and among these are industry, ingenuity and the power to imitate. He cannot now invent, but he can construct anything that he ever gets his eye on and use it when constructed. His industry is proverbial, his ingenuity is unsurpassed by that of any other people and he is perhaps the cheapest liver on earth for the amount of work done. And China has seventy millions of such fellows to our ten millions.

Another characteristic that we should note carefully is, that he will not buy anything that he can make and, as before stated, he can make anything he has had fair opportunity to investigate.

We may langh at his "pig tail" and almond eyes; we may belittle his paganism and philosophize about his tardy civilization and his unprogressiveness; but for a moment, American laborer, lay aside your levity and seriously, from what you know of the Chinaman, as a worker—as a competitor—consider what will be the effect when fifty millions of those fellows are set to work

with English and American machinery. His country is as varied in climate and as rich in resources as any other on earth; he can operate any machine that you can operate, can make anything that you can make; and he can work twelve hours per day and live on ten cents while he is doing it.

That is why you do not want him here. It is also why the capitalist does want him.

The fact that he is a wretched buyer even with his destructive wages and consequently a curtailer of the capitalist's own market, does not appeal to the capitalist with any perceptible force. To produce cheaply is his ambition and he has no time nor disposition to worry over abstractions and learned discussions about the purchasing power of a people—the markets—being dependent upon what is paid labor for producing things. He'll take the cheap labor and leave the market-making to philosophers and philanthropists. He won't raise wages in order that labor may buy more of some other fellow's goods.

But, Mr. Laborer, when the capitalist gets his field for investment and his market for machinery and the Chinaman gets the machine, what will become of your labor market? Is it not obvious that he need not come here in order to compete with you? One per cent of the value of his produce will land it on our shores; hence, so far as results are concerned, ten thousand miles of water affords no safeguard and he might as well be with us. This is the competition that you must soon face—just as England is now facing the competition of America—and, paradoxical as it seems, even the violent support of the Chinaman cannot save you from it. It is in the regular and inevitable line of capitalistic growth.

"But," you answer, "such a course on the part of capitalists can but finally prove self-destructive." True, so of every element in the growth of capitalism. Witness, for instance, the energy displayed in the formation of trusts, though every intelligent and even half-informed person realizes that the formation of a capitalistic trust simply drives another nail in the coffin of capitalism; and he also realizes that their formation can no more be retarded that can the growth of a plant from a seed when every condition is favorable.

Now a word with the Chinaman regarding his opposition to the introduction of machinery. He contends that it would displace millions of laborers, glut his labor market, and flood his country with beggars, tramps, millionaires, trusts, labor unions, labor wars, strikes, lockouts, bank panics, commercial crises, political corruptionists, with power to defy law and courts, and many other "blessings" of which our "civilization" is so productive. Is he right?

Seriously, in view of the conditions that there obtain, if England and America's machinery is to go there and concentrate the producing power, as it must, under the ownership and control of a few; if that machinery is to be used, as it will be, solely as a means for exploiting labor and the consequent amassing of millions—in view of what we know must follow it under the capitalistic regime as naturally as doth the night the day, must we not admit that the Chinaman has the better end of the argument?

But if China should say: "Bring on your machinery, but leave your capitalists at home. We will buy it by the millions and make even billions' worth more of it, but no privileged few shall own it. We will not permit it to displace even one of our seventy millions of able-bodied men. It shall be a curse to none, but a blessing to all; for it shall be used only to lighten the burden of toil and shorten the hours of labor. We will use it to make happy homes and free men; not paupers, wage slaves and billionaires. We will organize such trusts as are now the dream of the Occident, but the manager shall be a servant of the many and not of the few. We will demand service or starvation of every able-bodied being and his reward shall be the exact equivalent of what his toil produces." If China should send such a message as that to Europe and America, what would be the capitalist's bid the next day for the markets of China or, for that matter, of any other nation of the earth? What would then become of the Chinese argument against machinery?

And yet the only thing that prevents China's sending such a message to the world is just what prevents America from doing it—lack of recognition of the simple fact that the curses or blessings that are or ought to be traceable to the use of machinery is solely a question of ownership and control—solely a question of whether the machine be used to exploit labor and fill the coffers of the few, or to do the work for the many and benefit only those willing to toil.

N. A. Richardson.

Socialism and Science.

AT the very threshold of his efforts the socialist is met by an objection, which, if well founded, certainly renders useless all his agitation and leaves no room for other effort than that of philanthropic amelioration of human suffering. He is told that science itself stands in his way; that the very constitution of nature, as manifested in the law of evolution, balks his efforts; and that it is foolish to contend against the law of the struggle for existence, which is competition, because competition, thus inherent in all nature, is the law of man's social progress, as it is the law of animal development. He is gravely assured that without competition, in fact, there could not be any social adaptation, "and society would lapse into chaos." (Pop. Sci. Mo., June, 1898, p. 269.)

For instance, we are told by Prof. Jordan that we are bound to admit the struggle for existence, but very few realize it. "Men in general are fitted to the struggle as it came to their ancestors, as they are fitted to the pressure of the air. Hence it comes that many writers"—meaning socialists—"have supposed that the struggle for existence belonged to animals only, that man is or should be, exempt from it. Competition has been confounded with injustice, fraud, trickery, and it has been supposed that some act of legislation would put an end to it forever. But competition is inseparable from life. The struggle for existence may be hidden in social conventions, but it can never be extinguished. Nor should it be, for it is the essential force in the progress of life." (Arena, June, 1898, p. 701.)

Such, then, according to Prof. Jordan, is the verdict of Science. We do not realize the struggle—God save the mark!—the hope of the socialist is vain, his efforts useless, his scheme impossible. Science itself stands across his pathway and forbids his advance.

Meantime, while we are assured thus dogmatically that our efforts are a bootless fight against the law of the struggle for existence, or competition, which "may be hidden in conventions, but can never be extinguished," what do these prophets of competition with their fine array of "science" offer us? They all recognize that our social system is full of evil, and that the future of the race is dark. What hope, what consolation do they hold out to the saddened and bruised spirit of man?

They tell us that we can not abolish competition, because it is the natural law of life in all its manifestations. Man can not be improved by changing his conditions, because men evolve the social conditions they are adapted to, and so every attempted improvement of those conditions would be injurious. Our only hope lies in "a growing moralization of public opinion," as Prof. Youmans calls it (Pop. Sci. Mo., Sept., 1898, p. 705), much more than in the assumption by the people in their governmental adjustments of the means of production and distribution. First make men moral—no, let men grow more moral. Then expect better social arrangements and a better society.

But all improvement, however achieved by this gradual "moralization," depends ultimately on competition. The remedy, indeed, is not the suppression or even curtailment of competition, but more of it and greater freedom for its action. "It is not necessary," says Prof. Youmans, "to deny that competition has been and is attended by many evils; but it will be found on examination that these evils are generally of a character to impair the competition and render it more or less illusory." (Pop. Sci. Mo., June, 1898, p. 269.) And, says Prof. Jordan, "Self-realization in life is only possible where self-perdition is also possible. When cruelty and hate are excluded by force, charity and helpfulness will go with them. Strength and virtue have their roots within man, not without. They may be checked, but they can not be greatly stimulated by institutions and statutes." (Arena, June, 1898, p. 762-3.) In other words, these gentlemen assume that present social conditions and phenomena are ultimate facts of nature; that the social laws now apparent to us are immutable laws, which it would be impossible for men to alter, and which it would be extremely dangerous for men to try to control.

Thus I have stated the obstacles set up by the defenders of the present system, their statement of the conditions, and their remedy for the admitted evils. Standing athwart the path of the socialist who thinks that bad social adjustments are the causes of these evils, and who also thinks he knows the remedy in different industrial arrangements, which compose the foundation on which all types of society rest, and which all history shows can be changed and controlled by man, Science, say these professors, can only offer the remedy of "a growing moralization of public opinion!" This is the last word to the fevered soul and throbbing heart of the reformer, the crushing reply to the poverty, suffering and crime of down-trodden men and women at the end of a wonderful century of progress in science, industry and art.

If this reply were valid and this all the remedy, dark indeed would be the future of mankind; dreary indeed the prospect of the race; hard indeed the fate of society Its history could be written very shortly as a repetition of a rise from the chaos of savagery, progress through barbarism into a semblance of civilization, during which periods the big devour the little, then decay

from dry-rot and final death, to be followed by a similar cycle in some other locality by some other people.

But is the reply valid? Is the remedy any remedy at all? I for one deny both. While all admit the many evils of the present system, to the socialist there can be but one remedy. It is all very well to preach to men to be better, to improve themselves individually; it is all very well to say to them that their only hope for better things lies in the "growing moralization of public opinion." I answer that men can no more become moral or grow in morality with bad social conditions, with the poverty and lack of material comfort due to the fierce competition of the present system of industry, confronted by the ever-recurring sight of unequal opportunities on this earth, where a few enjoy all the bounties of nature at the expense and toil of the millions, confronted, too, on every hand by the unequal distribution of the products of their labor and the consequent "injustice, fraud and trickery" of the daily life of the people, both rich and poor, than you could expect the sun to stand still in Ajalon.

Again, I deny that there is any such "growing moralization of public opinion." On the contrary, there is rather a growing demoralization of public opinion, if the recent antics of millionaires, and their imitators, in their private lives, the governmental corruption at home and abroad, and the recent recrudescence of outrageous warring by the stronger peoples on the weaker, can count as evidence.

No, the true rule is and must be, Bad conditions, bad men. Poverty and want are the parents of crime, and no amount of dogmatic assertion to the contrary by these defenders of existing society can alter the facts, or need dampen the ardor of the socialist. He knows that the whole fabric of modern capitalism, with its socialized methods of production, but competitive methods of distribution, is unjust and oppressive, is responsible for the ominous division of society into the capitalist class on one hand and the wage-slave class on the other, and is only a phase of industrial evolution destined by virtue of its own logic to pass into some other form.

Nevertheless, is it true that the verdict of science is against the socialist? Does science really deprive socialism of its possibility? Does it undermine the foundation on which socialism stands, when it asserts that competition is essential to social growth, its abolition impossible, and even its curtailment hurtful? Must the socialist perforce reckon with it in all his calculations for the social revolution?

I think not. And here let us define our terms. What is competition? Prof. Jordan identifies it with the struggle for existence, and thereby falls into grievous error; for, he goes on to

define this struggle as appearing "under a threefold form; the struggle of creatures with like creatures; the struggle with unlike forms; and the struggle with the conditions of the environment." This is a profound truth, and carries with it many profound implications. Let us examine it.

We all admit the struggle for existence in the slow process of evolution. We must admit also that this struggle manifests itself in the three ways pointed out by Prof. Jordan. This being so, it strikes me that the identification of competition with the struggle for existence is not true. Obviously, it is a straining of words to speak of competing with the "conditions of the environment." Animals and men may and do compete with each other for the use of the environment; it is absurd to say that animals and the environment compete with each other. They struggle with the conditions of the environment, and men and some animals have changed them and can continue to do so.

What would they compete for? The word "competition" means the striving after the same object at the same time together with and against others. What do men and animals compete with each other for? Obviously, for the means of life. Then it is untrue to say that they compete with the environment. Competition predicates life and mind as its conditions; life at least in plants and very low animals; mind in all higher forms of animal life. All animals compete for the use of the environment; the environment can not and does not compete with them for anything. Hence this third form of the struggle for existence is not identical with competition.

The second form of the struggle, that of creatures with unlike forms, while applicable to the lower animals and to plants, if it ever had any application to man as man, has long since ceased to be any factor in man's evolution. Man's prehuman ancestors, no doubt, were subject to this form of the struggle, and thereby became men; but now this form may be classed with the third, as one of the conditions of the environment. Man no longer competes with the lower animals for life, or the means of subsistence; he uses them for his own purposes of pleasure or profit.

But when we come to the first form of this struggle, that of like creatures with like, we at once come to competition pure and simple. Here nature, "red in tooth and claw," employs competition as its main instrument in the transmutation of species. Here, war, deadly strife, merciless brutality and conscienceless destruction, thoughtless waste and natural lawlessness hold high carnival; but out of it all, with the co-operation of the other two forms, arise the countless species of animals and plants on this globe. Man has been no exception; he, too, is the product of the inexorable play of these forces. But once become man by these

means, the process of creation can evidently go no further; for, it has also brought into being the chief and distinguishing mark of humanity—intellect, by means of which man can control his destiny, change his environment, and subject the forces of the world, physical and psychical, to his dominion.

For, we know that since his creation by natural selection, with man competition has taken two forms, that of social group against social group, and that of individual against individual in the same social group. When the first small group of human beings united for self-protection, or co-operated together against a common foe, animal or human, they ceased internal competition among themselves. Competition did not exist industrially in primitive societies. Its absence was an advantage in that it was the best way by which men could satisfy their desires. Hence those groups which were combined into the best and most complete co-operation for their comon welfare were the ones that, under the action of natural selection, survived. The greater the co-operation and the less the competition inside the group, the more likely was the group to survive in the struggle for existence with groups with less co-operation and more competition.

It is only in modern times under the rule of capitalism that individual competition has come into play again in human life, and it is under the rule of capitalism that the greatest misery, suffering and crime, the most glaring contrasts of wealth and poverty, are to be seen. We have the spectacle of nations producing untold wealth, but whose members permit the most heartless competition among themselves in the apportionment of what they produce, resulting in a rich capitalist class owning and enjoying the fruits of all the means of production and governing with iron hand under the iron law of wages the immensely greater number of their fellows. Thus modern societies have gone back to the method of the lower animals in seeking the satisfaction of their desires, which method is really desocializing the various social groups. The result is, indeed, a new species of men, the monsters of capitalism, tramps and millionaires on one side, and on the other the stooped and ofttimes broken-spirited wage slave, bearing on his shoulders the whole weight of the social fabric.

If, then, we must define competition as that part of the struggle for existence between like creatures, I am prepared to affirm, so far as man is concerned, that it belongs and ought to belong only to the lower animals and plants, and that man "is or ought to be exempt from it." The socialist is right in saying that competition is identical with "injustice, fraud, trickery," and that certainly it can be checked and curtailed, and ought to be entirely abolished by the united effort of men.

This is so, because from the very beginning of society man has been compelled to check and curtail it, in order to survive in the struggle for existence. In union there is strength, was early discovered to be the law of social development. In fact, society is not natural, in the sense in which we speak of the word nature in the production of species by natural selection, or in the formation of a crystal or a mountain. It is an artificial product of man, a real contrivance for the better satisfaction of man's desires, which are the social forces. In its very essence society is thus seen to be the negation of competition.

For, the first men that co-operated with each other in the effort to overcome any obstacle, whether of enemies or of securing subsistence—and this was in fact the first kind of co-operation—to that extent laid aside their competition with each other. Sooner or later the advantages of co-operation, and hence of society, were felt by primitive men, and also the evils of competition were early seen. The curtailment of competition even among lower animals was the beginning of society in some sort; its suppression will be the completion of human society.

But Prof. Jordan does not believe all this; he is so in love with competition that he says, "We must remember that the struggle for existence in human society does not mean brutality!" He means, of course, that competition does not mean brutality. In this he is manifestly wrong. What could be more brutal than the manifestations of the competitive spirit in modern industry? He knows, and everybody knows, that competition under present social arrangements, if it means anything, is nothing but war to the knife among individuals, and as it ramifies modern society it carries with itself all the qualities of merciless brutality, though it may seem to be "hidden in social conventions." Obviously, too, as such it acts as a check to the growth of the altruistic sentiments, which are, he says, "the expression of the strength of mutual respect and mutual forbearance." But under the competitive system these sentiments are measured by the knowledge that the other fellow may be the strongest and hence may get the advantage! For competition is the synonym for selfishness, altruism, for sociality.

This being so, we may define socialism in one of its aspects as that type of society which checks and restrains competition within such limits as practically to abolish it, and which industrially makes combination and co-operation the basis of social development. So that the fallacy in the argument of these gentlemen, who try so hard to put a scientific obstacle in the way of the socialist, lies partly in the fact that they confuse the struggle for existence with competition, and partly in the assumption that the same laws obtain in social as in animal evolution. They forget

that in social evolution we have to reckon with new factors, with new elements and forces—the varied and ever-expanding desires of men. While man is no doubt a growth from lower animal forms, still he is man, a creature with almost totally different attributes, needs and desires.

We have plant life, with its laws; animal life, with its laws; the psychic life, with its laws; the social life, with its laws; all different realms, where different forces act and react, and which are subject to different laws. The law of the struggle for existence has now to deal with an active factor in the world, that of mind, and hence manifests itself now in the natural selection of choices of conscious human beings, all prompted and moved to act by their desires. Competition is and was the rule of conduct in the lowest forms of plant and animal life; it decreases somewhat in intensity in higher forms among which rudimentary societies are formed; while among men the formation and growth of society is its negation. In man the restraint of competition is parallel with the advancement of man from savagery to civilization.

And now man stands on the threshold of a new life, reaching out to a greater socialization of his activities and to a better realization of those spiritual principles that are striving to become the leading forces of his further progress, but which can not come into full play as long as competition is permitted to hold the field and to determine his destiny.

The socialist, therefore, need not feel discouraged by the attitude of science. Science does not stand in his way, but rather urges him forward, and is his chief beacon light, showing him the way to direct his efforts. Instead of blocking his path, science teaches him that competition belongs to brutes, not to men, and that it is to-day the greatest obstacle to the completer social adjustments. Science shows every day that the greed and strife of the present system are devouring men, and that if they would grow to better adjustments, if men would "rise on stepping stones of their dead selves to higher things," they must still further cast out this destructive poison of competition from their midst, and adopt that complete democracy embodied in socialism. Science shows us that, if men will leave aside the suicidal policy of the present industrial system, they will find ample scope for all their varied activities in the struggle to master the natural environment in which they live, by subduing it to their various uses. In this active field of endeavor man will find all the incentives of a social being to higher life and greater achievement.

Here let me quote the testimony of Maj. J. W. Powell, who has expressed a somewhat similar thought to mine in the February Forum, 1891, which has fallen into my hands since writing

the above. After showing that there are four modes of life, which he terms "vitality, sentiency, percipiency and voliciency," he says: "These powers come in the order in which they have been named, and constitute a series of transformations. . . . In the four modes of life there are four lines of evolution or becoming, but they are not parallel. From the midst of plant life springs animal life; from the midst of animal life springs psychic life; and from the midst of psychic life springs social life; and each presents a distinct series of becoming, governed by its own laws of evolution. As there are four kinds of life, so there are four kinds of evolution, four systems of laws; that is, there are four groups of phenomena and four methods of genesis. But in the complexities of the cosmos the phenomena are entangled; and in the doctrines of evolution taught by scientific men, and reiterated in the literature of the times, the four methods of becoming have been still further entangled and confused. Thus the laws of evolution applying to plants and to animals have been supposed to be identical with the laws of evolution of men in society, making the doctrines of evolution opposed to the plans of men in their endeavor to improve their condition. The survival of the fittest is supposed to be a more potent process than the endeavor for improvement, and mercy and charity are supposed to thwart the laws of universal progress."

Thus does this great scientist explode the flimsy arguments of Professors Jordan and Youmans and other defenders of present iniquity, with its doctrines of laissez-faire, "growing moralization," and the overpowering importance of competition, "without which society would lapse into chaos." The argument shows beyond doubt that science, instead of being opposed to socialism, or that socialism is contrary to the laws of evolution, really predicates that socialism is the only scientific form of society. The law of the survival of the fittest is not more "potent than the endeavor for improvement;" social man ought not only to be exempt from competition, but naturally is exempt; and it is just the existence of competition in modern society that is the cause of the present hindrance to higher social progress.

For we must not forget that socialism is a form of government, having its authority from within; that is, it must be genuinely democratic, a government of the people's affairs by the people for their own benefit—the merging of politics into industrial management. Growing moralization is a good thing, mutual respect and forbearance are good things; but they can never be more than skin deep under a system, where in spite of all that may be said men are really enemies to each other and know it. For unless you give men a better material basis on which to live, unless you make conditions under which the incentive to greed is

removed with the possibility of profit, all your efforts to smother them in moral platitudes and fine phrases about opposing the very laws of nature will be in vain. To improve we must obey the law of social growth, which we are gradually learning is co-operation, since society is nothing else than the combined co-operative actions of men for attaining their happiness. We must leave the laws of animal life behind us, search out the laws of social development and the underlying forces, take these forces, control them and use them for the common purpose of individual happiness, as we are abundantly able to do, if we choose.

J. W. Summers.

Asheville, N. C.

EDITORIAL

Recent Developments in Opportunism.

Recent events in some European countries are extremely interesting in view of the efforts of a few Socialists in this country to deflect the movement in the direction of "opportunism." During the "prosperous" times which prevailed in Europe a few years ago it was possible for the employing class to grant small concessions to the workers. Such concessions were less harmful than any cessation of industry and stoppage of profits. But during the last year has come the "American invasion," and business depression, industrial bankruptcies, unemployed armies and hunger riots followed one another in swift and terrible succession. When this time came the day of compromise was past. Employers could not grant favors that would destroy their small remnants of profits, even though the alternative was the destruction of the whole profit system. Such a concession meant their individual disappearance from the ranks of profit receivers and the capitalist has not yet risen to that lofty stage of class-consciousness where he is willing to sacrifice his individual chance to secure profits for the sake of any social system.

Because of these and other recent developments there have been some interesting occurrences in European Socialist circles. In France the Millerand movement seems to have well nigh reached its end. Steadily the ministerialist supporters have fallen away. Attempting to trim their sails to the varying winds of disintegrating bourgeois interests, they have gradually drifted away from all genuine proletarian class interests. Once the field of bourgeois politics was entered, all the influences of capitalist environment tended to mould them to its image. They became ever less and less revolutionary.

When a few weeks ago the Ministerialist convention was held at Tours the attendance was so pitifully small that the management refused to give out the list of delegates. At the same time so far had they departed from the position of international Socialism that the Berlin Vorwaerts described the result of their deliberations as an "organization for disorganization and the furtherance of opportunism." Existing alliances with capitalist parties were reported and plans laid for new bargains of the same kind. Yet with the contradictory character that is ever the accompaniment of opportunism they adopted a platform filled with the phrases of the revolutionary Socialism which their every action had repudiated and then "most unkindest cut of all"

unanimously resolved that "no Socialist may enter a ministry without the consent of the party."

"Le Mouvemente Socialiste," long considered as at least sympathetic with the ministerialist policy and Jaures, but which now is clearly with the revolutionary forces, says in a late issue of the "Union," engineered by Jaures in 1899, and of which so much was expected at the time: "One by one all the revolutionary forces there artificially assembled have disintegrated, and the process still continues. In 1900, at the convention in the Hall Wagram at Paris, the Parti Ouvrier Francais (Guesdists) were the first to break away and make union impossible. * * * At Lyons in 1901 the Parti Socialiste Revolutionaire in its turn severed all connection between its organization and the elements which appeared so chaotic and uncertain. Some months later the Parti Ouvrier Socialiste Revolutionaire in its turn declared its independence, and to-day the best of the independent federations have broken from a party which now retains nothing Socialist save the name."

So fatal has been the disorganizing influence of the bourgeois tendencies, that have been admitted under the name of opportunism, upon the unification of the French Socialist movement that to-day, in the face of a general election, it is Jaures, who is without doubt one of the most brilliant figures in the French Socialist movement if not in the whole international movement—Jaures, who a few short months ago was looked upon as the one man who more than any other single individual was bringing closer the day of a united Socialist movement in France, is to-day declared by Karl Kautsky to be the greatest obstacle in the way of securing that unity. "Perhaps the coming election," says Kautsky in a late issue of the Neue Zeit, "may serve to soften these personal antipathies and prepare the way for union. A battle against a common foe often does wonders in this direction. But this result can only be secured when the main obstacle now standing between the two fractions is removed, and that obstacle is—Jaures. * * * The unity of the French Socialists can only be secured against, not with Jaures." "Le Mouvemente Socialiste" makes this significant comment upon Kautsky's words: "We do not think it is necessary to struggle simply against one single person. * * * We prefer rather to declare war on tendencies and systems,—to state Socialism we would oppose revolutionary Socialism." Let the comrades in America ponder well these words. Can we not learn from the experience of the French comrades or must we have a term at the same terribly costly school.

Turn now to England, the classic land of Fabianism, compromise and opportunism and the events of the last few months are teaching the same lesson. About three years ago an effort was made to unite the Independent Labor Party, the Social Democratic Federation, the Fabians and some of the trade unions upon a Socialistic basis in the hope of securing a "labor group" of members in Parliament. The S. D. F., with some of the trade unions, desired that a Socialist resolution, affirming the class war and the fundamentals of international Socialism, be made the basis of union. This position was opposed by the Fabians and the I. L. P. with the usual arguments of opportunism. Unfortunately the latter forces were the stronger. Steadily since then the Labor Representation Committee has grown further and further from Socialism. This

opinion of ours is based, not alone on the statements of the S. D. F., who withdrew when bourgeois tendencies seemed to dominate, but on the printed reports of the succeeding conferences and the comments of the capitalist press and the discussions that have arisen within the I. L. P. At the last meeting of the Labor Representation Conference there were not lacking defenders of the group of notoriously anti-Socialistic "labor members" now in the House of Commons, and it was evident that to-day there would be no hope of carrying the Socialist resolution, whose passage would have been an easy matter at the first meeting had the avowed Socialists stood by their colors.

Meanwhile there seems to be some signs of disintegration within the I. L. P. itself, which has always been opportunistic in its tactics. Many branches grew rebellious at the action of the I. L. P. officials in actively opposing Comrade Quelch, when he made his recent gallant fight for Socialism at Dewsbury. Finally, to make the parallel with France even closer, Robert Blatchford, who has always been considered more or less opportunistic in his attitude, comes out clearly for the class-struggle position, throws his influence on the side of the S. D. F. and declares Keir Hardie to be the greatest obstacle to Socialist unity in England.

Recent events in Italy have been teaching the same lessons with even greater clearness and additional emphasis. The Zanardelli ministry came into power with the votes of the Socialists because it was fighting the reactionary effort being made by the conservative forces to deprive the laborers of the right of organization. Under these conditions many Socialists, including the brilliant Turati, were in favor of considering the Socialists as pledged to the support of the ministry. But Enrico Ferri, and those who with him stood upon a revolutionary position, declared that while they had accepted the formation of this ministry as the alternative to a period of persecution of organized labor, they would not be bound by any policy as a ministerialist party, but would hold themselves as ever antagonistic to any and all capitalist governments. For a time it looked as if opportunism, here as elsewhere, would become a disrupting force and split the hitherto solid ranks of the Italian proletariat. Opportunism seemed for the moment to be gaining ground. At once the logical result followed. The bourgeois, no longer frightened by the advance of a solid proletarian movement, saw no necessity in granting even momentary palliatives, but, on the contrary, redoubled their attempts to crush the laborers. The government replaced strikers by soldiers, threatened to force the railroad employes into military service if they dared to strike, absolutely forbid any organization of the employes of the postoffice and telegraphs, and prepared a series of laws for the regulation and annoyance of all bodies of laborers. Under these conditions it is no wonder that it was not long until Comrade Schiavi, the well-known correspondent of the International Socialist Review, was able to write in "Le Mouvement Socialiste: "Our foreign comrades may be reassured: the harmony between the Socialists and the Ministry is ended, and the Socialist group in Parliament no longer soils its conscience with votes of confidence in a bourgeois Ministry."

But the king has refused to accept the resignations of this ministry and has sent them back into power. As to the further occurrences we cannot speak with so much accuracy, as we are still dependent on the

reports of the capitalist press (not having yet received any direct word through Socialist sources), but according to these reports the king has declared himself a "Socialist." What he means by this is shown by his extended instructions to his cabinet. He outlines a plan of nationalization and municipalization that for elaborateness of detail and inclusiveness is more extensive than any list of "immediate demands" ever yet outlined by any American, French, German or English opportunist. We may be sure that this program will be carried into effect with a rapidity exactly proportionate to the growth of an uncompromising, class-conscious revolutionary Socialist Party in Italy, and let those who sneer at these phrases mark that fact.

There is scarcely a theoretical argument in support of opportunism that is not answered by the experience of these three countries during the last few years. All that the opponents of opportunism have ever said as to its disintegrating tendencies and corrupting influence is justified in France and England, while Italy confirms once more what Germany proved under Bismarck, that the most effective way for Socialists to advance reforms is to neither beg nor demand them of capitalism, but to threaten the whole structure of plutocracy and exploitation, when those who are in control of governmental machinery at present, and who therefore alone can enact reforms, will hasten to throw these sops to their opponents in the hope of retaining the possibility of continuous, even though diminished exploitation.

BOOK REVIEWS

Captain Jinks, Hero. By Ernest Crosby. Funk & Wagnalls Co. Cloth, 393 pp. $1.50.

Ernest Crosby is already known to the readers of this Review for his charming Whitman-like poetry. Those who have known only this side of him will be scarcely prepared for the merciless satire and brilliant shafts of cutting wit with which "Captain Jinks, Hero" abounds. A little boy, born upon a farm, loving the animals he sees about him, with no thought of war or military things, is, by the present of a box of lead soldiers, with their beplumed and painted general, made a great admirer of military ideals. He visits a neighboring town and sees a "boy-brigade" and never rests until he becomes a member and can march proudly along with "miniature muskets and fixed bayonets" singing:

"Onward, Christian soldiers,
'Gainst the heathen crew!
In the name of Jesus
Let us run them through.

Having an uncle with "political influence," he is sent to "East Point." Here his desire to be a "hero" and his worship of anything that "had always been done" makes him enjoy hazing and preserve as his most precious keepsake, next to his old leaden hero, a snapshop taken of himself with his head in a tub of water,—the same tub that "General Meriden" was ducked in. Flirting and the regular routine of "East Point" life are satirized with a power of vivid representation that makes you almost feel as if this laughable farce were actual history, from which it really differs far less than much of the stuff that now bears the name. The "Castalian War" breaks out and Captain Jinks, together with his college chum, a most matter-of-fact individual named Cleary, who makes an excellent Sancho Panza to this modern Don Quixote, go to the front. Political influence again secures the "hero" a position, and Cleary, the reporter for the "Metropolitan Daily Lyre," agrees to see to it that he comes home a real hero if ink can be of any service in that respect. All the main actors in the Spanish-American war, as well as in the Chinese campaign, come on to the stage in thinly veiled disguise, and the principal events of that war are told from a different point of view than the "hero making" yellow journals have hitherto chronicled them. Captain Jinks and Cleary are captured by a savage tribe inhabiting the interior of the "Cubapines" and are about to be executed when the chief declares that his tribe is part of a great brotherhood extending all over the world.

" 'There are four marks of the true Morito,' said the chief. 'Their young men are initiated by torture. That is one mark. Then their chief

men wear feathers on their heads. That is the second. And the third mark is that they are tattooed as I am,' and he pointed to the strange figures on his naked chest; 'and the fourth is that they all use the sacred tomtom when they dance.' "

Cleary at once declares to the chief of the savages: "We are your brothers. We are Moritos. We are people from a distant island and you never knew it." The chief shows some doubts at first, but a display of the photographs of the hazing and of an "East Point" dress parade settles the "initiation by torture" and the "head-feathers" business, while the prominent base-drum proved the possession of the tomtom, and Captain Jinks being quite elaborately tattooed, the chief is convinced and, rubbing his nose rapturously against that of Captain Jinks, he cries out:

"Oh, my brothers! To think that I should not have known you. You torture each other just as we do. You are tattooed just as we are! You have bigger feathers and bigger dances and bigger tomtoms. You are bigger savages than we are! Come, let us feast together."

At last, when Captain Jinks has risen by virtue of some lucky accident, political influence, skillful advertising and the friendship of the "Benevolent Assimilation Company, Limited," becomes a "hero," he returns to his native country, is kissed by crowds of young women, dares to try to stop the kissing and at once becomes the most insignificant of men. All this time he has been worried about something. Ever since he met the great German war lord in "Porsselania" he has been trying to imagine if he could really rise to the true ideal of a soldier, as set out by this greatest of heroes, and shoot down his dearest friend or relative without a tremor, if ordered to do so by a superior officer. He finds that in spite of himself he will have qualms when he comes to consider the girl whom he is about to marry. This so preys upon him that his mind gives way, and when Cleary visits him in the asylum he is playing with his old lead soldiers of his boyhood and tells his former chum in a confidential way: "They say I'm a lunatic, but I'm not. When they say I'm a lunatic they mean I'm a perfect soldier—a complete soldier. And they call those fine fellows lead soldiers! Lunatics and lead soldiers, indeed! Well, suppose we are! I tell you an army of lead soldiers, with a lunatic at the head, would be the best army in the world. We do what we're told, and we're not afraid of anything."

If this book could be put in the hands of every boy of fifteen it would make an end of the business of the recruiting sergeant before another generation passed away. It is so interesting that any boy (or man, or woman, either) who once started to read it would never lay it down, and if he did not see the lesson at once it would strike in before he was old enough to enlist, and he would see the cold, cruel, commercial character of modern warfare as well as the idiocy of its tinsel glitter.

Orloff and His Wife. Maxim Gorky. Scribner's. Cloth, 485 pp. $1.00.

There are eight stories of varying length in this book, and each of them shows some new phase of this wonderful Russian analyst of human and social psychology. "Orloff and His Wife" is a study in the direct influence of environment, showing how human nature is debased, elevated and eternally impressed by its surroundings. "Konovaloff" and "Men with Pasts" are studies of the "under-world" of tramps and outcasts. There have been numerous writers about this social class before, but if you want to know just how little the Wycoffs, Riis, McCooks, Josiah Flynts, etc., knew about the actual inner life and thoughts of this world, read Gorky, who simply lets the people of this class speak through him to the reader. "Varenka Oleroff" is a study of the contrast presented by a natural, open-minded woman who has grown up apart from the rules of modern society and a man who is the embodiment of conventional ideals. The theme is old as fiction, but the treatment is original with Gorky. He treats it with an abandon, a naturalism, a realism, if you wish, that is startling in its situations and thrilling in its denouement.

Socialist literature is now being produced at such a rate that it is impossible to do more than notice the numerous pamphlets that appear each month, and give now and then a word of a new publication. Among the latest Socialist periodicals that have entered the arena is to be mentioned the revival by Comrade Fred Warren of the old "Coming Nation," the appearance at Los Angeles of the "Social Crusader" under the editorship of Comrade J. Stitt Wilson, and the first issue of what at least claims to be a Socialist monthly called "The Multitude," under the editorship of Walter Vrooman, who at least produces a lively, readable article, whatever we may think of his political tactics. In pamphlet literature, first place must be given to Comrade Hanford's "Railroading in the United States," which is addressed "To the Not Yet Dead," and will certainly serve to rouse many a worker on American railroads to a sense of his conditions and possibilities. This pamphlet and another, entitled "The Clerical Capitalist," by Father McGrady, are published at five cents each by the Socialistic Co-operative Publishing Association of New York. The Standard Publishing Company, of Terre Haute, Ind., send out another excellent little propaganda pamphlet, at the same price, by Charles C. Hitchcock, entitled "Sanctions for Socialism," which is one of the kind that can never be too numerous because they are always just what you want to hand to "the man on the street" to make a Socialist of him. Charles H. Kerr and Company have issued another number of the "Pocket Library," this time by Comrade Franklin Wentworth, entitled "The Pride of Intellect." "What Is a Scab?" by A. M. Simons, issued by this same company, is an example of a cheaper class of leaflet, such as is much needed and which sells at fifteen cents a dozen or a dollar a hundred. The Socialistic Co-operative Association republishes Comrade Wilshire's "Why Workingmen Should Be Socialists" at a similar low price. Peter Peterson publishes himself a pamphlet entitled "Privileged Anarchy and Lawless Anarchy with a Remedy for Both," which is supposed to advocate Socialism as the "remedy," but which would have been much more valuable had the writer been a little more familiar with the literature of Socialism. Still another, which comes in a most attractive form, just as we go to press, is Comrade John Spargo's "Where We Stand," which is issued by "The Comrade" at five cents. It also is one of the best of this class of pamphlets, of which one can never have too many, whose aim and object is to "make Socialists," and we feel sure this will attain its end.

The New Century Song Book. By B. M. Lawrence, M. D., Los Angeles. J. F. Marek, Publisher.

Here is a book planned with the most laudable intention to do good. If genuine enthusiasm would enable a man to make a book of Socialist songs without understanding either prosody or Socialism, we should be enabled to commend the book to our readers.

It contains the music and original words of many familiar songs, and on the opposite pages new words by the author, "written with a heart full of hope for the final victory of right over wrong." The following extract speaks for itself:

"Fair morning comes! Behold the dawn of direct legislation;
The day of greed will soon be gone, along with competition.
Great wrongs abound, we all must own, but, voters, we can end them;
By Switzerland the way is shown—they call it referendum.

Chorus:

Oh! think, comrades, by votes the nation can
And soon it must own every trust, by the Referendum Plan.

Another song is in memoriam of "our martyred President," McKinley (page 19); another deplores the crime of '73 (page 29); on the next page is one beginning, "Oh, Greenback, with thee, best money of the free, our praise we bring."

Interspersed between the songs are prose sentences on Socialism, some of them very good, indeed, but edited without discrimination and lapsing every little while into "postoffice Socialism." The book closes with some original verses suitable for recitations, which are very much better than the author's songs. There are ninety-four pages, and the book might be greatly improved by omitting perhaps sixty-four of them.

Among the Periodicals.

From the article in "Country Life" on "The Animals of the Farm," we learn that "when put to work for which it is suited, even a moderately light farm horse is equal to ten men. The labor per day of a man costs twice as much as that of a horse. The American farmer has become skillful enough to substitute horse-hoe tillage for hand tillage. If he hooks two horses together he increases his efficiency more than twenty times. The great prairies are now plowed largely with a team of five horses. One man becomes equal to fifty. Thirty or more horses are hooked to a harvesting machine; four men are required to operate it, and their efficiency in gathering the harvest is multiplied five hundred to a thousand fold." One can but wonder why it is that the farmer, who has such a regiment of brute slaves to increase his productive power, must live so poorly. Two almost disappearing industries are described in the articles on "The Sugar Bush" and the "Life of the Trapper."

Among the many valuable publications which are distributed gratuitously by the United States government is the Monthly Summary of Commerce and Finance. This is a periodical of about five hundred large folio, double-column pages, and is sent free to all who apply to the Treasury Department for it. Each number contains one or more valuable monographs, besides a summary of all the statistical facts that have been gathered by the various government bureaus during the previous month. The January number, which has just come to hand, is mainly occupied with a discussion of "The World's Sugar Production and Consumption, 1800-1900," which is an extensive compilation of facts concerning the sugar industry in all parts of the world. Another monograph gives a full description, geographical, historical, economic and social of the Danish West Indies, and a condensed statistical summary of "The Progress of the United States in Its Material Industries" during the last century. But perhaps the most interesting portion of the whole publication is to be found in the portion which is devoted each month to a study of price changes. A table is here given of the increase in prices proportionate to consumption. "Quotations of all the necessaries of life are taken, including whisky and tobacco, and in each case the price is multiplied by the annual per capita consumption, which precludes any one commodity having more than its proper weight in the aggregate." By this method it is shown that the cost of living, which was represented January 1, 1897, by the index number 75.09, had risen by January 1, 1902, to 101.587. That is, the "cost of living" had risen over 34 per cent. Unless money wages have risen an equal amount, there has been the largest cut in wages ever known in this country. But this is only a small portion of the story told by these figures, although it is all that has been seen by the average reader of them heretofore. The table given is divided according to products, and if we take only those tables including the staple foods which make up the fare of the workers, we find that there has been an increase of prices and consequent diminution of wages since January, 1897, of over 48 per cent. Even then we have not yet reached the whole truth. These figures are wholesale prices, and when a retailer handles goods he figures his profits at so much per cent on his original cost, and the larger the wholesale price the greater the absolute profit per article. Hence retail prices always fluctuate much more than wholesale. Taking all these facts into consideration (and none of these facts were gathered by Socialists), it is a conservative statement to say that wages have been reduced by the rise in the cost of living nearly 60 per cent during the past four years. Who is getting the benefits of prosperity?

The principal article in the March Craftsman is "The Gothic Revival," which gives a popular yet fairly exhaustive and interesting discussion of the most beautifully creative period of the human race. "The epoch being so strongly organic, its art, or spiritual expression, was necessarily structural. The uniform creed, single social scheme, common system of education, and one accepted type of beauty demanded a realization of the ideal which should epitomize and incarnate the poetic, artistic and devotional spirit of the age. This realization was attained in the Gothic cathedral, which embodies more perfectly and defines more clearly than any other medium 'the sentiment of the infinite,' which, in the judgment of Michelet, was the "greatest gift of the Middle Ages to humanity." There is also an article by A. M. Simons on "The Economic Foundation of Art," pointing out that the only place where all who are seeking to secure better and more artistic conditions of production can effectively co-operate for a common end is in the political Socialist movement.

SOCIALISM ABROAD

E. Untermann.

France.

Opportunism in France, after running amuck for three years, is now coming to a parting of the way. One federation after another leaves the Millérand-Jaurès combination and either joins the revolutionary Socialists at once or sits temporarily on the fence to save appearances. Millérand still continues to proclaim that he has "remained true to his principles" and that he "obeys the resolutions of his party." He is not in the least disturbed by the fact that his presence in the cabinet is a violation of the Kautsky resolution adopted at the last international congress and of all national party resolutions. Socialism is still his goal, but it all depends on his definition of Socialism.

"It is hard to define what Millérand calls Socialism," writes Jean Longuet in the "Neue Zeit." "Five years ago, at the banquet of St. Mandé, his conception already seemed very much different from that of the Socialists of all other countries. Since then the few points of agreement between him and international Socialism have entirely disappeared. Even the most moderate of our 'possibilists' (opportunists), or of the German 'Bernsteinians' never reduced the Socialist conception of the class struggle and of the proletarian revolution down to the idea of 'social peace.' * * * We believe that those whose views agree better with bourgeois democracy than with revolutionary proletarianism would do better to form the left wing of the great Waldeck-Rousseau reform party. Those, however, who wish to continue their specifically proletarian activity on the basis of the class struggle should find a place in a united Socialist party—no matter how moderate they may be. * * * Never was the situation more favorable to the French Socialist party. The most extreme anarchy is reigning in production. The overproduction in the grain and wine industry, the 110,000,000 francs of bounty which the taxpayers have unwittingly given to the great sugar refineries, the decay of nationalism, all this would furnish excellent propaganda material for our party. But in order to use this material the party must again become what it was three years ago: the militant party whose victorious development nothing could stop, until the disastrous policy of opportunism and the renunciation of the fundamental principles of our fight almost caused our downfall."

Kautsky adds the following comment: "The coming election campaign may serve in a measure to smooth over the personal differences and thus open the way for a union of forces. A fight against the common

enemy does sometimes wonders in this respect. But this effect cannot be produced, until the main obstacle that stands between the two elements has fallen—Jaurès.

Longuet has shown how much damage Millérand is doing, how his presence in the cabinet disrupts the party—he might even have said corrupts the party. He has shown that Millérand is not a proletarian, but a bourgeois Socialist who has no business in the Socialist party. But Jaurès upholds him, Jaurès gives him strength and backing. He is the standard bearer of the Millérand system, or, rather, he is the man who transformed the foolhardy experiment of an ambitious selfseeker into a system for the emancipation of the proletariat. It is Jaurès who has brought all the present troubles on the French Socialist party. It is Jaurès, once the great champion of unity, who divides and weakens the party by his defense of Millérand, who annuls everything great he has ever done for Socialism by the mischief he is now working. * * * It is not sufficient to repudiate Millérand. That would be half-heartedness, if Jaurès is not repudiated at the same time. * * * The unity of the French Socialists can to-day be accomplished only against Jaurès, not with him."

Laguardelle, while agreeing with Kautsky's view of Jaurès' influence, does not think "we should fight any single individual. The opinions of men vary and are often changed surprisingly. We rather prefer to declare war to tendencies and systems, and we combat government Socialism by revolutionary Socialism."

The Parti Socialiste Français held its annual convention on March 2 to 4 in Tours. On the eve of this convention, five more federations severed their relations with it. The organization centered in "Le Mouvement Socialiste" did not attend, and an editorial remarks satirically: "It would be incorrect to say of the Parti Socialiste Français that it 'grows on its march.' The winds are rather contrary to it and fate unkind, for it 'decreases on its march.'" The official report does not state the number of organizations represented. The convention adopted a new program, consisting of a declaration of principles and a long string of political and economic "demands." The declaration of principles written by Jaurès is a queer conglomeration of Babouvist utopianism, Marxian determinism and Bernsteinian opportunism. Bernstein's pet theories of an increasing middle class and a gradual attenuation of the class struggle are, however, rejected, as shown by the following quotations: "All hope of augmenting property by increasing the number of independent small producers has disappeared. Great industries become more and more the rule in modern production. Thanks to the extension of the world market, to the growing facilities of transportation, to the increasing use of machinery, to the concentration of capital, the small and middle-class producers are gradually ruined by the immensely concentrated production and subordinated to it. Even in places where the number of small industrials, small dealers, small farm owners is not decreasing, their relative importance is waning. They become dependent on the great capitalists. Even the farm owners, who seem to have retained a little independence, are delivered up more and more to the oppressive forces of the world market that are handled without them and against them. * * * The immense increase of products and wealth, appropriated in

ever greater proportions by the parasite classes, has not brought an equivalent share to the proletarian. Whole classes of wage laborers are suddenly hurled into extreme misery by the continued improvement of the tools of production, by changes of locality, and the transformation of industries. * * * There is only one way to secure order and steady progress in production, the liberty of the individual and the growing welfare of the workingmen—the transfer of the tools of production to the collectivity."

As means to this end are named "international union of workingmen; political and economic organization of the proletariat in a class party for the purpose of conquering the political power and socializing the means of production and distribution."

In spite of the strictly Marxian premises, two-thirds of the program are then devoted to immediate demands. The program forgets only this, viz., that industrial evolution travels no longer by horse cart but by electricity, and that Europe must follow the pace set by the United States. A party that has to drag the weight of such a program behind it will soon be out of the race.

No resolution concerning the conduct of their deputies at the reception of the Czar was passed, but the representatives who had voted funds for the China expedition were reprimanded. A resolution was adopted declaring that the Millérand experiment should not be continued during the next legislature, unless a majority of the party decided otherwise. Such resolutions have no practical value, for the ministerialists have shown that they do not allow their principles to know what their practice is doing. And we are not surprised to hear that they intend to withdraw their candidates in certain election districts in favor of the radicals. Opportunism, like capitalism, is its own grave digger. It is plain that the disintegration of the Parti Socialiste Français will continue and that the aggressive Parti Ouvrier Français will be the dominating factor in the future.

Italy.

A few weeks ago the world was startled by the sensational report that the Socialists had declared the revolution, seized the railroads, forced the cabinet Zanardelli to abdicate and brought the king to the desperate extreme of "throwing himself into their arms" and decreeing the nationalization and municipalization of all industries from the making of bibs and baby carriages to coffins and burying. Nothing illustrates so well the utter incapacity of the bourgeois press to understand the meaning of proletarian activity as such Gulliver-like reports. What happened was simply a strike of the employes in the government railway service. They are organized and controlled by the Socialists like all labor organizations, and their class consciousness enables them to foil all capitalist tricks to deprive them of the fruits of economic organization. The cabinet, unable to uphold the bourgeois interests and unwilling to accede to the demands of the Socialists, resigned, and the government, fearing a revolution, resorted to the dangerous step of placing the strikers under military control by calling them to their regiments and running the railroads

under martial law. The strength of their organization was nevertheless sufficient to enforce all their demands. They might easily have made bloody use of the weapons given to them by the government. Yet, thanks to Socialist influence, they have learned to be careful of human lives and they understand that a majority of the whole nation is necessary to inaugurate and maintain a system of collective production. Their demands were granted, Zanardelli reconsidered his decision at the request of the king, Signor Costa was elected president of the chamber of deputies in place of the defeated government candidate Villa, and the "revolution" ended with a royal decree suspending martial law.

Belgium.

The Socialists, assisted by the majority of the liberals, are pushing their campaign for universal suffrage in the most vigorous manner. In the legislature, on the streets, in their press, they voice their demand in ringing tones of self-reliance, and the clerical government, conscious of its approaching defeat, is meeting them with very bad grace and ill-concealed malignancy. Hundreds of thousands of liberty-loving proletarians parade the streets, laugh at the puny police force and their unnecessary attempts to "keep order," and cheer the Socialists in front of royal, princely and priestly palaces. The national guards are in readiness, but the government places little reliance on them. The commanders have received strict orders to arrest every guardsman who hesitates to obey his officers, who refuses to shoot or who shoots into the air. No serious disturbance occurred so far.

Austria.

The bourgeois government has shown once more how little regard it has for the lives of the workingmen when the profits of the capitalists are threatened. The employes of the Lloyd (steamship company) in Triest struck for higher wages and more humane conditions of life. Thoroughly organized and splendidly disciplined, they upheld their strike so masterfully that they won the sympathies of the entire working population. The capitalists, enraged and frenzied, lost their self-control and used the military power in the most brutal manner against unarmed men, women and children, killing and wounding a great number. The strikers held out, however, and the Lloyd was forced to make all the concessions demanded by them. This proletarian victory is so much more significant, as it was won by an international organization composed of Austrians, Italians and Slovanians.

Denmark.

In Esbjerg and Silkeborg, the Socialists won out in the municipal elections. In Esbjerg, all ten Socialist candidates were elected and none of the capitalist candidates. In Silkeborg, three Socialists and two Liberals won on a fusion ticket. Since the Liberals have become the ruling party, their opposition to the government has more and more relaxed, and the opposition in the Folkething rests now with the fourteen Socialist representatives.

way and announces that he has become a Socialist. He is a wealthy lumberman and is now in Florida.

Connecticut Socialists are rigging up a wagon and will make agitation trips across country. Several California comrades are also traveling overland in a wagon making speeches and distributing literature.

It is reported that some of the Ohio daily papers have combined to aid each other when their printers go on strike.

Socialists of Erie, Pa., polled 3,145 votes, or one-third of the total, and came in second in the race at the recent municipal election. They elected a number of minor officers and are much encouraged. In New Castle, Pa., the Socialists made a clear gain of 20 per cent.

Coal trust has been formed in the Southwest, and here is what it will control: Fifty thousand acres of the choicest coal land in Missouri, Kansas, Indian Territory, Arkansas, Louisiana, Texas and Wyoming, the labor power of 10,000 men, 45 developed mines, 23 pluck-me stores doing a business of $2,000,000 alone, 2,500 company houses, or "shacks," mills turning out 180,000,000 feet of lumber annually, and scores of agencies and offices in various cities.

A new automatic street-sweeping machine has made its appearance in New York, which does the work of ten "white wings."

A technical glass journal says machinery has completely displaced the blowers in the manufacture of fruit jars and a large variety of wide-mouth ware. In the Indiana glass belt the workers are also reported as being considerably disturbed by a new machine that threatens to wipe out the skilled craftsmen in another branch of the industry.

Within a short period the billion-dollar octopus will gobble up the $20,000,000 Monongahela soft-coal combine and also another small steel combine with $20,000,000 capital.

Unionists of Portland, Ore., were injunctioned because they paraded a boycott banner about the streets.

New York Socialists are enthusiastically raising a fund to start a daily paper. A fund of $50,000 is to be collected for that purpose.

Brother Schwab, of the "Peace Conference," appeared before the Senate committee having the eight-hour bill in charge and argued eloquently against it.

Match trust has started a big factory in Manilla. Cheap labor.

Censor Madden has forbidden the publishers of the American Federationist from printing the union label on the cover.

So much new labor-saving machinery is to be installed at the various lake ports this season, says a dispatch from Ashtabula, one of the most important ports on the lakes, that provisions will have to be made to find employment for the ore and coal handlers who will be displaced. Automatic unloaders, which were in use at only two points last year, will be in operation at nearly every ore-receiving harbor this year, and each one will displace from eighty to ninety men. The pneumatic grain scoop, which has already been described in these pages, will also be introduced at ports where there are elevators. The scoop lifts 1,500 pounds at a time, and twelve men will do the work that formerly required forty.

The name of the Workers' Call has been changed to Chicago Socialist.

Since the Socialist party won the election in Northport, Wash., the Republican-Democratic combine has made several unsuccessful attempts to drive out the victors by arming the scabs in the smelters and resorting to force.

Master painters of Philadelphia combined to smash the union. Brewery bosses of New England united "to regulate wages."

Western labor union officials are sending circular letters throughout the East warning workingmen to pay no attention to advertisements booming the West and holding out glowing promises of prosperity. The circulars state that the railways and land speculators merely desire to rob people ignorant of the true conditions of their money and then abandon them.

The evil day, long postponed, has come. The fight between reactionary craft autonomy and broad industrialism broke out in Cincinnati, where the brewery workers were forced to go on strike because they refused to give up jurisdiction over engineers and firemen employed in breweries. The latter are supported by the employers, while the brewery workers are backed almost solidly by the union people of other trades. This question of jurisdiction has been up before the A. F. of L. for years, but was dodged as regularly as it was introduced. What the outcome of the present bitter struggle will be cannot be predicted at this writing, except that the brewery workers are determined to wage it to the finish. The principle that they stand upon must ultimately triumph.

The anthracite miners have filed their demands. They want the eight-hour day, recognition of their committees, and declare they will not work with non-union men, and also want minor grievances adjusted. It is now up to Morgan. Daily dispatches from New York state that the operators will not yield, and strike talk is in the air.

The labor problem is about to be solved. In an address at Hartford, Conn., Judge S. E. Baldwin, professor in Yale Law School, said American workingmen eat too much and save too little of their earnings. He argued that a single workman earning $1.50 per day should save 25 cents of that amount, and should never marry until he had accumulated $100. Judge Baldwin said workmen eat too much meat and not enough fruit, and that two meals a day should do them. He also opined that the American toiler spends too much money on dress and on the furnishing of his home. Judge Baldwin's wonderful discovery of how to get rich has not yet been patented.

The judiciary committee of the Senate has reported the anti-injunction bill, and it will soon be up for discussion and action. The committee reports favorably upon the bill as originally introduced—but an amendment has been attached that practically kills it and leaves matters just as they are at present. The eight-hour and Chinese exclusion bills are still being juggled with, powerful lobbies being at work to defeat them or destroy their vital features.

PUBLISHERS' DEPARTMENT

Co-operation in Publishing.

In the February Review we asked our readers to subscribe for shares in the co-operative publishing house of Charles H. Kerr & Company at ten dollars each. The response was prompt and gratifying. Sixty-one shares from forty different subscribers have been taken since the first of the year, and a new impulse has thus been given to the circulation of Socialist literature.

Books Now Ready.

The American Farmer, by A. M. Simons, published in February, is being received with enthusiasm by Socialists in the farming districts, and at the same time is recognized by the most conservative critics as a distinct addition to the literature of American economics. For example, the Boston Transcript says: "Mr. Simons shows a thorough knowledge of his subject and a command of many authorities," and the Louisville Courier-Journal says: "This book is well worth reading, not only by the farmer but by every one interested in or connected with the farmer in business. The chapter upon 'The South' is carefully written and impartially intelligent." The book is published in cloth only, in the Standard Socialist series. Price 50 cents; to stockholders 30 cents, postpaid.

"American Communities," by William Alfred Hinds, which has been announced in previous issues of The Review, and the publication of which was unavoidably delayed, is now ready. It is a volume of 450 pages, including seventeen full-page engravings, and it is beyond all comparison the fullest and most authentic account of American experiments in co-operative colonies. The author has in the main refrained from drawing any general conclusions, his object being rather to supply the facts, and we believe that our readers will agree that this has been done admirably. A complete copy of the table of contents will be sent to any one requesting it. The price of the book is $1; to stockholders 60 cents, postpaid.

"The Pride of Intellect," by Franklin H. Wentworth, editor of the Socialist Spirit, is the thirty-fourth number of the Pocket Library of Socialism. These booklets, presenting the Socialist thought in a great variety of forms, are well worth the retail price, 5 cents each, but we offer them to our stockholders at $1 a hundred, postpaid.

The second book of Plato's Republic, translated by Alexander Kerr, Professor of Greek in the University of Wisconsin, is now ready. The first book of this great work, of which we issued an edition last year, deals mainly with the general theory of the state in its relation to ethics. The second book, which is now for the first time offered to English readers in readable and inexpensive shape, contains a considerable portion of the speculations as to the details of an ideal commonwealth for which Plato's Republic is famous. The translation has been highly commended by some of the best critics in the United States. The second book is published in style uniform with the first. Price 15 cents; to stockholders 8 cents, postpaid.

Another pamphlet, covering a wholly different field from any of our other publications, is "The Economic Foundation of Art," by A. M. Simons. This is printed in an artistic little booklet from beautiful old-style types, and shows how useless are all efforts at artistic workmanship within our present society and how essential it is that all those who are interested in the "arts and crafts" and similar movements should be identified with the political Socialist movement. It is also a fundamental analysis of the relation of art to social and economic life, and thus combines all the features necessary for an educational and propaganda work among those interested in any form of artistic work. Price 5 cents; to stockholders $2.50 a hundred, postpaid.

Books in Press.

"Love's Coming of Age," by Edward Carpenter, is a notable book, treating in a frank and rational manner the important subject of the relation of the sexes in the past, present and future. Nothing is more certain than that the economic changes now in progress will inevitably cause corresponding changes in marriage and sex relations, and we know of no writer who has discussed the subject in a manner so deserving of attention as Edward Carpenter. Our edition of this book is now in press and will be ready for delivery about April 20. The book will be handsomely bound in extra cloth. The price, including postage, will be $1, to stockholders 60 cents.

About the same time we shall bring out "The Last Days of the Ruskin Commonwealth," by Prof. Isaac Broome. The author was a member of the colony, and while far above the intellectual level of the Ruskin colonists, he was and is far removed from the aims and philosophy of scientific Socialism. For this very reason this book, which exposes the general rottenness of the famous colony, is all the more valuable testimony, since it bears unwilling witness to the truth of the view held all along by international Socialists of the futility of colony schemes. It is bound in cloth and illustrated with sixteen full-page engravings. Price 50 cents; to stockholders 30 cents, postpaid.

Books in Preparation.

Other important works are practically ready to put in the hands of our printers, and will only be delayed until the necessary capital can be subscribed. First among them should be mentioned a translation by

Ernest Untermann of the "Origin of the Family, the State and Private Property," by Frederick Engels. This is one of the classics of Socialism and has already been translated into nearly every civilized language except English. Ours, however, is the first English translation, and every American Socialist will surely want the book as soon as it appears. It will be published in the Standard Socialist series at 50 cents.

We have just concluded an arrangement with Robert Blatchford, the author of "Merrie England," for the American rights in his forthcoming work, "Britain for the British." The title of this work might have been equally well "America for the Americans," since its object is to show how in every civilized country there is a small owning class "in useless luxury and pernicious idleness" and a large working class in a state of "drudging toil, of wearing poverty and anxious care." The book is a much stronger one than "Merrie England." It will be published in paper at 25 cents and in cloth at 50 cents, subject to the usual discount to our stockholders.

Another important work is a translation of the new history of the German "Social Democracy," a review of which appears on another page.

Capital Needed.

To bring out this literature without delay we need a rapid increase of our capital stock. The low price at which we are supplying books to stockholders makes it necessary to raise the first cost of the plates of each new book by stock subscriptions.

About 400 shares of stock at $10 each still remain for sale. The money realized from this will enable us to extend rapidly the list of standard Socialist works offered to our stockholders at cost, and also to reduce our prices to a scale even lower than the present one. No profit from the sale of Socialist literature by this company goes to any individual. The officers as well as the employes are working for what their labor would bring in the market, and in fact the officers have hitherto gone without part of their wages to help supply the capital needed to extend the company's work. A certain amount of interest is still being paid on borrowed capital, but the rapid increase of stock subscriptions should soon enable us to save this item of outlay and apply it to the increase of our stock of books.

Do you want to increase the Socialist vote in your own town, city or State next fall? The way to do it is to scatter Socialist literature from now until election, and the way to get the greatest amount of literature for your money is to join in our co-operative plan. Ten dollars is all that is required to make you a stockholder. If you have not already received the booklet entitled "How Socialist Literature Is Published," ask for it and it will be mailed to you.

CHARLES H. KERR & COMPANY, Publishers,
56 Fifth avenue, Chicago.

THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW.

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A Farmer's Criticism of the Socialist Party.

I WAS formerly a Democrat, but becoming thoroughly disgusted with the policies of Grover Cleveland's last administration, I joined the Populist Party and had the honor of being nominated for its standard bearer in the gubernatorial campaign in California of 1894. I adhered closely to this party until it was sold out to the Democracy of this State in 1898, by a few unscrupulous politicians, in order to secure a few minor positions on the State ticket of that party.

Since that time I have acted independent of all party lines, as a "free lance," endeavoring to harpoon every political crocodile that dared to lift its head above the miasmatic swamps in which are sunk the remains of the two "grand old parties," that have so manifestly outlived their usefulness.

The signs of the times clearly indicate that political power is passing out of the control of these two antique relics, and in the unsettled state of the public mind at present the political future of this country seems to me to present an unsolved problem, simply hanging on contingencies.

Whether or not the Socialist Party shall gain definite and lasting headway in the confusion of ideas prevailing at present, depends absolutely upon the policies it may outline in its platform. I have read largely of Socialist literature within the last four years, endeavoring to do so without partisan bias, and from such reading, and a critical examination of the "Immediate Demands" and resolutions on Socialism and Trades Unionism, I am of the opinion that there is no reasonable hope of any considerable affiliation of farmers and other conservative elements of the country with the Socialist movement with its present policies and declarations.

It seems to me that the only possibility of such an association lies in the elimination of some things from the "immediate demands" of the Socialist Party, and a modification of its position

concerning Trades Unions. From the present form of these declarations it would seem that the whole intent and purpose of the Socialists is to promote the interests of labor organizations only.

While said organizations are important and exercise large political influence because of their concentrated power, nevertheless, in my opinion they will utterly fail of success in gaining control of either state or nation, on the basis of the demands and resolutions referred to, because of the maintenance of the central idea that Trades Unionists and Socialists constitute all there is of humanity worth preserving. If through any political upheaval, amounting to a social revolution, against the tyranny imposed on the masses by plutocracy, the Socialist Party should gain the ascendancy, with its present program, the party would speedily perish in the ruts of its own digging. No party or doctrine can long endure that is not equitable and just in the sight of man, conceding to every human being the rights and immunities claimed by itself.

Only in a general way is any class in the land, other than labor organizations, included in the benefits proposed, except in the last part of the "Negro Resolution," which declares:

"That we, the American Socialist Party, invite the negro to membership and fellowship with us in the world movement for economic emancipation by which equal liberty and opportunity shall be secured to every man and fraternity become the order of the world."

Now the negro is by nature and disposition a farmer, and nine out of ten of them will probably never be anything else. So it would seem, by implication at least, that in framing this resolution, the intention was to include in this category all farmers of whatever race, without regard to color or previous condition of servitude.

The chief fundamentals of the Socialist Party plan seem to be embodied in the second section of the "Immediate Demands," which reads:

"The progressive reduction of the hours of labor, and the increase of wages in order to decrease the share of the capitalist and increase the share of the worker in the product of labor."

This declaration seems to be in harmony with the conceptions of the average Trade Unionist, which position he is certainly entitled to maintain. But if he desires associations with other classes of people, for the furtherance of legislation looking to this end, where is the incentive for the farmer, artisan and small trader to join their fortunes with the Socialist Party.

It must be manifest to every candid mind that such "shortening of the hours of labor and increased pay" of the Trades Unionist inevitably increases the cost of production, and as a corollary must increase the cost of the product to the consumer. Now the farmer is not a producer but a consumer of products protected by the American tariff system and co-operative labor organizations. Consequently the farmer buys his supplies in the dearest markets of the world, and sells his products in the cheapest markets of the world in direct competition with the servile and pauper labor of Europe, Asia and Africa.

Where, then, are the farmers to gain any material benefit by joining with the Trade Union forces on the platform promulgated by the Socialist Party? The farmer, especially the grain farmer, is, in consequence of his competition with the pauper labor countries, coupled with the fleecing he receives at home under the tariff, continually growing poorer, and more dependent on the money changers and grain sharks. Therefore, in his distress, he is willing to join any party that can offer any tangible basis on which these evils can be abolished.

But it is human nature—usually chuck full of prejudice against every creed and calling not of his own persuasion—for everyone to hang on to his own dogma until convinced against his will that something better is offered him. As a farmer of forty years' standing, it seems to me that the Socialist Party, with its present policies, offers us no remedy for the grievances of which we complain.

Then, again, it is declared in the resolution on Trades Unionism, that "The exploitation of labor will only come to an end when society takes possession of all the means of production for the benefit of all the people. It is the duty of every trades-unionist to realize the necessity of independent political action on Socialist lines, to join the Socialist Party and assist in building up a strong political movement of the wage-working class, whose ultimate aim and object must be the abolition of wage-slavery and the establishment of a co-operative state of society, based on the collective ownership of all the means of production and distribution."

Here is Bellamyism pure and simple; that the government shall own all property, land and the products of labor, and that all the people of the nation shall be its employes, absolutely subject to the will and directions of a central government.

The first objection I have to such an arrangement is that a central power in possession of all the means of production is absolute master of the direction and destiny of the people, and once possessed of such power such a government inevitably becomes an irresponsible despotism, holding its citizens in subjection by the iron hand that always follows concentrated power.

Secondly: I object to this plan of government, because it in-

evitably destroys all independence of individual action and love of country, for there can be no patriotism in any country where there are no homes founded upon title deeds. Socialism may grow in the countries of Europe, where on the average not one man in fifty owns a foot of land. Tenantry is hereditary and the conception of anything better is foreign to the common mind, and it seems that the highest conception of civilization and independence yet reached in those countries is the changing of the system of serfdom at present prevailing from individual landlordism to that of a governmental control of all the means of production. But in this country the love of title deeds to homes is inbred among the people.

It is true that such homes, in consequence of unjust burdens imposed upon the masses, are largely passing into the hands of the speculator and plutocratic money changer, which process will ultimately culminate in the worst revolution ever known, unless some equitable solution of the difficulty can be reached.

The genius of our institutions is the home-builder, where the family may be reared independently of landlords in any form. It seems to me that serious consideration of this subject should cause the abandonment of such undertakings, for in my opinion the party that advocates the transfer of all lands and other property to the government, in trust for the people, will never be trusted by the people with the reins of government so long as the love of liberty and independence has a lodgment in the land.

If the Socialist Party will leave off its extreme views and adopt a platform of principles seemingly tangible and intelligible to the ordinary understanding, there will be a prospect of all the toilers of the nation, in whatever calling engaged, joining its ranks and working for the party's success.

It seems to me that a majority of the farmers of the nation would accept and support a platform of principles taken almost wholly from the Socialist Party "demands," as follows:

1. The public ownership of all means of transportation and communication and all other public utilities, as well as of all industries controlled by monopolies, trusts and combines.
2. A graduated income tax.
3. A graduated land tax.
4. The inauguration of a system of public industries, public credit to be used for that purpose in order that the workers be secured the full product of their labor.
5. The education of all children up to the age of 18 years, and State and municipal aid for books, clothing and food.
6. Equal civil and political rights for men and women.
7. The initiative and referendum, proportional representation and the right of recall of representatives by their constituents.
8. State or National insurance of working people in case of accidents, lack of employment, sickness and want in old age.

On these propositions the conservative elements of the nation are substantially agreed, including a majority of the farmers.

Containing, as it does, the Initiative and Referendum, Proportional Representation and Imperative Mandate, it gives to the people absolute control over all legislation, and consequently power to shape the government in any direction as a majority of the electors may determine.

These planks, coupled with Graduated Income Tax and a Graduated Land Tax, eminently just and salutory, should certainly justify the most exacting within the bounds of equity.

J. B. Webster.

The Socialist Party and the Farmer.

Here is a position which offers a fair challenge and an excellent criticism of the Socialist Party, platform and propaganda from the point of view of the members of the largest wing of the great productive army of the world. Unless Socialists can meet that challenge and answer these criticisms they have no hope of success and no right to expect it.

At the very beginning it must be admitted that many of the conclusions which Mr. Webster draws are perfectly logical ones considering the information which the Socialists have sent out concerning their position and principles. Socialists themselves are responsible for the fact that a reader of their literature naturally gains the idea that the Socialist Party is largely a Trade Union Party, or at least, that it is interested only in the welfare and future of the industrial workers. It is a rather grimly humorous situation when nearly 45 per cent of the producers of this country are forced to hunt through a resolution on the "Negro Problem" to find any consideration of their interests: The only just criticism I can make in reply is to point out that he has allowed himself to be confused by the presence of the "Immediate Demands" on the end of our platform and has come to consider them as constituting the complete statement of the Socialist position. The tail is evidently so prominent as to conceal the whole animal. Even for this mistake it is hardly so much Mr. Webster who is to blame as the Socialist writers and propagandists. In the light of the majority of Socialist literature and the "demands" and "resolutions" to which he refers, he is largely justified in jumping to the conclusion that the expressions "working class, "workers," and "workingmen" refers only to the workers in the great industries. In view of this fact, is it not high time for Socialists to begin to disabuse his mind and those of the millions of workers of which he is a representative, of this impression and to assure him that the laborer, whether he toil in field, factory, mine or office, with plow, hammer, pick or pen, is equally a member of that "Working Class," whose political expression the Socialist Party claims to be?

All these workers are equally dependent upon the privately owned means for the production, distribution, transportation, storage and marketing of goods, and suffer alike from the exploitation legalized and perpetuated by our present class owned and class directed government. Nor is it true that even while capitalism lasts there is any such opposition of interests between the farmer and the wage-worker as Mr. Webster claims. I believe that a moment's thought will convince him that the farmer is really much more of a producer than a consumer of the products of industry, and that even at the present time he will be materially benefited by the high wages and shorter hours which the Socialist seeks to secure for all workers, including the farmer.

A careful reading of the Socialist Party platform (not the Immediate Demands) will show that the future of that party does not "depend absolutely upon the policies it may outline in its platform," at least not in the sense in which Mr. Webster uses the words, as meaning the particular "planks" in which it sets forth any intermediate steps. The success of the Socialist Party depends much more upon the progress of economic development than upon its success in framing "vote-catching" planks. The one great and fundamental difference between the Socialist Party and all other political parties is to be found in the fact that its one basic "demand" or "plank" is that the present class rule of capitalism must give way to a government of, by and for the producing laboring classes.

But Mr. Webster objects to the coming of collectivism as the next social stage, and if any great body of the workers really become convinced that this change will not be to their interests its coming may be delayed almost indefinitely. An examination of his position, however, shows that he has confused "state capitalism," "government ownership" or "Bellaymism," as he very properly calls it, with Socialism. Once more it is not Mr. Webster who is to be blamed for this confusion, but rather those Socialists who, for various reasons, have been confusing these very things in their writings and speeches, and it is necessary for us to first cast this beam out of the Socialist eye before we can logically call attention to the mote in the visual organs of our critic. But no matter whether so-called Socialists know it or not, government ownership under a capitalist government is in no way akin to Socialism and the sooner that fact is made clear the quicker will one great obstacle be removed from the path of Socialist progress.

"The co-operative stage of society, based on the collective ownership of all the means of production and distribution," which the Socialists point out is destined to succeed our present competitive anarchy, will be simply an administrative organization of the productive forces of society. As I have covered this whole ground, together with much of that raised in the remainder of Mr. Webster's paper, in my book on "The American Farmer," I will take the liberty of inserting a couple of rather lengthy extracts from that work.

"Just as the feudal nobility gave way as a ruling class to the

capitalists, so the latter will be forced to surrender their domination to the laborers. But under a system of common ownership, all would be owners, and all would likewise be rulers, and the idea of ruling as now understood would disappear.

"Indeed the larger part, if not all, the machinery for ruling would disappear as no longer of any use. Anyone who stops to think for a moment must admit that the main function of the present state, government, courts, officials, etc., is the protection of property and the settling of disputes among property owners. Indeed it is safe to say that 90 per cent of such machinery is used either in assisting the capitalist class to take away the laborer's product, or else in settling disputes among the capitalists as to the final control of what has already been taken. When the government passes into the hands of the producers—the laborers of field and factory—they will have no need of it for any of these purposes. In their hands it will be transformed into a gigantic information bureau that will gather all necessary facts concerning the amount of each product needed for the use of the population, the best localities and the best methods for their production, etc. It will also be used to form the administrative machinery of those larger and more important general industries such as the postoffice, railroad, telegraph, telephone, and perhaps the manufacture of some such staple commodities as iron and steel, that seem to be capable of much more economical operation on a national scale."

* * * * * * *

"The first step must be the organization of the farmers and wage-workers into a political party for the purpose of gaining control of the powers of government. Until this is done and the government is actually in the control of the producers, the farmers and wage-workers are little interested in governmental actions.

"Once that the government is so controlled—once, in short, that the Socialists are in power (and they can hardly be expected to accomplish much before)—they can use that government, state, national or local, in the interest of the creators of wealth. For the first time in history there will be an opportunity for an intelligent choice as to the measures most desirable for the common good. To-day the one question of paramount importance in every governing body is not how can goods be produced with the least amount of human exertion, but how can the largest amount of profits be made to accrue to the capitalist class.

"Whatever action may be taken by a Socialist government concerning the great industrial plants, there will be no need or sense in the forcible expropriation of the average farmer. All that he practically owns is a 'job,' and no Socialist government would want to take that away from him. Whatever land is in the possession of the present government, will certainly not be alienated by any Socialist government. Now it so happens that a large percentage of the very land which would be of most value to a co-operative society is in the possession of the present capitalist government. These lands have been of such a nature as not to be capable of exploitation by the individual farmer and hence have not been utilized at all. This is especially true of the arid lands. Millions of acres of the most fertile land in America lie still untouched by the plow, or even the surveyor's chain, awaiting the time when adequate irrigation works can be constructed. But already private capitalists are seeking to gain possession of these lands that they may use them as a means for the exploitation of a future generation of farmers. They are urging the present government, controlled by their class, to construct irrigation works, whose benefit will accrue only to a few great land-holders. Proper control of river floods will make available vast tracts of alluvial lands, which having been practically created by the community, will at once, without any form of law, become the property of the collectivity. The something over eight million acres of forest land controlled by the present state and national governments, will form the foundation for a future department of forestry. Around every large city there are great tracts of vacant land held purely as a means of appropriating the increased value arising from the toil of others. The owners of this land, even less than the industrial capitalist, have not given the slightest consideration for the enormous values which such possession indicates. Their possession of these tracts, by restricting the expansion of the city, compels the over crowding of the populations in murderous tenements. That a Socialist government would permit this condition to endure for a single hour is inconceivable. The expropriation of these owners will give the territory necessary for the sewage farming described in the previous chapter.

"In each of these various fields of agriculture it would be possible to begin co-operative industry, as soon as the necessary governmental machinery should be in the hands of the workers. As all the most improved methods of production would be used and the entire product would go to the producers, it is evident that if there was any advantage in production upon a large scale, that laborers in these industries would at once receive a manyfold larger return than the "owner" of the little mortgage-ridden farm. Under these conditions it would not be long until such farmers would be anxious for a chance to surrender that shadow of private property in order to grasp the substance of the increased returns of socialized industry.

"How far the process of collective ownership would proceed I cannot attempt to say. I believe that ultimately the greater economy and superiority of collective operation will induce nearly all individual farm owners to ask to share its benefits. Some things at least are certain. No wage laborers would remain upon private farms, when by entering into the co-operative industry they could receive all their labor created. This would at once wipe out the bonanza farms upon the one hand, and on the other would give full opportunity for the sons and daughters of the present generation of farmers to look forward to something more than industrial slavery. The same effect would be produced upon all rented and mortgaged farms. Those who were working upon these would decline to give up any portion of their product, when by going upon the collectively owned farm they could receive it all. The landlords and mortgage owners would find their property of no value because it would no longer have the power to take a portion of other people's product. They would either be compelled to work their farms themselves or surrender them to the collectivity to be operated co-operatively. As the first alternative is impossible it follows that the Socialist government would soon find itself in possession of all the land needed.

"Socialists are bound by no fixed formula, plan or doctrine. Co-operative ownership of capital is advocated only because it is the logical conclusion of concentration and monopoly in industry, and so far as we can see to-day offers the only possible means of abolishing capitalism. If further economic development shall show that there are fields of industry in which concentration is not economical and in which exploitation can be abolished and production furthered by the retention of private ownership in certain instruments of production, such retention is in no way at variance with the principles of the Socialist philosophy. Indeed there are some fields of production in which it is self-evident that such ownership will be retained. No sane man ever dreamed that the brushes of the artist, the pen of the author or the studios in which they will work need ever become public property. The acquirement of the instruments of production and distribution by the collectivity is for the purpose of increasing the product and stopping exploitation and not to satisfy the exigencies of any scheme of social reconstruction."

A. M. Simons.

The Elections in Bulgaria.*

Sofia, March 17, 1902.

Dear Comrade:

In reply to your letter, I take pleasure in giving you the following information concerning the elections in this country:

Our party first entered the elections in 1894. The tyrannical rule of Stambouloff is over. In that first campaign, Comrades Janko Sakyzoff and Nicolas Gabrovsky were elected. Our party did not follow any definite tactics at that time and a little later on, so that the 3,000 votes, or thereabout, which were cast for our candidates did not represent any actual success. During the period from 1895 to 1898 the party succeeded in forming an organization and outlining a plan for independent action. We polled 8,000 votes in the elections of 1898 and increased our representation in the Legislature to six deputies. This position could only be maintained by us when backed up by a solid and determined Socialist organization. Happily this was understood, so that our organizations, which did not exceed thirty in 1897, began to increase and has now reached the number of seventy-six locals with 2,600 members. Simultaneously with this progress a rich literature consisting mainly of translations came into our possession, thanks to the efforts of the Central Committee and of a few individual comrades, especially of the editor, George Bacaloff.

In the elections of 1901 our party fought its own battle and sent only one single representative into Parliament, Comrade George Kyrkoff, who was elected in Slivno, an industrial town. But our vote rose to 10,000. During the last elections, which were held on February 17, 1902, we had everywhere our own independent tickets. Eight seats were won. In Sliven, two: George Kyrkoff, secretary of the party, and George Vassileff, a weaver; in Jamboli, three: D. Blagseff, one of the oldest comrades, editor of the Socialist review, Novo Vreme, Janko Sakysoff, editor of the review, Obeto Delo, and Vladimir Dimitroff, a lawyer; in Tavlikeni, two: Janko Sakysoff and Nicolas Gabrosky, a lawyer; in Syhindol, one: Andre Konoff, a lawyer. This success is due to a strong increase in our votes. The Bulgarian Socialists number now 18,000.

It must be noted here that this is not merely the effect of the active propaganda and agitation of the party, but also of the social and economic situation in this country. We are going through a severe crisis which is clearly resulting in the rapid disappearance

*Bulletin of International Socialist Bureau.

of the small proprietors. On one side rapid proletarisation, on the other gradual evolution of capitalist production. Such is in two words the spectacle presented by our country to-day. Our political parties are mere cliques, thanks to the little developed social relations. Their struggles have no class basis, the only motives being the satisfaction of greed and ambition. In other words, Bulgaria is passing through the period of primitive accumulation of capital, and you know that this accumulation takes place exclusively through theft with the complicity of the government.

We believe that we have arrived at the end of this period. In fact, our young bourgeoisie manifests a desire for a stable government with a precise economic program. They begin to listen attentively when we speak of the economic evolution of this country. They strive to profit by our lectures and to find their right way. But a very great obstacle rises before us: the bad financial situation of the nation caused by the incapability of our rulers and by the spirit of partisanship in our administration. Our debts are the result of their bad administration and of their brainless internal and external policy, which was not in keeping with the resources of this country.

We have a numerous bureaucracy and we sustain a colossal army that consumes more than half of our budget. Besides, our system of taxation is inadequate for the requirements of the State and the mass of the population. A reform of our revenue system is therefore imperatively needed. But it is just this task which our bourgeois parties do not wish to undertake. The uproar which was lately created by the question of the Paris loan shows plainly that they do not care to begin the reform of taxation or any other.

After these explanations you will easily understand the reason of our success. At this moment of social transformation our party is not only acting the part of the proletariat, but is also showing the trend and the utility of social evolution. By constantly showing its class character, the Socialist party helps to define the position of the bourgeois parties and forces them to transform themselves from cliques into social parties. Through its intense propaganda and the constant development of its program our party gives the working class a conscience, and reaches also the small proprietors, craftsmen and farmers. As the latter are the majority of our population, and therefore, of the electors,—we have universal manhood suffrage since our political emancipation,—they flee from the bourgeois parties that have deceived and robbed them, and they come to us.

Of course, our party does not give itself to any illusions in regard to its power and does not rest on its laurels. The most

marked result of our activity is the organization of a party of workingmen who recognize their class interests, and the spreading of our demands among the small proprietors. We have thus created a favorable environment for our future activity within the bounds of social and economic evolution in our country which is just now suffering the pains of growing capitalism.

In conclusion, let me say that our party organ is the Rabotnitchesky Vestnik, edited by Comrade Gabriel Geiorguieff. This year it had an edition of 3,000 copies. We also publish a labor almanac every year, 30,000 copies of which were recently distributed. Fraternally,

The Secretary-Treasurer,
G. Kyrkow.

(Translated by Ernest Untermann.)

Natural Selection Under Socialism.

WHEN man's struggles for social and political justice shall have been crowned with success, when over the face of the earth there shall dwell not one hireling, not one soul in fear of a master, when the future of the humblest man shall have been made as secure as that of the society of which he is a part and when our circling planet shall have become wrapt in the profound and lasting peace and concord of a world of brothers and comrades, there will still remain the antagonism between life, on the one hand, striving ever to maintain, expand and perpetuate itself, and the eternal cosmic forces working unceasingly though unconsciously for its extinguishment.

Whatever has had a beginning must have an end. The favorable conditions under which life arose on this planet, the favorable conditions under which it has maintained itself to this day and developed in its highest form into "a creature looking before and after," these favorable conditions, while they may no doubt continue for a length of time which measured by present human historical standards seems almost infinite, must within a period which to the geologist and the physical astronomer is but as the shadow that flies, completely pass away.

Already the existence, in their present numbers, of the populations inhabiting civilized countries and the enjoyment of the conveniences and comforts which have become necessities to them, is dependent upon the conquests made by man in the domain of brute nature, is the result of recent inroads of the conscious upon the territory of the unconscious.

This war between thought and matter, between man and the cosmos, has in the course of the past century, gone, it must be said, most favorably for our side. Many, indeed, seem to think that our victory is now complete. "Nature," they say, "has at last become the slave of man. It has been forced to disclose its jealously guarded secrets. It has surrendered the keys of its mighty treasure houses and like a shorn Samson it now toils submissively but faithfully at the treadmill of the modern Philistines. With the speed of light it transmits our messages to our friends across the seas and with the shoulders of an Atlas it carries the billion-tonned burden of our mighty commerce. Like the gods of old, we say, "Let there be light," and behold, it "causes the night to disappear while the very sounds of our voices it jealously preserves to future generations. We are the new Aladdins of the lamp of science and we have invoked the genii that shall forever serve us. So let us eat, drink and be merry, for we have nought to fear."

This, without doubt, is the optimistic spirit generally prevailing and far be it from my purpose to act the part of a mere alarmist. But forewarned, says the proverb, is forearmed. Doubtless as we walk along the commercial thoroughfares of our great cities and behold the twenty and thirty storied structures of steel and marble, dedicated to human service and the product of human ingenuity; as we contemplate the manifold wonders and achievements of modern science and invention, we are impressed with a feeling of pride in our race and of confidence in its stability. We feel a buoyancy which the young man feels whose life is just opening out before him and who sees his future tinged with the rainbow hues of success and happiness. Yet, looking at all this in the cold, dry light of science and philosophy; viewing it externally, as it were, and as if from some far-off planet, what do we behold? That man is, after all, but an insect, generated and sustained by the escaping energy of a distant orb, a mere by-product of solar waste, and possessing as his home and the full stage for his activities, the bare surface of a speck of dust floating in a shoreless abyss of stars and constellations. We see that compared with the great universe of which he is a part and the mighty forces against which he must contend, or rather against which it seems hopeless for him to even attempt to contend, man is an ephemeron, an accident in the scheme of things, an episode in the drama of existence, a bubble in the cosmic whirlpool and a bubble that must ultimately dissolve into the stream of substance whence it arose.

But on the other hand, to us who are the atoms composing that bubble, nothing in the universe, not even the universe itself, can be so precious as that very bubble. Indeed, that bubble is the universe risen to life and self-consciousness, and to increase the iridescence and lengthen the period of existence of that bubble must be and should be the supreme object of human endeavor. Human life is the summation of all life and of non-life. The existence of humanity is the purpose, in so far as there can be said to be a purpose, for existence in general. If then the most important thing for the race is to see to its own preservation and to the increase of its power of self-preservation society is justified in taking all necessary measures for that purpose, while it would, on the other hand, be impolitic and lamentable in the extreme for it to undertake to nullify or act counter to any natural law or tendency already existing, the effect of which is to increase the self-preservative power of society and of the individuals composing it.

Now the forces external to life and by which life is conditioned, by the very fact that the life of any individual or species is impossible unless there is more or less of an adaptation between

the given individual or species and these forces, constituting its environment, produce of themselves an increased power of the species to resist destruction. Life being gifted with the power of geometrical increase, this, indeed, being an indispensable requisite for its preservation in its less perfect state, it follows that as those individuals of any given species who are least adapted to the conditions of their existence disappear and make room for the increasing descendants of the better adapted, the general average power of the species rises, and as this process of natural selection is continued from generation to generation and its results are cumulative, there is finally produced so great an organic modification in the race as to constitute it a new race superior to the old in life sustaining power.

Men of science are now practically agreed that if natural selection is not the sole factor of organic progress, it is, at any rate, the chief factor, and since the progress of civilization must in a very large measure be proportionate to the organic progress of the race, it is evident that natural selection must continue if progress is to continue.

It is here where Individualists imagine that they find a fatal defect in the Socialist philosophy.

"Natural selection," they say, "implies inequality, which is contrary to the Socialist spirit; furthermore, it implies overpopulation and widely prevailing poverty, for otherwise all could perpetuate their kind. On the other hand, assuming conditions to be made really equal to all, then "population would increase to the limits of subsistence and all would be reduced to an equilibrium of misery, while the absence of the vivifying selective principle would cause general racial degeneracy and ultimately extinction or a return to barbarism."

It must be admitted that this argument, or rather, this seeming argument from biology against Socialism has not hitherto been fully and satisfactorily answered; at any rate, it has not received the attention it deserves, and this is so simply because modern Socialism has not yet completely rid itself of the Utopianism that it has inherited from the older and pre-scientific school of Socialists. While it is true that no economic system of things can be too idealistic or advanced for a society whose citizens have reached the stage of racial or biologic development in which their physical and psychical needs and powers are fully in harmony and at no point conflict with the given sociologic and economic requirements, it can not be said that human nature as at present constituted, is adapted for or could readily adapt itself to, that exalted form of social life involved in the proposals of the philosophical Communists.

But Socialism is not Communism. It is not Utopianism. Socialism comes as the class rebellion of the workers, risen to a consciousness of their rights and interests, against the class domination of the non-working owners of the means of life and labor. It comes to establish harmony and order in the production of wealth and justice in its distribution. It comes to give equality of opportunities to all and to each, according to his work. This does not require a change in human nature, but it does mean conditions under which human nature may change of itself and change for the better. It does not require a war against that law of progress by which life has risen from the lowliest beginnings to its present high state of development, but it does mean conditions under which the truly fittest would survive.

It is the object of this essay to show that it is possible, without lowering in the slightest degree the general high standard of living and high standard of earnings that we justly associate with the idea of the Co-operative Commonwealth, and without interfering in the remotest manner with the liberty of the individual in such properly private matters as those appertaining to marriage and generation, to enable the principle of natural selection to work under Socialism so as to promote the steady organic progress and intellectual development of the race and the consequent steady enlargement of the dominion of man over nature and of his power of control over his own destiny.

"But does not," interposes a reader, "does not the 'survival of the fittest' mean the non-survival, that is, the destruction, of the perhaps equally numerous less fit, and if we are thus to have the old brutal struggle for existence to continue in the future society, what is the use of striving to abolish the present system?"

The answer to this is, that natural selection under civilization does not by any means necessarily involve a struggle for existence. There are two forms under which natural selection manifests itself; one, the more primitive form, is, indeed, the struggle for existence and prevails and need only prevail among the lower animals and savages. The other we may here call the struggle for perpetuation, for it is a struggle by the individual to perpetuate, as it were, his ego, his soul, into posterity by means of descendants.

Under the struggle for existence, survival of the fittest (the fittest for the particular conditions) is brought about chiefly by the gradual dying off of the least fit, directly or indirectly from lack of an adequate supply of the necessities of life. Defeat, however, in the struggle for perpetuation need mean nothing worse than involuntary continence and the dying of old age without issue. Thus among beings endowed with the gift of reason and deriving their livelihood through productive activities, there is a

natural check upon over-population and there is no necessity for that "long-drawn agony" which results from the struggle for existence. The great difference between the sum required for self-sustentation, according to the standard of living prevailing at any time, and the sum required for self-perpetuation, that is, for maintaining at the same standard of living a wife and children, affords a ready measure by which the individual may judge whether it is advisable for him to marry and beget offspring or not. As the standard of living among the bulk of the population of any country is measured by their average income and as the average income must at all times be equal to the cost of maintaining a family containing among its dependent members at least two children, since otherwise population would decline, it follows that under civilized social conditions any individual whose earning power is below the average but who is not wholly incapable will always be able to earn sufficient to supply all his own personal needs, according to the standard of living then prevailing.

All this will, no doubt, sound very dreary to the impatient idealist who seeks in Socialism a short cut to the millennium, but evolution does not work by short cuts. The progress of man and civilization, in so far as it is to be enduring, must be the outcome of a slow upward movement, during which the internal structure of the human organism and particularly of the human nervous organism becomes adapted to the external requirements. Developing civilization implies an increasingly complex environment and a more complex environment implies a more complex arrangement and larger growth of the brain cells, that is, greater psychical power in those who are to play their full part in such a civilization. Again, an increase in the power of man over nature, means a deeper knowledge of the laws of nature, both on the part of the race and of the individual; a more widely prevailing inventive faculty; a greater general capacity to co-operate and to co-operate effectively; a grasp of the truths of science that shall be increasingly encyclopedic and synthetic and a science that shall itself be more comprehensive and exact; and all this implies greater intellectuality. It is only our ignorance and lack of brain power which now prevents us from accomplishing tasks that to men of the present generation seem impossible.

If, for example, we understood how to tap the tremendous stream of heat energy constantly falling upon the earth from the sun so as to economically transform a portion of it into but the merest fraction of the equivalent mechanical energy, we could turn the Desert of Sahara into a Garden of the Hesperides, make the Arctic regions a center of empire, travel around the globe with the speed of its own rotation and render impossible the recurring glacial periods which in the past have desolated the hemispheres. With still greater knowledge of the laws of matter and the ether and consequently still greater power we could do still more. We could make the home of man a space of three dimensions, traverse and inhabit in comfort and safety the depths of the seas and the fluid interior of the earth, fly from planet to planet with celestial velocity and, who knows, perhaps even safeguard life from extinction upon the extinction of the solar system itself.

Natural selection is thus indispensable to race progress as well as to race perpetuation. The increasing difficulties with which civilized man will be confronted with the passing of the ages, difficulties such as those arising from the inevitable and comparatively early exhaustion of the coal beds, the coming on of the next ice age, the exhaustion of the oxygen of the atmosphere through the process of combusion so extensively carried on by human agency, etc., as well as the problems that must arise from the desire of men to reach out and to derive from the raw material of niggardly nature the means for a fuller and richer individual and social existence; these problems and difficulties it will only be possible to meet successfully by greater individual power and social co-operation.

But it is not a question whether natural selection is something desirable or not. It is not a question whether it is best that there shall be allowed to develop out of existing humanity a race of geniuses who shall be far more superior to us than we are to the savages of the Andaman Islands. But the fact that calls for recognition is, that so long as the fertility of the human race is such as to cause a constant geometrical increase of population wherever the economic conditions permit (as all statistics prove) and to consequently cause a constant pressure of population upon the standard of living if not upon the bare means of subsistence, natural selection whether it takes the form of the struggle for existence or the struggle for perpetuation must continue. Its workings can not be evaded. But what we can do is to determine the direction in which it shall work.

For example, in the present state of society, it is those having the acquisitive faculty most strongly developed who are the fittest. In a previous epoch the physically strongest and the most cunning were the fittest. At some future period it may be that those who are the most serviceable to society and who by their very nature most capable of rendering service to society who will be regarded as, and who actually will be the fittest to survive and perpetuate the race.

Now were the Communistic form of Socialism to be set up upon the ruins of capitalism, so that every individual would re-

ceive the same income while being under no responsibility in the matter of the maintenance and education of his children, thus withdrawing the prudential check upon the undue exercise of the sexual and philoprogenitive instincts, it is certain, if the experience of mankind and the teachings of science are to count for anything, that population would in a comparatively short time increase to the limits of the natural resources and to the point where the diminishing returns of agricultural land in proportion to the labor and energy expended upon it would so reduce the per capita product of the social labor and the individual's share of the means of subsistence as to make any further increase of population physically impossible because of the death rate rising to an equality with the birth rate.

Under such a system, supposing it were possible for it to maintain itself for any length of time, natural selection would work, perhaps, by the survival of those who could live on least, in other words, it would result in degeneration, or perhaps it would work, as it were, by lottery, but still it would work, save that its work would be of no direct or indirect advantage to the race. It must be admitted that the operation of that other Darwinian principle of sexual selection would here intervene to mitigate somewhat the horrors of a system so contrary to the intentions of nature and so destructive of the conditions of race progress, but we must not overestimate the possible effects of this form of selection in keeping down the birth rate and its power to influence survival.

Sexual selection acts chiefly to prevent the mixture of inferior with superior, but as the less desirable among the females rather than remain single usually content themselves with the company of their equals from among the males, and vice versa, the total number of individuals who must die without issue or with diminishing issue as a result merely of the workings of sexual selection must be insignificant.

The problem, therefore, that presses for a solution and that must be solved if Socialism is to gain the support of that large number, ever growing, who have come or are coming under the influence of the modern philosophy of evolution, is, how to reconcile the principle of race progress by means of natural selection with the Socialist demand for conditions under which the standard of earnings for all shall be such as will not only provide the necessities of life, but also all the comforts and refinements of civilization. It is the problem of how to reconcile the law of population, according to which there is a constant tendency for the standard of living to be pressed down to a bare subsistence and for child labor to be made an indispensable supplement to the labor of adults, with the aspiration of the Socialist for a civilization in which culture, leisure, and beauty and grace of life shall be the portion of all and which shall secure to all the youth of the nation a thorough scientific and technical education so as to enable them to be of the utmost service to themselves and society and to have equal and utmost opportunities of serving themselves and society upon coming of age.

It is required, on the one hand, that overpopulation shall be prevented, and yet that there shall be no intereference by society with the individual's right to act in such a manner as must necessarily cause overpopulation. Again, it is required that those who, through some congenital defect in their nature, physical or mental, are unfittest for the conditions of a complex and developed civilization should tend towards gradual extinction and yet that their guaranteed income shall far exceed the equivalent of the cost of their mere maintenance. These apparently contradictory requirements must be shown to be *apparently* contradictory only, if modern science is to be fully reconciled to and amalgamated with Socialism.

First, then, as to the requirement that overpopulation be prevented. This requirement can be satisfactorily met by social recognition of the natural law that parents must be responsible for the maintenance of their offspring and for the cost of preparing them for the duties and responsibilities of adult life.

Let society as the protector of the weak, insist upon compulsory and complete education for all the young and for their freedom from gainful labor during their minority and let the full cost of their support during that time and of their education be made a first charge upon the income of the parents or rather of the fathers, and it must then necessarily follow that this direct and heavy but perfectly justifiable and natural tax, if it may be called a tax, upon procreation, will make overpopulation practically impossible.

But it is not enough to prevent overpopulation. The qualitative requirements as to the composition of the social units have been shown to be equally important with the requirements concerning their quantity, and here, too, the solution of our problem is to be found by falling back upon the method of nature. Nature's method of race progress is to proportion rewards to merit, merit being interpreted as fitness for the environment. This same method of race progress must be continued in the future if race progress is to continue. The economic reward or income must as the general rule be proportionate to the economic merit or efficiency. In the same measure as one helps society to live (and society does not live by bread alone), so must society help him to live. There must be an inequality of income to correspond with the inequality of efficiency when equality of opportunities and

the right to the full product of one's labor shall have been secured to all.

Now if the less efficient or less productive individuals will be under the necessity of paying out of their smaller earnings, small, that is, as compared with the earnings of the abler workers, but very large as compared with the wages of the exploited proletarians of capitalism; if, I say, they will be under the necessity of paying out of their then relatively smaller earnings the same large amount as the more efficient individuals for the support and education of each and every one of their children, it is evident that the prudential and sexual selective checks upon population, working together, would in their case necessarily act far more powerfully and effectively than in the case of the better endowed. Thus in every generation there would be a constant tendency for the less capable to decline in numbers and for the more intelligent and desirable classes of the population to increase and multiply until this process of natural selection shall in time bring into being a race of men who shall be the worthy heirs of all the ages, the consummation and the flower of Nature's creative labor of evolution; a race of men who shall be fit to cope with those transcending problems upon the solution of which will depend the fate of life in the universe and who when the time will come shall know how to hold their own even amid the wreck of planets and the decay of suns.

It is not expected that the arguments here put forward will at the present time carry weight with any considerable number of the perhaps constitutionally "more advanced" Socialists. Diversity of opinions will continue to exist so long as there shall continue to be a diversity of minds and temperaments, and there will doubtless be contending political parties in the Co-operative Commonwealth as there are contending political parties to-day. It is, however, far from the purpose of the writer to create or accentuate divisions of opinion among Socialists but rather to add one more weapon to the arsenal of our movement and to help shatter the last remaining bulwark of the fortress of Individualism, and in closing, let us say that however we Socialists may differ as to the details about the future society and concerning the minor principles of its organization, we must in presence of the triumphant plutocracy that to-day rides rough-shod over the lives of the millions and crushes out under its brutal heel all the hope and joy of existence, stand shoulder to shoulder in the battle for the abolition of capitalistic despotism and for the establishment of that Industrial Democracy which alone can afford the basis for the development of a higher civilization.

Raphael Buck.

The Municipal Elections in Norway.*

WE have requested from Comrade Olaf Kringen, delegate from Norway to the International Socialist Bureau, some information regarding the last municipal elections in his country, at which women voted for the first time. In a previous letter, published in Le Peuple of Nov. 24, our comrade described the progress of Socialism in that northern country and the electoral system in force.

It was particularly stated in that letter that "the suffrage is restricted, it turns upon the possession of a rather high income, so the mass of the laborers have no vote." This, however, was a mistake. That situation existed before 1898, but since that year, suffrage has been universal for men at legislative elections, and universal for both men and women at municipal elections.

The first time that the Socialists took part in the municipal elections without any alliance was in 1898; they elected 28 Councilmen. Previous to that time, the liberal party had put in some labor candidates, and municipal politics had been generally carried on in a radical fashion. The conservative party had declared for private initiative in everything; it remains so to-day, that is to say, in complete opposition to the Socialist theory. Up to 1898 the liberal party had a two-thirds majority in Parliament, and also a majority in most of the municipalities, while now the power of the parties is approximately equal and the lines between them are not so clearly defined.

At the end of 1901, the municipal elections were held for the first time under the new electoral system (woman suffrage). The first result is that the Socialists elected 150 Councilmen as against 28 three years before.

The total number of Councilmen to be chosen was the same in both cases, so that our gain is absolute. In the principal towns and many of the smaller ones, the liberal party met with a serious reverse, its strength was reduced by half, and in many places a large portion of the gain went to the conservative party.

Christiania, the capital of Norway, with 226,000 inhabitants, which elects 84 Councilmen, is an excellent example of the political transformation brought about by the new electoral system. At the elections of 1898, the voting strength of each of the parties was as follows:

	Seats.
Conservatives	42
Liberals	35
Socialists	7

At the elections of 1901, the result was:

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	Seats.
Conservatives	48
Liberals	16
Socialists	14
Other parties	6

These six seats are held, one by an independent Socialist (whose wife is elected by the Socialists), two others by Councilmen who will vote with the Socialists on the most important questions, two others by Councilmen who support the liberal party and the last by a woman who adheres to the conservative teachings.

It will be seen, says Comrade Olaf Kringen, that the women have, without doubt, handed over municipal politics to the conservative party.

At Bergen, a city of about 70,000 inhabitants, the conservative party retained the same number of seats as before, while the Socialist party more than doubled the number of its successful candidates, electing 16 as against 6. This gain was at the expense of the liberals. These results apply in a general way to the whole country.

The conservative party, as illustrated by the case of Christiania, profited by the new system of voting, especially by reason of the women's votes. There are several reasons for this. In the first place, the woman's vote is conditioned on the payment of taxes; this excludes nearly all the unmarried working-women. Then, again, the women of the ruling class, being less confined by the labor of housekeeping, can get to the polls more readily.

At Christiania the women started a party of their own and elected two members of the Council, while two women were elected by the Socialists and two by the Conservatives. The liberal party did not elect a single woman, and it is generally admitted that this party had but a few women votes.

Among the militant Socialists, the opinion is that as for the great mass of women, the first election will find them on the conservative side, while a smaller body will range themselves with the Socialists and a very few will take an intermediate position; the Socialist forces, however, will increase after the first election and the conservative strength drawn from the women's vote will diminish.

PROVISIONS OF THE MUNICIPAL ELECTION LAWS OF NORWAY.

The law-making power in Norwegian cities and other municipalities belongs to a Common Council, which chooses one-fourth of its members to serve as an Executive Committee ("formandskab"). Ordinarily the Council meets every two weeks to discuss the questions presented to it by the Executive Committee, the members of which sit and vote like other members in the Council. The total number of members is 20 in towns of less than 3,000, 28 in cities from 3,000 to 5,000, and the number increases up to 84 for cities of over 100,000 (Christiania, with 226,000 inhabitants, has 84 Councilmen). All the machinery of the legislative power in the cities is thoroughly democratic.

The following is the law for these muncipal elections, which take place every three years:

1. Right of suffrage for every man fulfilling the conditions required by the national constitution, that is to say, to be a Norwegian by birth or naturalization, to be 25 years of age, and to have resided five years in the country and two years in the city where he wishes to vote.

2. Right of suffrage for every woman 25 years of age, with the same conditions of residence. The other conditions applying exclusively to women are: If they are married, the husband must have paid taxes for the current year; if single, they must have paid taxes on an income of at least 400 crowns ($120). The law adds that if the assessment laws exempt so small an income, or even a larger one, the taxes shall be so collected that the right of suffrage shall not be lost. But in that case only a nominal tax shall be paid, not less than half a crown nor more than two crowns (15 to 60 cents).

The franchise for men, accordingly, does not depend, like that for women, upon a property qualification.

The right of suffrage for both sexes is suspended, according to the constitution, if the voter has received public relief for himself or his family during the year when the election is held. The right is also suspended in case of insanity. Residence at the workhouse does not affect it. Criminals lose their right. It is restored upon request, usually five years after expiration of the sentence.

The population bureau of the municipality has to prepare a list of all the voters. The names of those whose right is suspended are also indicated on the margin, with the cause for the suspension. The names of the voters, men and women, are carried in the list without any request from them. The elections take place every third year, in December. The list of voters must be ready by the middle of September in the year of the election, and must be posted up for the examination of the citizens in the most convenient places (the city hall and the headquarters of the political parties).

The lists are thus posted for four weeks, so that each citizen may examine them and see whether his name is duly included. The errors are then corrected by the magistrate and the Executive Committee of the city in the latter half of October. The

corrected and final list is then posted at the city hall the first of November.

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION.

When a fifth of the registered voters in cities under 8,000, or at least 1,600 voters in larger cities, address a petition demanding that elections be held on the plan of proportional representation, that system is applied. The request must be filed with the electoral bureau before October 15. When this system has once been adopted, no further petition is required for subsequent elections.

1. At the time of arranging for the election, the electoral bureau shall ask the voters to present lists of candidates, according to the proportional system. These lists must be filed with the bureau before November 15.

2. Every list offered must, in order to be accepted, contain as many names, distinct or repeated not to exceed twice, as there are seats to be filled. The list must be signed by at least twenty voters. It is forbidden to sign more than one list or to be a candidate on more than one list.

3. All accepted lists will be announced as official lists. The voters must not make for themselves other lists than those announced and printed as official, but the voter may erase names and replace them by others, or else repeat (but only once) names on the official list, to replace those erased by him. In no case can a name appear more than four times (three times on the official list and once more added by the voter).

The other provisions relative to proportional representation have rather to do with technical points which necessarily belong to the system. It is required that each ticket bear a heading indicating clearly from what political group it is put up.

The proportional system is in force to-day in all the cities and most of the villages. The same law applies to the country villages as to the cities, apart from a few indispensable modifications. The elections in the country take place earlier than in the city. The system of proportional representation is to-day very popular in all parties and is an accepted fact.

The Australian ballot in its most perfect form is utilized in Norway, and it works admirably.

The women, then, are voters to-day, and may be named for municipal posts, but as for national elections we have only reached the stage of universal suffrage for every self-supporting man more than 25 years of age.

Revolutionary Expression.

SOCIALISM whether regarded as a statement, a social achievement, or a habit of thought is the most inclusively revolutionary conception yet presented to the experience of mankind.

We have been so busily engaged with the debris of capitalism that this great realization has escaped too many of us; but the entirety of newness with which we are encircling ourselves will surely produce its own philosophy and art, and a beautiful literature, the last and perhaps least expression of a magnificent life. I offer here only a few of my own faint intimations of a coming mental revolution. The platonic habit of thinking under the dominion of which we still err, may be set aside for a monopsychic habit. The idea or vital principle within each manifestation, now so dear to us, may be superseded by larger and yet larger externalisms outside the private thinker, until individualistic modes of thinking have all followed the individualistic mode of economic production. Even so large a generalization as social labor production may be found hard to understand apart from other socials, and the naturalist, the legalist, the theologist, the laborist may all find their common denominator in the Socialist. The old mental habit of looking for deep things away down out of sight, under the surface, may also give place to a greater wisdom, expecting to find, and the finding of all wisdom on the surface. The old order which laid all things that were designed to endure on rocks, deep and primitive, may be inverted; and nothing that is to endure be suffered to go beneath any surface whatsoever. The wisdom of entire superficiality has yet to be understood. We may see the passing of the profound ideal and the ideal of permanency may, in a true society, give place to the ideal of free contemporaneous expression. Instead of huge stone-pillared edifices laid on vast granite foundations, defying time, being evidences of a stable faith in civilization; such massiveness may yet be looked upon as the builders' egotistic autobiographies of themselves in stone. And the greater wisdom of inviting time's changes on all we do may take its place. A palace of wood may yet bespeak a stronger faith in the dynasty than a palace of stone. And, like field flowers, the beauty of art may enjoy the right of transciency. The will of the people, now regarded by professionals as the very synonym of instability, may come to be the world's eternal social anchorage. Organized labor may become organized will, and money now based so largely on human captive labor, propelled by the organizing mastership, and social power of a few, may

represent the organization of a whole people; so that, instead of being a measure of social need disorganized, it may be the measure of social power organized. As the sacrament of social powers, man's only real estate may yet be its currencies. This, indeed, is already coming; the oil wells of Persia or of Russia no longer mean Persian or Russian possessions; they mean money possessions; they are at the disposal of whatsoever holds money or any other recognized symbol of the international life of the world. The evolution, punctuated by a revolutionary period, or full stop, is not a process which we are permitted to view from an outside standpoint, for, we are all in it, as active and passive persons. As a body of men constituting society we cannot jump out of old habits of government, nor can we as persons leave behind us our old habits of thought. Thus I, for instance, though theoretically a monist, am obliged to think and speak like a man who believes in two universal mental opposites in order to be understood.

For instance, in defining a revolutionary statement, or a statement that is revolutionary, I am compelled to carry in my thought some other statement that is not, or is falsely, revolutionary, compared with which my statement is revolutionary and true; for the word, though it seem entirely absolute, is in truth relative, a mere point in the life narrative and the least significant in itself. In the sense attached to it by conservatives, revolution has no existence in fact, it is but a word; the climax of two lines of statement.

I am forced, though a monist, to assume that there is an active, energetic lie in the world and an active, energetic truth. Consciously and deliberately I deny the former, but unconsciously I know that my mind will go on assuming it because the language I have inherited and the mechanism of my mind work that way. I am therefore a revolutionist who cannot revolt. So I say, bearing this fully in view, that a revolutionary statement is mechanically the whole statement of a truth or of a lie. The lie of the world I assume to be that which is called individualism, a fallacious existence; the truth of the world I find to be that which is called social—or collectivism; and so, looking upon the mental running of all the world's thinkers, I regard them as so many paces taken each day, short or long, in the direction of either of the two points of ultimate expression, either end of the lie, or either end of the truth. That is towards revolution.

Individualism, top and bottom, for instance, when entirely stated, is imperialism in government looking down on the people, and it is anarchy from the people when looking up at the government. In other words, our friends Herr Most and the Kaiser William are the same lie as it happens to be looking up or looking down. While I, opposing both and aiming towards the

obliteration of their lie and the line it moves along, admitting that on both lines there may be good reasoners, do lay the stress of my ultimate statement on the point exactly between both—the heart of democracy. Good reasoning having nothing to do whatsoever with truth, as all reasoning is alike.

Given the point of start, the mind acts as a machine only, and the stronger that mind the sooner and clearer will be its expression of the revolutionary lie or the revolutionary truth; as we so well know in looking at such men as our Mallocks and our Herrons. History always placed the reasoner on its own point of view and gave its own revolutionary expression; and it now points to socialism as the source from which the old problems of right and wrong, good and evil, and the alleged truthing of the mind shall at last be solved.

Dualism required an absolute good and evil for its motors; monism does not; and Socialism will sternly require an all-round monistic philosophy.

Recognizing only the one human life truth of collectivism, and denying the possibility of another force there, I find the source of error to have been our leaning upon the mechanism of the mind as a discerner of truth, whereas it is only a mechanism whose results depend upon its start point. Instead of the lie being an entity, it is but an artificial form set up to produce the mechanical motion of the mind. And it looks to me as if the private property will and that alone has maintained the fake life along whose narrow gauge the human mind befooled has hitherto done its running towards revolutionary expression.

To strike the middle point between the ultimate or revolutionary expression of a lie is not the same as adopting the media via so dear to the shipshod; it is in fact the total denial of the whole as the point of affirmative departure for the revolutionary expression of truth. Not expressing truth as the antithesis of a lie; but finding its point of truth propulsion from the grave of the lie. Thus on the line of morals the individual flowers into two expressions the erring sinner who is always breaking the law, and the infallible pope who has no law to break; the full stop at the end of good and the full stop at the end of bad. How will I find a middle point between these ultimates of a lie for my revolutionary truth to start from. I will say that neither the pope is good nor this woman evil, which starts me with the general affirmation that there is neither good nor evil in one person; which leads me at once to the collective morality and its subsequent modifications. The revolutionary liar now takes a hand at my proposition which he will dualize thus. Virtue is in the collective life; the single life cannot express it; the choice left is either to deny virtue altogether, which the pessimists do (though that is

not the middle in a proposition predicating virtue) or to affirm it of the smallest possible number of persons—plus one. Thus a triangle is formed consisting of the ultra bad one—the ultra good one and the aristocratic three; and individualism drops into aristocracy by the mechanism of the mind.

But is there no more than this; is the mind, as a truthseeker, only a machine? The mind as a truthseeker is automatic, receiving its impulses from sharp, clear-cut utterances of ultimate truth, and kept within the range of truth utility by revolutionary expressions only, for without revolutionary expressions the mind of the race would sink down into the stagnant pools of aristocracy and truth would become either an exile or a despotic, "Thou shalt" having nothing to do with the mind whatever. This, all the pathetic seas of white human faces looking up and looking out from the world through the ages, tell us with moaning, "I was looking, always looking," saith the pale face of all the prayers, "Away from the world, for my law and I know not yet whether it ever came." "How could you offend God with so much praying?" answers the collective life. "Know you not that everything unnecessary is evil; and that prayer economy is as essential as political or industrial economy. Having found out that prayer was the means of accomplishing a given result; know you not that the next thing to be found out was—How little of it?"

The state organizers of praying having the sinister purpose of concealing from sufferers the entirely social and manageable nature of evils, have been themselves buffeted for ages by the revolutionary expression of their own lie. Anarchists and bishops alike have lost confidence in the state (the latter excepted in countries where the church is established by law, and is an episcopal church), faith healers, non-combatants and fanatics of all sorts insisting that heaven is the center of social gravity, insist upon ruling the world out of an ancient book, or, rather, out of their own interpretation of that ancient book. This galled the authoritarians who, in teaching the children that heaven was the true center of earth's societies, never contemplated the chances of the pupils taking it seriously, and looking beyond their instructors for heavenly authority. The ultra faith of the pupils, therefore, begot ultra unfaith in their own teachers; so that a professional prayer to God, one Malthus, a clergyman of the established Church of England, pronounces a great divorce between God and the human race, saying that man can only be saved socially by cutting him off; that there is too much of him; always was too much of him, and always will be too much of him until some means are found of cutting him down to the requirements of aristocracy.

Between these two alleged laws, the law by which everything

is run by an exile God from the heavenly outside, and the wholly godless of Malthus, which makes the battle of life to be only a hopeless struggle between an arithmetical and a geometrical ratio, two clear-cut revolutionary statements of the individualistic lie are reached. Looking between these two ultimates, viz., that God does it all, and the field does it all, what is my point of departure as the other thinker? That the center of social gravity is neither in the heavens nor in the fields, but in that which is alleged to be dependent on one or the other, that is the social itself, that both the fields and the heavens are circumferential to this.

It may be noted by any critic that this statement clothes the lie with as great a polar power as the truth, and so gives to it a fatal respectability.

To this be it replied that while the collectivist in the present proletarian movement towards the state is emphatically a home ruler, a materialist and a ward of the economic lawmaker; yet because this collectivity of his is also economic law maker and political law maker itself, it is evident that the private property basis upon which the individual lie stands must always decrease if the collective life itself be the master fact containing every other fact and thought utterable in words. I am therefore not contending with the lie of individualism as an original thought entity, but with the economic basis of it, private property in things necessary to the equal lives of others. The conflict thus resolves itself into one between two ultimate kinds of property, collective property alone and private property alone. These are not the two ends of one line, between which we are to choose a middle point. Here we have reached the last analysis, and one of these must destroy the other. As an economic process this is accomplished by weight of numbers, or the modern ballot. But prior to that accomplishment what must happen on the intellectual line? A letting go of all unknown for known forces; of all the unattainable, or doubtfully so, for the attainable, and a gathering of all divine law from social sources only. Will this be done deliberately as a device and experiment of the mind to bring about collectivity? No, it will be the net product of an always growing social intellect and of a community conscience. The private profit monger on public life, seeking like all other men the line of least difficulty in doing that which he has undertaken to do, has been teaching and practicing co-operation throughout industrial all society, thus laying the proper material basis for social thought and community conscience. The strenuous man who thinks he believes in competition, that revolutionary paradox and then goes on to prove in business and at home that he will have none of it, adds to his lie a great corollary, that conflict being the law of the personal life, ambition, like a cartridge box, is given to every man to suc-

ceed with. Flatly the collectivist can deny, as I do now, that ambition is the universal passion, the universal passion is to please. This, under false conditions, has led to do evil to please the evil; but in time it will seek, not so much the quality of pleasing as the quantity who are pleased; it will seek the pleasing of the greatest number. This ambition to please and the powerful instinct for organization now being laid so deeply into our social fibre; the social intellect; the community conscience allied with collective property will soon and surely knock the stilts from under the aristocrat egoist of private property. The economical law which eternally forbids any creature to do a thing the difficult way after he has discovered the easier way, presses us all forward irretrievably to more collective production and most collective production, and to the necessary collective thinking, the amenities of collective sharing and the powers of the collective conscience. This has not been a pressure originating with machinery. Machinery was no accident. Sooner or later that was sure to come to this race which does the world's work most easily, for we move ever along the line of least waste, and the least resistance. The revolutionary lie opposing this world truth is the lie of the strenuous life, the lie which tells us that difficulties are the meat and drink which make souls. The race will get along without private difficulties, even if it must get along without private souls; and it may perhaps learn to do with its souls what it has done with everything else, unite them all into one great social quality.

We are no more making our laws but our laws are making our lives as ever they have done. There is a law around us unfolding us into a harmonious expression of itself through our myriads of brains and voices; it is the historical urge that has driven the race from ego to the family and through many other economic and political group units up to the final pair, the two economic revolutionary ultimates, capital and labor. And this law energy around the human family will go on accomplishing itself forever, until class no more shall own class, and all are one.

Peter E. Burrowes.

THE HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES.

In Its Economic Epochs, Reviewed from the Standpoint of Historic Materialism.

TO people who rightfully may claim to represent the intelligence of this nation, the historic philosophy of Karl Marx is no longer a sealed book, since we have two English versions of Frederick Engels' work, "Die Entwicklung des Socialisms von der Utopie zur Wissenchaft"). This work, besides being the most instructive of all contained in English Socialist literature, gives an especially comprehensive and lucid exposition of the conception of history as discovered by the organizer of the International Workingmen's Association.

The theory of Marx presents itself as a philosophical view of the historic process in general, and we shall try to apply this theory as a means to bring about a better understanding of the very forces that are underlying and working out the development of the history of the United States. Put in the briefest terms the formula of the theory in question is as follows:

The economic structure of society, as given in the mode of production of the time under consideration, is the real basis upon which is built not only the political but also the juridical, the moral and religious and the philosophical superstructure—in a word, the entire ideologic superstructure.

The problem before us is to unveil the relations that may exist between the political and other phenomena as they appear on the surface of recorded history on the one hand, and the material and economic forces that are, according to the materialistic conception, supposed to be working at the bottom as the causal potencies in the process of making history on the other hand. In the light of this view we shall especially consider the causal agencies which were instrumental in originating the following great changes and events, namely:

(1) The separation of the American colonies from England and the revolutionary war; the establishment of American independence, and the foundation of the United States;

(2) The rise and decline of political parties, and the reasons of their demands as proclaimed in their platforms; the civil war and its apparent cause;

(3) The further development of the Republican and the Democratic parties; rise and decline of reform movements and parties; the labor movement; strikes and lockouts; spread of trades unionism;

(4) The most recent political development of the United

States; virtual repudiation of the Jeffersonian democracy; rise of an expansion policy that turns to adventurous pursuits on other than the American continents or islands; imperialism—the leading spirit in our foreign policy.

As will be seen from the foregoing propositions we shall confine ourselves in this essay to a consideration of the historical development only as far as the political phenomena of the economic causes are concerned. If thereby the other features of the social superstructure, the ethical and juridical, the philosophical and literary, receive no consideration here, it is due wholely to proper regard to the necessarily limited amount of space the editor of the International Socialist Review can allow the writer. It is obvious also that the same restriction must be observed in the presentation of the matter, as far as it actually goes, and that, accordingly, only a sketch of this entire matter is here attempted.

FIRST EPOCH.

AMERICAN INDUSTRIES UNDER FOREIGN BONDAGE—THE COLONIAL PERIOD.

The history of the North American colonies of England is essentially the history of economic repression on the part of the mother country. Very early the rule of the British bourgeoisie in their American possessions bore the stamp of modern colonial policy, the characteristic feature of which is the attempt to restrain the commercial and industrial life in a new country. In their economic development the colonies were not to advance to a degree that would enable them to supply their wants from their own markets alone; of course, solely with the view of compelling them to buy merchandise from their loving uncles in the old country and thus remain continuously victimized by a foreign system of vampirical exploitation. That such repression policy would become intolerable to the colonists requires no proof, as the pertinent facts are well known to the American readers.

It was a question of life or death for the American bourgeoisie, then in its infancy, to shake off the British yoke. This was primarily necessary only in the domain of commerce and material production, for there alone was it that England's colonial policy was most annoying and was to become finally unbearable to the people of this country.

Or, to express it more pointedly: the pioneer people of our nation had either to break the chains of coercion used by British capitalists, to force them to buy and consume imported English merchandise, and thus free themselves from the economic bondage as decreed by the laws on navigation and regulating trades,

or they would never rise to industrial and commercial independence and be able to advance their own material interests.

"Might makes right." That is the most pointed and accurate expression of an important, historically necessary fact; the condition it describes is an essential feature of the up-to-date social development. The saying is not less true and good because the ideologists of the middle class and the "me-too" Socialists of the humanitarian type so emphatically denounce it, by pouring over it their sickly sentimentalism. At that time, as to-day, the suffering and oppressed masses had but a more or less indistinct idea of this right-making power of might. As it was, the colonists saw themselves confronted by the imposing appearance of a political power used for economic purposes, and it was natural enough that they sought, as an antidote, representation in the London parliament with the object of freeing themselves from industrial dependence. It required the immanent dialectics of the conditions and things to impel the movement beyond the dead point of its originally naive aims and objects, and gradually to develop it to a really revolutionary struggle, in an effort for national political independence. And this political independence was in turn to become a powerful lever for the uplifting of economic independence; it was a mainstay to its protection. It was, in a word, for a great end the equally great means.

However, the leaders of the rebellion did not, at the beginning, see thus far, and that explains their cry, "No taxation without representation." Were this all that they desired, King George III. would have come off cheaply by granting them concessions over whose virtual worthlessness they could not have complained from the standpoint of fairness; for, no matter how liberal the allowance of seats in parliament might have been, the small population of the colonies would not have given the Americans, for decades to come, a sufficient number of representatives to make any effectual opposition against their oppressors, to say nothing of gaining a majority. In short, representation in parliament could not prevent the commercial and industrial activities of the colonies from being choked to death by further taxation and trade regulation from London, nor save them from being curbed to the extent of shutting out competition with the British imports.

And so we see, the slogan of "No taxation without representation" was practically senseless. To reach their goal, the American rebels had to deny the Westminster parliament every power of taxation over the colonies, and at the same time, stop all interference of police authorities in the fields of trade and commerce of the country. Although the rising bourgeoisie was not able to grasp immediately and radically the scope of the ex-

isting conditions it gradually dawned upon them, that in their groping after economic progress, it was just those British uncles who so flatly obstructed their path. The uncles should go.

And now comes the political history and says:

They had to go.

If now we take the sum total of the presentation given above, the contemporary political history easily explains itself as the revolutionary enforcement of purely material interests, that is, the interests of the propertied and ruling classes of that period.

And in perfect accord with the requirements of these interests, the essential contents of the whole political history of the thirteen colonies up to 1789 consists of one great national action, to-wit:

Rebellion against England; War of the Revolution for national independence; forming of the United States of America.

SECOND EPOCH.

COTTON'S KINGDOM AND ITS DECLINE.

"You dare not make war on cotton. No power on earth dare make war on it. Cotton is king."

Cotton, i. e., the interests of the Southern cotton lords; the interests that, for seven decades, constituted the governing power of the country.

The quotation is from a speech made by James H. Hammond, of South Carolina, in 1858, in the House of Representatives. It was a challenge from the Southern feudalism to the capitalism of the North. The former then strode with giant strides throughout the South and over the seas; the latter, still having a foothold only in the Northern States, toddled yet in its first steps.

Aside from rhetorical exaggeration, this assertion of Hammond's was quite correct at the time when it was made, and for two or three years later. Thereafter, however, things changed, and war was made on the cotton interests.

The second epoch in our historical review commences about the middle of the nineties of the eighteenth century, that is, at the time when the employment of the cotton gin in the South had become general, and it extends to the early sixties of the last century when Abraham Lincoln had been elected, and taken office. This election was the last word of a declaration of war on King Cotton's rule which, of course, was in the nature of an economic supremacy.

During this period the manufacturing trades remained in an infantile state of development, where primitive natural economy

still prevailed, and small progress only was made on the lines to the higher stage of the production of goods for sale. There were hardly any manufacturing industries of notable dimensions, and only towards the end of this period did the system of producing merchandise grow to a considerable efficiency. In agriculture, progress was faster, but, it was, at the outset, restricted to the domain of cotton cultivation.

However, looking back to the time before the application of the machine just mentioned, the difficulties then encountered in the harvesting of the product were extremely discouraging. The separation of the seed from the fiber was a very tedious and time-absorbing work when done by hand. So long as this was done by hand, the value of the labor incorporated in the cotton fiber was too high to permit of a satisfactory exchange in money for it. The labor of the slaves, cheap as it was, did not pay under such conditions. Thus, the use of slaves threatened to be confined to the work of domestic servants. For this purpose, however, there were already more than enough negroes in the country; 600,000 in the Southern States and 40,000 in the Northern. If besides using them for harvesting, the South was not also able to employ them in the work of separating the seed from the cotton, then the Southern ruling class were no longer interested in maintaining slavery. It was by one of those seeming paradoxes in the logic of events, that sometimes occur in the history of the world, that destined the inventive genius of a Yankee, Eli Whitney, of Massachusetts, to repair and strengthen the life of an institution, that the North afterwards, with Massachusetts at the head, had to destroy.

The results gained from Eli Whitney's "Cotton Gin" were already in their first consequences of more far-reaching significance than was any other technical improvement up to that time. With a tremendous bound this new machine not only changed the whole method of growing and cleaning cotton, but also that of working this raw material into cotton cloth, etc. And not alone this; the generally prevailing views, i. e., in moral, religious and philosophical ideas, in juridical conceptions, and lastly also in the politics of great centers of population, both in America and England, everything was revolutionized. For, now, with this new machine it was suddenly made possible for the labor of the slaves to produce goods which just met the market demands for a cheap clothing material, and so became salable in enormous quantities. In consequence of this memorable change in the means of production the labor of the slaves now became, what it had not before been, i. e., labor creating abundant surplus wealth for the slave owners, and thus the institution of slavery

turned from a source of disappointment into one of the invaluable treasures of the Southern dominating class.

Cotton cultivation had scarcely begun on a new and extended scale when the home market proved itself incapable of disposing of more than a very small part of the product. But, to make continuous headway in foreign markets, and especially to sell American cotton to the English manufacturers, still another requirement had to be obtained and, when given, had to be protected against certain antagonistic interests. That which the South most urgently needed was protection against—protective policy. She wanted free trade. For, the interests of the cotton planters and shippers imperatively demanded that the American vessels, after having conveyed cotton to Liverpool, should not return with empty bottoms, but be laden with return-freight, and particularly that these should consist chiefly of manufactured goods. In this way the cost of exporting cotton would be lessened by the corresponding expense chargeable to the account of importing industrial merchandise. Accordingly, the interests of the South demanded a free trade or low tariff policy which, like the head of Janus, showed two faces, the laughing face turned to herself whilst the tearful one would look to the North. On the other hand, it was just this factor of industrial return-freight which was responsible for the existence at that time of a mercantile marine that required no subsidies from the government. In short, a high tariff meant utter ruin for the planters and exporters of cotton under the then prevailing conditions. Finally, a battle royal ensued between King Cotton and King Cotton Goods, the latter term being taken to comprise the manufacturing interests in their entirety. In the factory, the labor of the slaves was so inferior to free labor, in skill and attention, as well as in intelligence used, that it could not profitably be employed; especially in the making of the finer grades of goods which alone were suitable for export. Consequently, King Cotton Goods—the manufacturing capitalist, had nothing to lose in the abolition of slavery; but, on the contrary, was compelled to center all his efforts in keeping his rival from further extending his domain; crush out the Southern tendency to free trade, and pave the way to a permanent establishment of the high tariff system.

THE POLITICAL HISTORY OF THE EPOCH—A WAR BETWEEN KINGS.

During the whole of this period, the battles of the political parties seemingly turned only about the question of state rights, but at the bottom of this controversy was nothing but the struggle of the opposing material interests of different classes, in one word, a class struggle. This class struggle was operating as a relentlessly spurring economic impulse to political action. When we see that, in 1792, a law was enacted by Congress, prohibiting the

importation of negro slaves after the beginning of the year 1808, and that this measure received the consent of the Southern rulers, the seeming contradiction is easily explained by remembering the hopeless condition in the production of cotton as it prevailed before the cotton gin came into general use, and that the cotton planters, lacking then the possibility of separating the seed from the fiber without excessive cost, had well nigh lost all interest in the preservation of slavery.

As soon as the cotton gin came into operation, the whole political aspect changed. Thanks to the economic revolution which resulted from the use of this mechanical device, that is, from a new stage in the mode of production, the Democratic-Republican party, afterwards called the Democratic party, had already, in 1800, acquired so much economic power, and thereby, also political power, as to enable it to gain and retain the presidency and a majority in Congress, excepting for two interruptions as to Congress (in 1841 to 1844 and 1848 to 1852). Acting as the political bodyguard of King Cotton, this party managed to defeat every high tariff measure and effectually protect his interests against the commercial policy of the Northern manufacturers. Nor did the people of the North at this time take any stock in the idea of abolishing slavery, save in a few isolated instances. When the Abolitionists, with their purely ideological and humanitarian agitation came forward, it was not only in the South that they were denounced as traitors and unmitigatingly persecuted; even in the North they were driven from the public meeting halls and platforms by furious mobs, and as it happened to Lloyd Garrison in Boston, they many times had narrow escapes from being stoned or lynched. Then, after John Brown and his associates of Harper's Ferry, had been legally murdered by the combined powers of the Federal government and the State of Virginia, what did the Northern people do? What did the Republican party do or, at least, say? Under this name the party of industrial capitalism, the party of the manufacturing interests, had been formed in 1854. The Abolitionists, while they certainly did not fail to give the new party their support, amounted to practically nothing as a component part. So far was the Republican party even in 1860 from sympathy with the victims of Southern-Democratic class justice that their national platform, on which Abraham Lincoln was elected, contains a passage which is unequivocally directed against the invasion of Virginia by John Brown; the sentence reads: "and we denounce the lawless invasion, by armed force, of the soil of any State or Territory, no matter under what pretext, as among the gravest of crimes." Furthermore, when Congress empowered President Lincoln to issue the proclamation of September, 1862,

declaring all slaves in the rebel States as freemen and emancipating them from involuntary bondage, it was nothing more than a tactical measure in warfare. This proclamation was issued under the expressed condition that it should only take effect if the rebel forces would not have given up the fight prior to the date set.

Through the outcome of the war, the final result of this epoch was sealed with the blood of hundreds of thousands of men: it was the victory of the more modern form of exploitation of men by men; it was the ascendancy of capitalism "pure and simple" to the throne of political power; it was the inauguration of a new and higher slave-holding class to the position of the actual ruler of this country.

J. L. Franz.

(To be continued.)

EDITORIAL

The Impossibilist.

Who came first, the "Impossibilist" or the "Opportunist," is as hard to solve as the old problem of the priority of the hen and the egg. Each appears to be but a reaction from the other, and it is almost certain that neither could exist without its antithesis as an "awful example." Still it is not quite true to say, in hackneyed phrase, that they represent two extremes, between which lies the truth. There is no salvation in "meliorism" as such any more than in "extremeism." Only facts and their logical interpretation and consideration are certain, and these lead as oft to what are called extreme conclusions as to those commonly called moderate.

Impossibilism, like opportunism, cannot be reduced to a system. Both have as many manifestations as there are ways of illogical interpretation, insufficient knowledge, or willful overlooking of facts. They are rather tendencies or attitudes to be described than systems to be defined and explained.

At bottom Impossibilism seems to be mainly characterized by a sort of competitive contest as to "who dast go furtherest." In what direction the going is to be done is seldom clear, but from the condition in which many of its followers appear to be, it would seem that they generally went straight up.

Recognizing the absolute necessity and paramount importance of political organization, and disgusted with the disrupting, disintegrating tendencies of "unaffiliated" Socialists and "Socialistic" organizations, they jump at once to the conclusion, first, that the party, and, second, just the particular form of party organization to which they have become accustomed, is greater than the whole Socialist movement. They absolutely lose sight of the fact that the party is but a means to an end and must be altered as the conditions necessary to approach that end alter.

They become, not simply conservative, but reactionary, obstructing all attempts to change the form of organization to accord with economic development. Thus it often comes about that those who constantly and ostentatiously pride themselves upon their "revolutionary" attitude become the greatest obstacles to any forward movement—mere stumbling blocks on the road to progress. Lacking all ability to distinguish between essentials and non-essentials, they cling fast to old forms of activity, organization and agitation long after these have wholly ceased to be effective.

"Municipalization and nationalization have proven to be of little

interest to the laboring class," is the story of the facts. "I will 'go further' than that," says the Impossibilist. "They are a positive injury to the workers," he shouts. He thus throws himself directly into the hands of the great capitalist and helps, as much as he has any effect whatever, to perpetuate capitalism.

Because trade-unions are imperfect in their methods of fighting, and labor leaders are occasionally corrupt, Socialists demand that the methods shall be improved and completed by the addition of political action, and the rank and file made intelligent enough to render fakirs impossible. Again the Impossibilist proposes to "go further" into the air and demands the abolition of unions root and branch, or else wastes his breath in ridiculous howlings about "fakirs." The effect of such tactics being, as before, the exact opposite of that intended. The union members identify themselves, their union and their interests with the officers whom they have chosen, and rally to the support of those officers and the position of the "fakir" is strengthened.

Sometimes this attack on the union movement takes another and perhaps even more ridiculous turn. Having learned the truth that the revolt of the laborers is coming in obedience to their material interests, he "goes further" once more and declares that the worse off the workers are the quicker they will revolt. Having gone so far he soon takes another step, or leap, in the same direction and announces that the condition of the working class is constantly growing worse and that, therefore, the revolt is coming closer. Once again he has become so radical as to be reactionary and (violent Marxian as he usually claims to be) he is all unknowingly championing the long exploded LaSallian fallacy of the "increasing misery of the proletariat."

Such persons always close their eyes to the fact that never yet has there been such a thing as an intelligently revolutionary slum proletariat. It is the fact of exploitation, not the degree of misery, that rouses to rebellion.

Always full of denunciation of the "Utopian" many an Impossibilist has figured out the exact course of social evolution with a detail that makes Bellamy's efforts in those lines appear like the merest generalizations. He always knows exactly what is going to happen and through whom it is coming to pass. Having once settled the course of economic evolution and arranged for coming events according to his fixed program, he is then prepared to compel the facts to arrange themselves in his pigeon-holes.

The next step is the creation and maintenance of an esprit de corps fanatically committed to the aforesaid program. The proper discipline is secured by a liberal application of a club called "muddledom." The undeniable fact that the American Socialist movement shows plenty of places where the application of such a club is necessary makes its use for such ignoble purposes easier.

Once the law is established that whoever does not understand and accept the full truth of Socialism is "muddled" and hence should be cast into eternal damnation, the next step for whoever wishes to grasp the reigns of a little brief authority is to proclaim the muddled character of all save those who accept his "orthodoxy." When this position is grafted upon the spirit of competitive daring already in

existence the rulers can appeal to the "rank and file" with absolute certainly of endorsement and "democratic" vindication.

At this point the majority of American Socialists will find their minds naturally turning toward De Leon and the S. L. P. as an example of the development here traced. But the S. L. P. is to-day little more than an illustration in pathological psychology. It is wellnigh powerless for either good or bad and hence requires no consideration. But these same tendencies are found elsewhere and wherever they are found they deaden and destroy all with which they come in contact.

Believing as we do that the future of American Socialism lies along the line of uncompromising revolutionary tactics, our strongest objection to the Impossibilist and Impossibilism is the aid and comfort which it gives to Opportunism. If once the Opportunist can succeed in forcing his opponents into accepting the Impossibilist position, his victory is assured, as such a position admits of no defense.

This is the real secret of the kindly feeling which many of our Opportunist comrades have shown towards the S. L. P. So long as that party existed as an "awful example" it was their most effective argument against those who oppose all compromise. Now that this the most effective weapon of Opportunism is disappearing, some of the comrades within the Socialist Party seem anxious to supply the deficiency.

This magazine has been designated by the International Socialist Bureau at Brussels as the official American organ for the publication of the bulletins of the bureau. Two of these appear in this present number. These bulletins are only furnished to one publication in each country and are not supplied to the daily press. They will constitute a continuous history of the Socialist movement of the world and taken in connection with our staff of foreign correspondents and our regular foreign department will make the International Socialist Review absolutely essential to anyone who wishes to keep in touch with the whole Socialist movement.

In this connection it might be worth while to say a word concerning the pains which we take to make this side of the Review of the highest possible standard. In the first place we have the excellent staff of foreign correspondents referred to above, and exchange with all the leading Socialist publications of the world. In addition to this we patronize an Austrian periodical clipping bureau with instructions to clip everything bearing on Socialism appearing in any European publication not on our exchange list. In this way we receive about one thousand such clippings monthly. It is probable that nowhere in the world is there a greater amount of regular information concerning the Socialist movement received than at this office. It is this which makes our publication more than almost any other published an International Socialist Review.

Comrade Max S. Hayes has been nominated by Cleveland Typographical Union for delegate to the American Federation of Labor. The election takes place on May 31, and we hope that every Socialist member

of the International Typographical Union will give their hearty support to his candidacy. This is a matter of importance to all Socialists, both inside and outside of that trade, and to all union men, whether Socialists or not. He stands for all that is progressive and vital in both trades-unionism and Socialism, and his election should be made unanimous.

SOCIALISM ABROAD

E. Untermann.

Belgium.

The fight for proletarian emancipation, begun in 1886 with the organization of the Parti Ouvrier and resulting in the introduction of the plural voting system in 1893, is now reaching a critical climax in the agitation for universal suffrage. In spite of the plural system, which gives the clerical party three votes for every Socialist vote, the Parti Ouvrier gained ground so rapidly that the clericals attempted to introduce proportional representation in the industrial centers only, in connection with the plural system, in order to counterbalance the effect of Socialist propaganda. The measure was defeated. Proportional representation was made universal and the clericals were in a worse fix than ever. This much gained, the Socialists devoted themselves with renewed energy to the agitation for universal suffrage.

The introduction of this measure means the end of the monarchy, of clerical rule and of capitalism in Belgium. With one man one vote, the Socialist party alone would be soon strong enough to carry any election. But the end of profits and class rule is to the ruling class synonymous with the end of the world. Therefore they obstinately refuse to make way for a government of the people, even to the point of bloodshed.

The Socialists, true to their traditions, seek to accomplish their aims by parliamentary measures. Not being sufficiently represented in parliament, they need the assistance of the liberals. The latter made their help dependent on the conditions that the Socialists should not declare the general strike, and that the question of female suffrage should not be considered until after the victory of manhood suffrage.

Shortly before the final contest in parliament, the Socialists rallied in national convention to muster their forces and define their position on these questions. Seven hundred delegates attended. It was unanimously decided to drop female suffrage for the sake of winning manhood suffrage first. The refusal of this suffrage by the government was to be answered by the general strike, and the attempt to suppress the latter by force was to mean a revolution. The female comrades sanctioned this plan after a spirited discussion, in which a strong self-reliance and a tendency to mistrust the liberals were shown.

The fight in parliament began. "First the budget," said the government. "First a revision of the constitution," the Socialists. The voting on the budget would be followed by the closing of the session and the postponement of the whole question for another year. The revision of

the constitution before the budget would leave the government up in the air without funds. Both sides were obstinate. The Socialists, assisted the deliberations by public demonstrations, in which from 50,000 to 200,000 inhabitants of Brussels took part. The government replied by threats of bloodshed. Result: Compromise. First the budget and then revision of the constitution before the closing of the session.

The budget was discussed and voted with a few amendments demanded by the Socialists. The demonstrations of the opposition continued. The government distributed ammunition to the troops. And now the old, old tragedy is re-enacted. Concessions to the opposition would mean the defeat of the king, the clericals and capitalism. None will be made, therefore. Nothing will be obtained by parliamentary action. That is a foregone conclusion. Still the farce must be enacted. The discussion begins. The intention to oppose the demands of the people and to use all legal and illegal means for this purpose is plainly revealed. The people grew excited. The police are called out and the familiar trick of provoking the hot-headed is used with the usual result: A few killed and wounded on both sides. The passions are stirred.

Reports of incendiarism and pillage are circulated by the clerical press. The provocations are continued by police agents in such a flagrant manner that even the bourgeois spirit demurs. The whole sinister and foul game played by the reaction in the Paris Commune is re-enacted in all its repulsive details. The purpose still hallows the means, even in the twentieth century. Some Spanish delegates to the Socialist convention are expelled by the "department of public safety." An immense crowd of Socialists accompanies them to the railway station, carrying red flags and singing the Marseillaise. King Leopold happens to return at the same time from his spree in Biarritz. The Socialists surround his automobile and wave their red banners in his face. What a feast for the capitalist press!

The reserves are called out. They sing the Marseillaise and shout: "We will not shoot the people." The regulars are shut up in the barracks, because the government cannot trust them. The Civil Guards attend the meetings in the Maison du Peuple. Only the gendarmes and a few crack regiments are intrusted with the noble task of butchering the people.

The Socialists and liberals are voted down in parliament. The Socialists declare the general strike. Three hundred thousand organized laborers walk out in a body. The wheels of production and distribution stop. More provocations and street riots, in which no member of the Socialist party takes part, except for the purpose of calming the people, and in which the Socialists are singled out as special victims. The funeral of these offers further opportunities for more provocations. Barricades are built around the Maison du Peuple. Prominent Socialists are arrested and attacked by the police. Attempts to release them result in more dead and wounded. Brussels is placed under martial law. Contributions for the strikers come in from all sides, even from the bourgeois element.

In order to leave no stone unturned for the peaceful solution of the crisis, the Socialists appeal to the king. In vain. On the next morning, the front page of "Le Peuple" shows the following headlines, bordered with heavy black: "On massacre a Bruxelles." They are butchering in Brussels.

Yet the Socialists remain calm and dignified, as shown by the following manifesto: "They are murdering in Brussels. They are murdering in the provinces. The government, despairing of arresting the movement for universal suffrage by other means, tries to suppress it by terror and drown it in blood. Comrades! Do not fall into the trap set by the reaction. Don't give your enemies any pretext for bloody repression. We entreat you to be calm and cool, but more than ever we appeal to your energy and to your self-sacrifice. * * * To the bloody and hateful brutality of the police and gendarmes, the working class replies composedly, with the only legal weapon it has left: The General Strike. We ask only for one thing: the abolition of electoral privileges that are a constant violation of justice and of the dignity of the working class. We have sworn to conquer political equality. The hour has come to keep our oath. Onward for Universal Suffrage!"

For the rest we are confined to capitalist press reports. It is said that the Socialists have called the general strike off at the instance of the liberals. That would indicate a continuation of the deliberations in parliament. Later dispatches, however, declare that parliament has been dissolved and that new elections will be held before the question will be discussed any further. We reproduce these reports with due caution.

Germany.

The results of the unemployed census taken by the Socialists of Berlin, now published in the Vorwaerts, reveal an appalling situation. The following figures speak for themselves:

Men unemployed or partly employed in Berlin	48,351
Women	11,287
Men, in suburbs	8,871
Women	1,622
Total	70,131

The unemployed have 47,671 children, those partly employed 50,909 children to provide for, making a total of 168,711 human beings, not counting the mothers, whom the competitive system has left face to face with hunger, cold, disease and crime in this rich and luxurious city which they have helped to build.

The better classes have only sneers and contempt for these sufferers. Their press denounces the census as Socialist swindle. "How many habitual shirkers have you counted in as unemployed?" is one of the smart questions by which the capitalist papers seek to belittle these figures. The statistics giving the numbers of days, weeks and months lost by the unemployed give a plain answer. A glance at the tables shows that an exceptional situation has thrown these unfortunates out of work. The greatest number have been out of work for two or three months, a total of 10,769 men and women in Berlin alone; 13,894 men and women had been idle for one to two months when the census was

taken, and 10,525 for one month; 7,244 had been out of work for four months, 2,210 for five months, and 1,946 for six months, on the day of the census.

Of those partly employed 20,025 lost 12 hours per week, 6,371 lost from 13 to 18 hours per week, 4,409 lost from 19 to 24 hours per week, and 5,824 lost 25 hours and more per week.

There were only 863 men and women who had been idle for more than one year. But even these were old residents of Berlin and could not be classed as tramps. It is plain that such a condition among such a large number of workers is directly traceable to the commercial crisis, not to voluntary idleness. If there are any shirkers in Berlin, the capitalist press will have to look for them in its own camp.

As usual, the scissors of the police have been busy on the ribbons of the wreaths deposited on the graves of the victims of 1848. Some of the most "dangerous" inscriptions were clipped entirely, others were mutilated. "We should be doing violence to the truth," says Vorwaerts, "if we were to tell you that we are sorry for this. If anything is apt to revolutionize the minds, it is this spirit of guardianship working with the mechanism of red tape and assuming the role of Providence. Under the most unrestricted freedom of speech our best speakers would not be able to teach the workingmen their duty as well as the police do with their scissors. While not our strongest adversary, the police are one of the most conspicuous enemies of Socialism. They have done a great deal for us so far, but we like them best with the censor's scissors in their hands."

The Socialist vote in Karlsruhe increased from 2,500 fusion votes in 1898 to 3,299 straight votes in the recent city elections. The combined capitalist parties polled 3,364 votes. "No more compromise for us," writes the Volksfreund.

Socialists in Koenigsberg, hitherto represented by four municipal councillors, elected a fifth councillor with a majority of 100, and missed electing another by a minority of one.

The growth of Socialism in the rural districts is gratifying. Gerdauen (Prussia) had no Socialist votes in 1887. In 1893 it polled 675 Socialist votes, in 1898 3,263, and in the recent after-election to the reichstag it gained an increase of 355. In Marienburg the agrarian candidate won by a majority of 15, the Socialists gaining 500. At the landtag elections in Gera (Reuss) the Socialist candidate, Patzer, won out with 427 votes against 377 capitalist votes.

A Liebknecht monument was unveiled on the grave of the "old man" in Berlin.

Russia.

Revolutionary demonstrations continue in Russia. The majority of university professors and students have no longer any faith in the honest intentions of the government. In all parts of the country agitation leaflets are found. "We shall only get our rights by incessant fighting," so they say. "There will be no academic freedom as long as despotism rules. The transformation of the whole system is the only remedy." A

congress of all students' organizations succeeded in meeting and planning far-reaching measures for Socialist propaganda.

There are signs of mutiny in the army. A conspiracy of high officers has been discovered. The troops refuse to shoot the people. A manifesto of the revolutionary committee addressed to the Russian officers concludes with these words: "Down with the government and court intriguers! Don't kill your brothers and sisters! We trust in you! We believe that your hearts are not devoted to officialdom and that your honesty has not given way to class assumption. We shall meet again! We, in the foremost ranks of the opposition; you, in the foremost ranks of the army that is sent against us—not to exchange blows in fratricidal war, but to clasp hands as brothers and unite in the shout: Down with the clique at court! Down with the reactionary ministry! Hurrah for the Russia of the people!

Siberia is also making strenuous efforts to become civilized. Hardly has Russian autocracy made a step toward Socialism by completing the trans-Siberian railroad, when we are suddenly and agreeably surprised by the report that the Siberian Socialists are also taking a step ahead by organizing a party. The Russian authorities, however, resent this step. We read of wholesale arrests for the purpose of stamping out this organization, which is of necessity a secret one. At the same time the Bismarckian Socialist on the despot's throne and his minister Witte, who built and are managing this railroad, are praised as benefactors of mankind. Yet it is a crime for the proletarian Socialists to save society from the horrors of an anarchist revolution by educating the desperate elements created by this capitalist step toward Socialism.

England.

The English Socialists recently met in national convention, but there were two of them. The Independent Labor party met in Liverpool, the Social Democratic Federation in Blackburn.

The I. L. P. convention, with 109 delegates, adopted the following resolutions: Protest against the abolition of the independent school boards; protest against the Boer war, the concentration camps, and the annexation of the South-African republics; protest against the re-introduction of the tariff system; demand for the extension of the law regarding accidents of labor; demand for the municipalization of the public houses. A motion to unite with the S. D. F. was rejected by 69 against 40 votes. No financial report was made public.

Keir Hardie stated that there was no distinct labor group in parliament, because some representatives of labor were opposed to such a group. In consequence there was no direct connection between trade unions and labor representatives. Bruce Glasier declared that the I. L. P. had made the union men almost identical with Socialists. Would it not be well to talk first about the identity of Socialists?

The S. D. F. convention was attended by eighty-one delegates. The financial report showed an income of £648 and an expense of £440. This does not include the cost of the candidacy of Quelch in Dewsbury, which cost £415. The following resolutions were adopted: Telegram to I. L. P. convention expressing fraternal sentiments and the hope for

a speedy consolidation of the two forces; indorsement of the policy of "boring from within" in the trade unions by 70 votes against 7; participation in the next general elections with at least four candidates. A substitute for the trade union motion recommending the adoption of De Leon's S. T. and L. A. tactics was voted down by 71 against 10.

THE WORLD OF LABOR

By Max S. Hayes.

Glass-blowing machines are being placed in the factory of the American Window Glass Company, in Alexandria, say dispatches from the Indiana glass belt, and when the factory is again placed in operation 300 former employes will be displaced. Window glass workers of this city have been of the opinion that something of this nature was contemplated by the company, and to-day it was made certain by a visit of a delegation of blowers to the factory, which is located two miles from the city. When the men arrived at the factory a board fence twelve feet high confronted them. The big gates were locked and four strands of barbed wire is strung on the top of the fence to keep inquisitive visitors from the inside. An investigation was begun and it was found that five carloads of machinery, connected with the blowing machines, were on a nearby sidetrack. These discoveries dispelled all former doubt, and the window glass blower now knows that he is to come into competition with improved machinery in his trade at the next fire, if not sooner. But the Tribune does not add the fact that the workers of Alexandria, Muncie, Marion, Anderson and other cities are taking political action along the lines of Socialism to obtain control of machinery.

The census figures for manufacturing have been completed for 33 States and Territories, says a Denver paper. They show that the average wages for all laborers in the manufacturing industries were 8 per cent lower in 1900 than in 1890. In these 33 States and Territories 1,004,590 wage earners received an average of $418.48 cents each a year or $1.39 a day in 1890. In the same States and Territories in 1900 1,463,365 wage earners received an average of $387.63 each a year or $1.29 a day. In some of the greatest manufacturing States, where the trusts are most powerful, the decline in wages has been greater. New Jersey's industries paid an average of $2.24 a day in 1890 and only $1.52 a day in 1900, the decline being 32 per cent. On the other hand, the compilation of prices in Dun's Review for last January showed that the cost of living now is nearly 7 per cent higher than 1900, and more than 11 per cent higher than in 1890. The compilation includes food of all kinds, clothing, metals, etc. The average factory worker, therefore, is receiving 8 per cent less wages than in 1890, and is spending from 4 to 11 per cent more for cost of living.

It turns out that the victory gained by union labor in the decision of the Supreme Court of Missouri, to the effect that workingmen have a right to boycott, is rather a barren affair. The case has been in

court for four years, and no injunction was lifted because none had been granted. Summed up, the Missouri case resolves itself into this: If an injunction is sprung against a boycotting union by a lower court, it will require a small barrel of money and four years of time to bring the case to an issue. The bosses would have no fault to find with such a proceeding.

A Pittsburg correspondent writes that in the Monongahela tin-plate mill of the United Steel Corporation the old machinery is being torn out to give place to an automatic device that creates nothing short of a revolution in the tin-plate industry. Under the old system the plate must pass through various machines that are operated by seven men. The new device is to be operated by two men only, and it is expected that they will turn out as much product as 140 men and 20 old machines. The trust officials are very guarded in their utterances about the new labor displacer, but enough information has leaked out to justify the belief that hundreds of skilled tin-plate workers will be thrown out of employment in the near future.

Victory was won by the Socialist Party at St. Petersburg, Fla. In its first campaign it has made a clean sweep, elected Mayor and all other candidates.

Judge Groesback, former Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Wyoming, is reported to have joined the Socialist Party.

New Jersey Court of Errors and Appeals has decided that lower courts have the right to send strikers to jail for contempt where they disobey an injunction.

The new hardware trust is capitalized at $120,000,000 and controls the principal dealers of the country.

Candy manufacturers of the country are forming a huge trust to secure "stability" of prices.

The tube trust is going to dismantle several more mills and centralize its work.

The A. F. of L. during the first quarter of 1902, issued charters to two national bodies, 16 central bodies, 64 federal unions and 30 local trade unions. Considering that during this time 88 national unions were issuing charters to their respective crafts from two to twenty each, it can be readily seen to what extent trade unionism is growing.

Henry Clews, the New York financial authority, wrote to the Milwaukee Daily News, that the trust magnates are overloaded with watered stock, and are only waiting for an opportunity to unload on an unsuspecting public, and when they do the inevitable crash will come.

Milwaukee cooks were injunctioned at the request of a Chinese restaurant-keeper.

The trust magnates continue to reach out for daily newspapers. John W. Gates is reported to have secured possession of the Chicago

Inter Ocean, Morgan is dickering in New York, Senator Clark now owns the six leading paper in Montana, J. J. Hill owns the leading dailies in Minneapolis, St. Paul and Seattle, and other plutes are gradually absorbing stock of daily papers in various cities. As matters now stand, they control the foremost organs indirectly, but they want to own them outright.

A $12,000,000 sash door trust is one of the very latest.

Bakers at Kansas City have been injunctioned.

Walter Thomas Mills, the eloquent Socialist orator, is delivering a series of Sunday lectures, to extend from April 6 to June the 8th, in the Metropolitan Temple, San Francisco. According to exchanges, the house is packed to the doors at each meeting.

The retail grocers' combine of Cincinnati will be capitalized at $3,000,000.

Denver clerks have been permanently injunctioned from boycotting scab stores.

Rev. Lowther has been expelled by the Methodist conference held at Arkansas City, Kan., for "heresy." His real crime was being a Socialist and conducting a Socialist paper.

Strike in the Murphy Varnish Company, New Jersey, owned by Governor Murphy. He pays $12 a week and the union scale is $18. Did any unionist vote for Murphy?

Utah now boasts of a woman Socialist orator, Lucie Hoving, who, the papers report, is speaking to crowded houses in that State, and Idaho.

It is reported that a French tobacco worker has invented a machine which makes the head on cigars after they are rolled and does the work of about a dozen hands.

Injunction has been hurled at the striking molders of Columbus, Ohio.

The Coming Nation has started up again at Rich Hill, Mo.

Tomato canning business is to be done by a $10,000,000 trust.

Because State Organizer Buckley tore the union badge from a scab during the teamsters' strike in Boston, he was sentenced to serve six months in prison. The judge was elected by labor votes.

The U. S. Steel corporation is reaching out for the Monongahela coal trust, the National Steel trust, the tin-can trust and several other important combines. The octopus is getting fat.

In Porto Rico the work of organization is going forward rapidly. Santiago Iglesias, has organized many unions, which have become attached to the A. F. of L, and a labor paper has been established which appears twice a week. There is a big strike on sugar plantations near Monita. Some of the workers unfurled an American flag and started a parade, but were arrested, just as the poor Fili-

pinos were imprisoned for scattering copies of the Declaration of Independence. The capitalistic politicians in control care nothing for "Old Glory," the Declaration of Independence, the constitution or anything else.

A. M. Marshall, of Duluth, one of the main guys in the new $120,000,000 hardware trust, says the labor organizations are responsible for present high prices, and that the new combine was founded in self-defense. Wow!

Brother Morgan, chief organizer of trusts, is getting busy again. A New York dispatch says the Westinghouse, General Electric, Niagara Falls and other electrical combines are to be merged into one huge trust, somewhat after the plan pursued in forming the United States Steel Corporation.

A few years ago George J. Kindel, a Denver manufacturer, started a great "reform" in the shape of an agitation for lower railway rates. Many kind-hearted workingmen joined in the hue and cry against the "blood-sucking, tyrannical corporations," and the capitalists who would be benefited smiled approvingly and said they possessed true civic pride and unselfish patriotism. The agitation bore fruit, and the Denver capitalists made and are making quite a saving and look pleasant. Now the celebrated reformer, Mr. George J. Kindel, is busy again. He is forming a combination of capitalists to combat organized labor, and thus pile up more profits for himself and his class. And the workingman—well, he is very quiet just now. He is wondering whether he was buncoed—whether he is holding the bag. Let him think; it will do him good. Moral: Place not your faith in modern Greeks who bear gifts. They always play you for the sucker.

The American Flint Glass Workers' Union is taking a referendum vote and will undoubtedly adopt a political platform in favor of establishing the Co-operative Commonwealth. "Numerous injunctions issued against labor unions," the preamble declares, "have become in the hands of the judiciary an instrument by which the capitalist seeks to destroy the civil and political rights of the workingman. The fact is our judiciary is but a servile tool in the hands of the capitalists. The workingman can most effectively act as a class in their struggle against the collective powers of capitalism by constituting themselves into a political party distinct from and opposed to all parties formed by the capitalistic class. Formerly the tools of production were simple and owned by the individual workers. To-day the machines are owned by the capitalists. The ownership enables the capitalists to keep the workingmen dependent upon them. The weapon used by the capitalists is the non-representative body, legislators and lawmakers, who are elected by the vote of the wage-earners. They often use the courts to enforce their ends and call on the military. The wage earner must force said weapons from the hands of the oppressing class."

The United Hatters' Association has been sued for $250,000 damages in the United States courts by Henry Roelofs, one of the largest manufacturers of the country, who is being boycotted. Members of the union in fifteen different States are named in the action. The case, having been commenced in the upper courts, will probably serve as a test to determine how far employers can go toward confiscating the funds of the unions and also hold members liable as individuals. Following close upon the heels of the remarkable utterance of United States Judge Baker at Indianapolis, in which he declared he would take the clothes off strikers' backs, Roelofs' move is significant.

A bottle-cleaning machine is one of the latest labor-saving devices. Bottles are run backward and forward automatically in a "bath" of chemical solution, which cleanses them of dregs, labels and tinfoil. They are automatically placed on a dryer, and afterwards delivered to a part of the apparatus called the conveyor. They are then ready for a dip into clean water. One man can attend to the machine, which cleans from 25,000 to 30,000 bottles a day. The bottle-blowers, according to dispatches, will take a longer vacation this year than usual, owing to an "overproduction," and probably in another year or two the vacations will become still longer.

The General Electric Company, Schenectady, N. Y., is building electric locomotives for the New York Central railroad, which are being experimented with on a two-mile track. In a lengthy interview one of the chief engineers says the tests are proving satisfactory, and he predicts that the time is coming when the distance between New York and Chicago will be annihilated in ten hours by an electric train.

Socialist Reason is the name of a neat little paper stated at Fort Scott, Kan.

The employing printers of the country are assessing themselves to create a fund of $100,000 to enable them to make a successful stand against what, at any time, they may consider an unjust demand or a strike on the part of their employes or of the typographical organization of the country.

Russell Sage, the well-known capitalist and broker, is a recognized financial authority. Sage has uttered a note of warning. He sees a panic ahead. He illustrates one feature of industrial combination by considering a factory worth $50,000. This factory falls into the hands of consolidators, who issue $150,000 of stock against it and asks banks to loan $60,000 or $70,000 on the property that would not, in the hands of the original owner, be considered good security for more than $10,000. "Under these circumstances," says the veteran labor-skinner, "a 'squeeze' seems to be inevitable. The clearing house is reporting, from week to week, an expansion of loans far beyond anything that was dreamed of heretofore. This cannot go on forever; yet, from all appearances, the era of consolidation has only set in. A reaction must come as soon as the banks realize the situation. A property is not worth $50,000 one day and $150,000 the next, simply because a company of men, no matter how big and important they are, say so." The "squeeze" will mean the toppling overboard of the middle class, and during the chaos accompanying reconstruction wage-workers will tramp the streets. They vote to uphold the system that makes them suffer.

BOOK REVIEWS

American Communities. William Alfred Hinds. Charles H. Kerr & Co. Cloth, 433 pp. $1.00.

Owing to peculiarly favorable economic conditions, America has been much more fruitful in communistic colony experiments than any other country. With the disappearance of these favorable conditions most of these communities have disappeared and there is little talk of attempting the establishment of new ones. The time is therefore at hand when their history can be written and studied free from the controversial spirit which infected all discussion of such projects a few years ago. In Mr. Hinds we seem to have secured just the proper man to write the history at this opportune moment. To a lengthy residence in one such colony he has added personal visits and investigation of many others and an exhaustive examination of all literature relating to the subject, thus securing exactly the sympathetically accurate knowledge so essential to the successful historian. The work is extremely exhaustive, covering very many colonies of whose existence the general public is wholly unaware because, while they were often larger and really more important than better known ones, they did not have the sensational features which gave the others their notoriety. Some of these less known ones, like the Ephrata colony near Reading, Pennsylvania, which was founded in 1732, have had a continuous existence of over a century. The Shakers organized their first community in 1787 and to-day have fifteen communities, with a total membership of about one thousand, and property valued at a million and a half of dollars, but now seem to be in process of dissolution, with sufficient assets, however, to provide for the support of all their members during their lifetime. Here, too, is told the story of the extensive experiments of Robert Owen in America, in which he expended many thousands of dollars and left scarce a trace behind him. In this work also is to be found the most complete and authoritative account of the famous Oneida Community, which, after demonstrating to its own satisfaction at least, the desirability and practicability of its social and economic theories, gave way to the public opposition which its practices had aroused and reorganized as a corporation, with some co-operative features, and as such has been extremely prosperous. The author has followed out in detail the influences of Fourier and Cabet upon the social and economic thought of America and the extensive efforts that were made to realize the dreams of these greatest of the Utopians. It is useless to discuss here the reasons that led to the downfall of the majority of these experiments

and the present decline of practically all colonies. According to the residents in the colonies it was generally some particularly worthless and quarrelsome scoundrel who made all the trouble, and but few of them ever realized that the very fact that the colony could be disrupted by personal difficulties simply showed that the colony form of organization cannot outcompete competition, and that therefore other forms of social organization are better "fitted to survive" in that environment. If communism or collectivism is to succeed it must be in a communist or collectivist environment, hence in this case it is the environment, i. e., the competitive system, that should be made the point of attack. One of the most striking things brought out in this study is the remarkable longevity of the residents in those colonies whose existence was of sufficient length for a generation to come and go. Of the Amana Community, founded in 1842, and having at the present time over 1,700 residents and a rating of AAA1 in the commercial agencies, we learn that "one member died recently at an age of over 100 years. There are now two members above 90 and about 25 above 85;" and this in a community by no means composed solely of adults, but having, on the contrary, 469 children under 15 years of age. Of the Oneida Community we learn that "many lived to over four score years, and 22 died between 85 and 96." But the most remarkable record of this sort is to be found in the history of the Mt. Lebanon and Hancock societies of Shakers. A mortality table given of these two communities shows that 53 members lived to be 90 or more, while single instances are given of deaths at the extremely advanced ages of 98, 99, 100, 102, 108 and even 120 years. Compare these figures with the mortality of any New England town having an equal population and much better medical facilities, but where workmen are "worn out" at 45, and some idea is gained of the fearful sacrifice in human life demanded by the Moloch of competition. The work is copiously illustrated with full page cuts of buildings and scenes in the various colonies and, taken all together, is the most valuable contribution to the history of the Utopian phase of American Socialism ever written.

Principles of Western Civilization. Benjamin Kidd. 538 pp. $2.00 net.

The thesis of this book is contained in the following quotation from the opening chapter: "Our attention throughout the course of human history has been concentrated hitherto on the interests of the individuals who for the time being comprised what we call society. Yet what we are now brought to see is that the overwhelming weight of numbers, as of interests, in the evolutionary process, is never in the present. It is always in the future." Evidence to support this thesis is drawn from the fields of biology and history. The early work in the field of evolution by Darwin, Huxley, Spencer, and others, was based solely upon a struggle between immediate interests. But the later work of Weisman and others has shown that the thing which really determines "fitness to survive" is not so much present as "projected efficiency." It is because the individual makes for the success of the race that it tends to be perpetuated. The same change of atti-

tude is shown in the field of philosophy. Here the author sees rather a revival of ancient positions than the entrance of new ones. Bentham and Hobbes, together with the founders of the American constitution, based their position upon principles that were supposed to stand outside of and above all present relations. But with the rise of the utilitarian school this point of view was lost and everything was placed in the present. This latter movement, he claims, reaches its culmination in Marx and Nietsche, but as will be seen later on he is far from comprehending the Marxian position. In the field of political history he sketches two epochs in the evolution towards the position which he holds has now been attained. "In the first epoch of social development the characteristic and ruling feature is the supremacy of the causes which are contributing to social efficiency by subordinating the individual merely to the existing political organization. * * * In the second epoch of the evolution of human society we begin to be concerned with the rise to ascendency of the ruling causes which contribute to a higher type of social efficiency by subordinating society itself with all its interests in the present to its own future." In the field of religion he finds in Christianity the first religion which places the interest of the individual in some point beyond the immediate present. All through the Middle Ages he sees in the struggle between the Church and State the effort to make the present dominant by making the rule of religion coincident with the rule of law. They are finally successful and State and Church become identical—combined in an effort to maintain the ascendancy of the present. This condition is broken by the Reformation which again raises to a dominant position something outside the realm of the present state. Out of the long struggles of Protestantism grows the spirit of tolerance, first in religion and later in politics. At the same time the doctrine of competition is running its course. It is now proving to be self-destructive and with the coming of the trust, the world market and international competition threatens to reduce all to the level of the lowest races. Meantime the development of the spirit of toleration and its evolution in the field of politics into party government is giving society a critical social consciousness and it is beginning to govern itself under the law of "projected efficiency," previously described. The working out of all this is summed up on the concluding pages. "The gradual organization and direction through the State, of the activities of industry and production, moving slowly, not to any fixed condition of ordered ease, but towards an era of such free and efficient conflict of natural forces as has never been in the world before, is no dream of excited imaginations. * * * No mind in our civilization has, in all probability, as yet imagined the full possibilities of the collective organization—under the intelligence of a highly centralized and informed intelligence, acting under the sense of responsibility here described—of all the activities of industry and production, moving steadily towards the goal of the endowment of all human faculties in a free conflict of forces." As will be seen, this is but the idealistic side of the Socialist position. The book is good Socialist propaganda, save that he sees the obverse of everything reflected in the mirror of idealism, instead of its actual material face. Of Marx he knows nothing. Of Social Democracy less.

He makes frequent reference to both, but always with the inference that Socialism is identical with State capitalism. But Socialists need not worry about that. So long as he preaches their position he may call it whatever he wishes to ease the bourgeois consciences of his readers. It will be one of the books that will help the breaking up process, and when once the sod is turned Socialists will be at hand to sow other seed. It is an intensely suggestive work for anyone. It is based upon a most careful and extensive research into all fields of thought (save Socialism) and he presents his ideas in a striking, although somewhat bombastic way, that helps to fix them in the mind. He presents many new aspects of old things and the reading of "Western Civilization" is a splendid help in the ordering of ideas.

Under My Own Roof. By Adelaide S. Rouse. Funk and Wagnalls Co. 291 pp. $1.20.

Just a story. That is all. It really has no place in this department, but we found so much pleasure in reading that we break the rule for this once only to say that it is a beautifully told tale of the efforts of an unmarried literary woman to create a home for herself. It is told in just the quietly interesting way that will rest one whose mind is wrought up by social and economic problems. If you are looking for social teachings in the book you will find an excellent exposition of some of the ways in which capitalism breaks up the family, but we doubt if the author is aware of its presence, and if you do not trouble the social teachings they will not trouble you.

Books Received.

Democracy and Social Ethics. By Jane Addams. The Macmillan Co. Citizens' Library. $1.25.

The Social Evil. By the Committee of Fifteen. G. P. Putnam's Sons.

Crime and Social Progress. By Arthur Cleveland Hall. Columbia University Studies in History, Economics and Public Law. Cloth, 426 pp. $3.50.

The Republic of Plato. Book II. Translated by Alexander Kerr. Charles H. Kerr & Company. Paper, 54 pp. 15 cents.

Love's Coming of Age. Edward Carpenter. Charles H. Kerr & Company. Cloth, 162 pp. $1.00.

These books will receive a more or less extended notice in later issues.

PUBLISHERS' DEPARTMENT

Literature for the Campaign.

In November of this year an election of Congressmen is to be held in every state in the union. At the same time many state, legislative and county officers are to be chosen. The conditions are favorable for a large increase of the Socialist vote. What the increase will be depends mainly upon the amount and the character of the literature circulated.

The co-operative publishing house of Charles H. Kerr & Company is organized for the express purpose of seeing that the right sort of literature is supplied. It is not organized for the purpose of making profits; some of its publications are profitable, but the money is used to bring out more literature; no dividends are declared, and no officer or employe draws more than ordinary union wages.

We are therefore in a position to choose the sort of literature to publish that we believe will be the best for Socialism, even though something else might temporarily be more profitable. There is plenty of literature setting forth the alleged beauties of "public ownership" (by the capitalist class) in Glasgow and New Zealand. It is not hard to make converts who give a mild assent to Socialism as defined by Webster's Dictionary and the Encyclopedia Britannica. But when election time comes, such converts do not want to throw their votes away, so they vote for whichever capitalist candidate can talk most smoothly about human rights.

What they need is good constructive Socialist literature, every line of which shall be consistent with the basic principles of Socialism, but which shall be written in good, clear, every-day English, and which shall not say proletariat, bourgeois, class-consciousness and economic determinism more than four times on any one page.

This is the kind of propaganda literature we are looking for. We have found some of it, and on our co-operative plan we are supplying it at prices never before made on scientific Socialist literature in America.

FOUR-PAGE LEAFLETS.

We have started a series of four-page leaflets, each containing three pages of reading matter, with a blank on the last page for printing or stamping in the time and place of a Socialist meeting; below which is an advertisement of the Chicago Socialist and of a few numbers of the Pocket Library of Socialism. Three numbers of the series are now ready:

1. Who Are the Socialists?

2. A Country Where Strikes Don't Fail.
3. Why Join the Socialist Party?

Samples will be mailed free on request; 100 copies for 6 cents; 1,000 copies for 50 cents. To our stockholders the price will be 25 cents a thousand, expressage to be paid by purchaser.

The Madden Library.

In order to meet the demand for a pamphlet so cheap that it could be given away at meetings and yet be permanent and neat in form, so as to insure its being taken home and read, we have begun a new series of booklets and named them after that indefatigable worker for Socialism (even if he does not know it), Edwin C. Madden, Third Assistant Postmaster General, and first American Press Censor. They contain sixteen well-printed pages, and are sufficiently attractive in form to assure their being kept and read.

"What Is a Scab?" by A. M. Simons, is the first number. This has been published in almost every Socialist paper in the country, and there have been continuous calls for its reproduction in pamphlet form. In its present form it has been re-written and expanded to show how the scab in the industrial world exists because of analogous traitors in the political field. But the political scab betrays infinitely greater interests with much less temptation and hence deserves far more condemnation. Every trade union in America should be sown with them.

The second number is "The Class Struggle," by the same author. On no subject is there more misunderstanding among non-Socialists than the "Class Struggle," yet it is the very foundation of Socialist philosophy. This pamphlet will do more to clear up confusion as to fundamental principles than anything now in print. It is written in simple, easily understandable language, yet with scientific accuracy. Just the thing to "start people thinking" and start them right.

The third number is the "Open Letter to Pope Leo," by W. I. Brown, which appeared in the April issue of the International Socialist Review. Respectful in tone, convincing in logic, it cannot fail to appeal to every Catholic workingman. It "fills a long-felt want" and should be circulated in great quantities wherever there are laboring men who are Catholics. A few hundred distributed at the church doors some Sunday will do wonders in introducing the doctrines of Socialism into any locality.

THE POCKET LIBRARY OF SOCIALISM.

The first number of this series was issued in April, 1899, and the edition was 3,000 copies. There are now ready thirty-five numbers, and several of them have reached a circulation of 30,000 each, while nearly all have reached 10,000 or more. The total number thus far printed is about 500,000. Soon after Mr. Madden changed the United States postal laws, the leading Socialist publishers of the United States came to an agreement by which the prices on 5-cent pamphlets should be as follows: Six copies for 25 cents; fourteen for 50 cents; thirty for $1, postpaid; $2 a hundred by express at purchaser's expense. These prices apply to the Pocket Library of Socialism, except in the case of our stock-

holders, to whom the rate is 2 cents a copy, or $1 a hundred, postage included.

Marx's "Capital" to Our Stockholders at $1.00.

Here is an object lesson to make it clear to every buyer of Socialist literature that he cannot afford to remain outside of our co-operative company.

Marx's "Capital" is the classic of Socialism. Every Socialist student wants it and would have it but for the high price. The standard English edition is being sold to-day for $2.50, and the inferior American edition is out of print and cannot be supplied.

We have just sent a cash order to London for 250 copies of the standard English edition, a well made volume of over 800 pages, bound in cloth and stamped in gold, precisely the same book that is being advertised for $2.50. Our price to the general public will be $2 by mail or $1.70 by express; to our stockholders $1.30 by mail, or $1 by express.

Our object in making these low rates is to emphasize the fact that the co-operative house of Charles H. Kerr & Company is not organized to make profits, but to serve the interests of Socialism in general and of its stockholders in particular. Any one can become a stockholder by sending $10 for a share of stock. No dividends are promised, but every stockholder gets the privilege of buying the publications and importations of the company at cost.

It scarcely need be stated that these low prices are for cash only. Every dollar of our capital is needed for supplying the literature needed. We cannot give credit. Our importation of "Capital" should reach Chicago May 30. If you wish to make sure of a copy from the first lot, send your cash order at once.

Address CHARLES H. KERR & COMPANY,
56 Fifth Avenue, Chicago.

THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW.

VOL. II. JUNE, 1902 NO. 12.

THE GENERAL STRIKE IN BELGIUM.

Impressions of an Eye Witness.

THE strike for universal suffrage, which is closing as these lines are written, is, as far as numbers go, the most formidable that ever took place in Belgium. For a whole week more than 300,000 men have left their work for purely political reasons, with the sole aim of showing by a decisive act their wish to do away with an electoral system which is as unjust as it is ridiculous.

It will be remembered that, according to the Constitution, revised in 1893 under pressure from the streets—for in our country clerical despotism is tempered only by riot,—all Belgians 25 years of age and with a year's continuous residence have the right of suffrage, but heads of families, 35 years old and paying a tax of at least 5 francs, free holders, public officials and graduates of educational institutions have a double or triple vote at their disposal, while the "vulgar crowd" enjoys but a single vote.

Our popular speakers are accustomed to characterize this peculiar system by saying that if Jesus Christ returned to earth he would not be a voter in Belgium for lack of a fixed abode, for "the Son of man hath not where to lay his head," St. Joseph, again, the most illustrious of fathers, would have but a single vote, for lack of paying 5 francs of direct tax; but on the other hand, Pontius Pilate would have three votes as an official and Caiaphas three votes as a member of the clergy.

It is then to reduce Caiaphas, Pontius Pilate and the Pharisees to their fair shares that the Parti Ouvrier has taken the field.

For long years already, through innumerable meetings, which have caused our propagandists to be likened to clouds of swallows lighting at once on a given spot, the Socialists have been preparing public opinion. Little by little the other opposition parties have suffered themselves to be carried away by their example. Only a few liberals of the left center,—last survivals of the epoch of repression—still resisted until at the parliamentary debate of March, 1902, on the subject of municipal and pro-

vincial suffrage, they finally rallied or rather resigned themselves to the bringing in of a system which would reduce by considerable their voting strength.

In short, the clerical party was left alone against the whole strength of the democracy, to defend plural voting and bar the way to "one man one vote."

Liberals, Socialists and Christian Democrats rallied with one accord to the support of a proposition for constitutional revision. Uniting their blue, red and green flags, they organized demonstrations for electoral reform in the principal cities of the country. Successively, at Anvers, Ghent, Liege and Brussels, thousands of men marched in line shouting for "S. U." and "R. P.," Universal Suffrage and Proportional Representation.

But it would have been childish to count on these platonic demonstrations to overcome the resistance of the clericals. The Catholic party has too substantial an interest in maintaining plural voting for it to do anything but struggle with the energy of despair against the movement for revision. As its chief, M. Woeste, recently declared in a Belgium paper, for the governmental majority to grant universal suffrage would be suicide.

So, in spite of the opposition of the liberals, whose devotion to the forms of law has no bounds when they have no direct interests in the movements of the street, the Socialists decided to employ other means, and, notably the general strike, to overcome this resistance.

Last Easter the annual congress of the Parti Ouvrier met at Brussels in the banquet hall of the Maison du Peuple. Seven hundred delegates were present from more than five hundred groups. They discussed first, to dispose of it temporarily, the question of woman suffrage, then, in secret session, they considered the means of hastening the victory of manhood suffrage, and passed a vote to the effect that upon the re-assembly of the Chambers, April 8, the Socialists would demand the immediate discussion of constitutional revision.

On the day fixed upon, the motion was upon the point of being made, when the government, which on its part had long been preparing for the battle, took the initiative of itself, proposing what the Socialist left was about to demand, and asked that the debate on revision begin the following week, Wednesday, April 16th.

But as it manifested at the same time the intention of pressing an immediate vote on the revenue measures so that it might be in a position to cut off parliamentary debate at pleasure, the agitation for universal suffrage began that very evening in the streets of Brussels.

Patience for a while longer was urged at a meeting held in

the Maison du Peuple, but the young Socialist guards replied by descending into the street and, after receiving some blows from the flat side of the policemen's sabres, they went to break windows at the houses of two or three Catholic deputies.

During the next few days these demonstrations, in which the mass of the Parti Ouvrier took no part, assumed a more serious character; two or three agents of the police were seriously maltreated; on the other hand the gendarmes and policemen showed their customary brutality and soon a number of wounded were led or carried to the dispensary of the Maison du Peuple.

Meanwhile the agitation was extending into the provinces. In Hainaut, the coal miners of the central region went on strike. Unknown persons, either carried away with excitement or in the pay of the re-actionaries, exploded dynamite cartridges (without any great damage) notably under the window of a Catholic deputy, M. Derbaix.

In the principal cities a crowd, every day larger, waited for the Catholic deputies as they stepped from the parliamentary train, and escorted them to their homes, singing vociferously the Marseillaise, or the Carmagnole, or again the favorite song of the young Socialist guards,

A bas la guerre, sabre et canon;
Vive la Republique!
A bas le roi de carton!

(Down with war, saber and cannon! Hail the Republic! Down with the pasteboard king.)

Strange sight it was to see these representatives of the people escorted to their homes through streets black with people, preceded and followed by a platoon of gendarmes, and surrounded by a line of policemen, with drawn sabres or revolvers in their hands.

One would have thought them, to quote an eye-witness, notable criminals being led to the scaffold.

It may be added that the deputies of Ghent, in whose train ten thousand workingmen walked daily, finally withdrew from their ovations by a temporary change of residence, and established themselves at Brussels till the revisionist debate should be finished.

Here is the story as reported by an anti-ministerial but conservative paper, the Flandre Liberale:

"Accordingly, our deputies, after having played the bully in the streets of Ghent, surrounded by policemen, gendarmes and lancers, decided to take up their domicile for some days at Brussels, their entire families with them. We have indeed in the last few days observed a regular breaking up of housekeeping. A city wagon full of furniture arrived at the railroad platform, watched

by a squad of servants and domestics. At Brussels, they are installed in a sort of caravansary, a "family house," where a dormitory has been established for this interesting community. They seem to have had a delightful time at evening in the parlor of the establishment. One took with him an old violin which had been moulding in its box for a number of years; another took along a game of loto. The ladies bought at Ghent a supply of wool of all colors to make tapestry. We are assured that the gatherings are altogether patriarchal, while awaiting the events which may permit our deputies to regain their respective homes."

It is thus seen that these beginnings of agitation among the working class and the unhappy incidents which had developed at Brussels, had, upon examination, an aspect rather gay than tragic. Thus, the Socialists of Ghent, with that audacious gaiety for which they are noted, proposed to open the campaign for constitutional revision with a grand ball at the immense structure of the skating rink.

But from the end of the week things unfortunately took on another aspect.

On Thursday, April 10, a manifesto of the Parti Ouvrier summoned the laborers to a general strike for the following Monday.

Already, as we have said, the workingmen of the Center, sure of holding out longer than the others, thanks to their higher wages, had taken the initiative and were agitating with numerous processions for universal suffrage. It was under these conditions that on April 11, at Hondeng, the police interfered to disperse the manifestants, and as some resisted, made use of firearms and shot a workingman and an innocent little girl who was on her way carrying milk from house to house.

The next day still more terrible events developed at Brussels.

The militants of the Parti Ouvrier, anxious to avert new massacres, implored their comrades to control themselves and to give no pretext by their attitude, or by their acts, for the bloody method of repression which to all appearance was intended by the government. This appeal had been heeded. The follies of the former days had been stopped. At the adjournment of the Chamber of Deputies a comparatively small crowd was peacably following the Socialist deputies of Brussels who were on their way to the Maison du Peuple.

Suddenly the policemen came up and attacked these peaceable pedestrians with their sabres, and laid hold of the author of this article and hustled him to the police station. But then they began their explanations; the commissioner of police made excuses; the burgomaster himself came up very much put out, and the next instant the astonished passersby witnessed the spectacle of the Socialist deputy and the head of the repression walking out together from the station and starting arm in arm, one toward his hotel and the other toward the Maison du Peuple, which happened to be in the same direction.

As they parted Monsieur de Mot said, "And now we are to have peace, are we not, Monsieur de Deputé?"

"I was about to make the same suggestion to you, Monsieur le Bourgmestre."

Thus everything seemed as if peace had been restored. When evening came on the usual pay-day crowd was cheerfully circulating in the working-class neighborhoods. To prevent too many gatherings, certain militant Socialists had "dragged" the streets near the Maison du Peuple and urged their companions to the suburbs. About 10 o'clock they separated, and if the city had not been in a state of siege, garrisoned and fortified here and there, and occupied by 20,000 policemen, gendarmerie and civic guards, no one would have suspected that there had been trouble, or that more serious trouble still was to burst out half an hour later.

In obedience to the word given out, most of the Socialists had returned home, or were occupying themselves at the Maison du Peuple with the final preparations for the general strike, when disturbances were renewed, in the Rue Haute, the principal artery of the populous quarter of Marolles.

All those who visit Brussels know, at least by reputation the Marolliens, whose strange idiom, a mixture of Flemish and French, seasoned with Italian and Spanish, takes a flavor of its own from the various influences which have formed it or deformed it. Mostly house workers, not accustomed to the discipline of the factory, and only lately reached by Socialist propaganda, too often degraded by poverty or by the use of alcoholic drinks, they are at heart the best fellows in the world, but they have the reputation, somewhat borne out by facts, of having a marked propensity for scrimmages, either among themselves, or with the police.

So it was that the boys from Marolles did not miss the occasion of getting in the front rank in the tussles of the preceding evenings, and while most of the militant Socialists had returned to their homes, they continued to crowd round the Maison du Peuple and defend themselves as well as they could against the charges of the policemen. All at once the gendarmes came up, and instead of dispersing the rioters with swords or bayonets, fired into the crowd. Fievez, the assistant secretary of the Jewellers' Union, had his head blown to pieces by a ball. A workingman in a store, Bourland by name, who was coming out in his shirt-sleeves to buy cigars, was also killed instantly. An old

woman who happened to be on her door-step, had her jaw shot away. More than twenty of those engaged in the demonstration or of the bystanders, wounded more or less seriously, were carried to the St. Pierre Hospital or to the Maison du Peuple.

It was not until the next day, through the newspapers, that I learned of this frightful butchery. I had returned home, convinced that everything was over, at the very hour when the fusillade burst forth, and I shall never forget my feelings when I found myself the next morning at the Maison du Peuple, so full of life the day before, so solemn now, with its curtains lowered, its red flag floating, and in the coffee-room, groups of men and women, weeping at once with pain and rage.

Outside, all was still, but new troubles were feared for the evening, for it is a peculiarity of the riots at Brussels that they break out in some sort at a fixed hour, as if there were a tacit understanding between the rioters and the repressors.

Meanwhile we had to start for the country, three meetings for universal suffrage had been arranged for some time before, outside Brussels, in villages where four or five years before our propagandists were greeted with stones or clubs. Now, on the contrary, our welcome is altogether cordial. When we arrived at Woluwe, more than two hundred country people in glistening blouses were crowding to the place of meeting. The Socialist clarions of a neighboring village sounded their joyful welcome. Many women and children were at the feast, for to them it was indeed a feast, which contrasted sadly with our mourning.

But when we had briefly told them what was passing in Brussels, a procession was formed, silent and thoughtful, to conduct us to the borders of the village, where others awaited us. There, at the summit of the highway of Louvain which, stiff and straight, rises toward the blue heaven like a long wax-taper, blazes forth already the flame of a red flag; there are the people of Saventhem where the second meeting is to be held.

At the appointed hour, seven or eight hundred listeners are grouped around the place, opposite the wall of the burying-ground, behind the old church that contains one precious work, the Saint Martin painted by Van Dyck when for the love of a beautiful girl he remained at Saventhem.

A white placard, posted since morning, announces to us that the burgomaster forbids any meeting in the open air, and twenty gendarmes have come from Brussels to reinforce him. But if it is forbidden to speak, it is not forbidden to listen; the order contains no provision against assemblages, and as a Socialist offers us his window, it is from there that we speak to the crowd, without the authorities being able to hinder.

From Saventhem we are conducted to Dieghem, where a third

meeting is beginning, but anxious to return to the city, I jump on a train, and soon find myself at the entrance of the Maison du Peuple, surrounded by civic guards and gendarmes.

After the tragic scenes through which the city had passed, the evening, in spite of all, brought signs of calm, and in view of the fact that the intervention of the militant Socialists was still the best guarantee of peace, it seems that word had discreetly been given to let us alone and to replace the charges of the gendarmes by the friendly exhortations of the members of the Parti Ouvrier. It was in the course of these oratorical negotiations, at the moment when I was conferring with the police, that I chanced to receive half a brick, which was not intended for me, just in the place where the day before the defenders of order had landed several fist blows which were, without any question, directed to my address.

But, apart from a few stones from the side of those making the demonstration and a few sabre-blows on the part of the police, nothing serious developed, and it may be said that from Sunday, April 13, order was virtually re-established at Brussels: during all the following week the civic guards, who were called out each day to watch the Maison du Peuple or guard the Chambers of Representatives, had no other occupation than to swear at those who inflicted such a task on them.

On the whole, it was becoming clear, even to the eyes of those who had had illusions in that respect, that the courage of a handful of men, without arms, or armed only with revolvers, could accomplish nothing against the regular forces enlisted in the service of repression.

As we said at the Maison du Peuple, in the course of these last events, it is either too soon or too late for an insurrection.

Too soon, for in spite of the undeniable and significant progress of Socialist propaganda in the army, we have not yet a right to count upon the soldiers, who, perhaps, would hesitate to obey, but probably would hesitate more to refuse to obey.

Too late, for we are no longer in the time when, as in 1830 and 1848, the insurgents found themselves nearly as well armed as the soldiers whom they faced, and not in a state of absolute inferiority. Now, on the contrary, the disproportion of strength is manifestly overwhelming, and from the instant when those who have the power at their disposal cease to recoil before the moral responsibility for a massacre, the success of street demonstrations becomes radically impossible.

It is principally for this reason that from the beginning of the agitation, the general council of the Parti Ouvrier, understanding the impracticability of an armed revolt, however legitimate it may be, had urged the general strike as the sole means of bringing to

bear on the government a pressure which, while strictly legal, was no less of a nature to inflict considerable injury on those most benefited by the plural voting system.

Overexcited by long waiting, exasperated by the massacres at Brussels and the Center, the working class responded with a formidable throng to the first appeal which was addressed to it.

Beginning with Monday, the strike was almost general in the coal mines. It extended rapidly into other districts, and for the first time in Belgium, in the districts of Charleroi, Mons and the Center, all the workers, even those in the small shops, left their work and according to Mirabeau's word, "folded their arms to obtain justice." In spite of the intense crisis which was on in the textile industries, the workers of Ghent and other Flemish localities allowed themselves to be carried away by the example. In the district of Liege, although exhausted by a recent strike, the stoppage of work was almost complete. At Brussels, a city of home industries and of trades ministering to luxury, there were more than 20,000 who left their work.

In short, during this memorable week, in all the industrial districts of the country and in all the great industries, except the railroads belonging to the State, more than three hundred thousand laborers, accepting the orders of the Parti Ouvrier, gave up their wages, sacrificed their bread, to assert their rights.

Naturally there could be no question of maintaining by individual or collective subscriptions a strike involving so great a number of men, but a fund was started to relieve the poorest and to aid the families of the wounded, the dead and the imprisoned.

Since it was impossible to count on the workingmen, who had voluntarily deprived themselves of their customary resources, appeal was made to the bourgeoisie and through the International Socialist Bureau to the foreign comrades.

This appeal was met and help arrived from France, England, Holland and Austria. The Russian Socialists, although in straits themselves, sent their mite. The Social Democracy of Germany, with its customary loyalty, sent more than 20,000 marks.

Many of the bourgeois liberals on the other hand—and this never happened before in political strikes—subscribed considerable sums. On the other hand, some who were extremely poor gave their "widow's mite," like a teacher out of a position, who wrote as follows: "Comrades—As I am too poor to send you money I am sending you at the same time with this letter my earrings, begging you to sell them. This will be my share for the relief fund of the strikers." It need hardly be added that these jewels, after being put up for sale were restored to her by their purchaser. But this touching sacrifice made a profound impression among the workers. An old Catholic farmer to whom one

of my friends read the teacher's letter cried out, his eyes filling with tears, "if the strikers wish to have my cow, let them come and take her, in my stable; I will give her to them."

If anything was still needed to give an incomparable moral grandeur to the movement it was the calm and the dignity of the working masses during the whole period of the strike. After the violent tumults of the first days followed what was much more impressive, the mighty silence of 300,000 men waiting motionless for the decision of Parliament.

Every evening they gathered in the Maison du Peuple of each city to advise each other of the news of the day. All the speakers were careful to point out that the excessive use of liquor, always dangerous, became particularly dangerous in these troubled times when the least conflict, or folly, might provoke new massacres. More than ever under these conditions eau-de-vie [brandy; literally water of life] deserved to be called "l' eau de mort" [water of death]. At Verviers, the Socialist tavern keepers came to the decision to sell no more gin as long as the strike should last. At Brussels every one observed a sudden diminution in the number of drinks sold. And that fact did not fail to exert a favorable influence on public opinion.

Moreover, the liberal bourgeois, who had at first set themselves against the uprising, began to turn against the government. The attitude of the civic guards, very hostile at first, was sensibly modified after the fusillades of the Rue Haute. The newspapers denounced the odious brutality of the gendarmes. Many heads of industrial establishments declared themselves in favor of the demands of their laborers. One of them in particular, whose men had just won a strike and announced to him their intention of going out again, this time for universal suffrage, exclaimed: "Go it, comrades. I wish, with all my heart, that you may give the government as thorough a lesson as you inflicted on me the other day."

At one instant it looked as if these moral forces might prevail over brute force, and the hopes of the proletariat might be at least partially fulfilled.

On Tuesday, April 15, the liberal left took the initiative of suggesting, in lieu of revision, the dissolution of the chambers, involving a general appeal to the voters. Without committing himself on the merits of the question, the head of the cabinet merely pointed out that the right of dissolution constitutes one of the essential prerogatives of the king. The latter, being personally brought into the case, thus appeared as the final arbiter, the sole judge between the parties. It seemed as if here was an open door to a settlement satisfactory to all.

But the next day the attitude of the clerical party showed clearly a determination to yield nothing and to resist to the end.

It was a sad day. The unfortunates who had been killed Saturday evening were to be buried.

To prevent these funerals taking on the character of a great demonstration, the municipal authorities had decided that they should take place at half past six in the morning. But in spite of these precautions, thousands of workingmen presented themselves, at dawn, at the doors of the St. Pierre Hospital, to which the bodies had been carried.

In a hall which had been cleared for the purpose, the body of Comrade Fievez was laid out. According to what seems to have been the custom of the quarter, the coffin, a poor hospital coffin, was not yet closed, and the head of the dead man was seen, deathly white, his forehead opened by the bullet, his face gashed by the sabre-cuts which the policemen had given him when already in his death agony on the pavement.

The women wept. The father of Fievez sobbed, his face turned toward the wall. The men, at the sight of the butchery, clenched their fists and learned to remember.

The start was made for the cemetery amid a torrent of rain, along the boulevards lined by the houses of the bourgeois, still sleeping. The Socialist deputies of Brussels marched in the first rank, behind a group of police inspectors, each with his revolver displayed on his abdomen, as if they feared an attack. One frightful detail clings to my recollection; the coffin leaked, and every ten steps a drop of blood fell to mingle with the mire trod by the companions of the one who had been shot.

It was under such impressions, revived two hours later by the burial of Bourlard, that we betook ourselves to the Chambers, where at last the debate on revision opened.

It lasted but three days.

The right (clerical party) was in haste to have done with it, cost what it might. The government declared itself against revision, intimating however, for the first time, that at a time more or less near at hand, this revision would become inevitable. M. Woeste, in his turn, used almost the same language:

"If we vote against taking up the proposition to revise the constitution, it is much more from hostility to universal suffrage pure and simple than from love for plural voting. We know that institutions are not immutable. Laws are in a state of change, and if the parties wished to examine dispassionately the electoral problems and to seek a solution different from the one which exists to-day, I am convinced that a great number on our side would join in an investigation.

Significant words in the mouth of one who two months before refused even to examine into the contingency of a constitutional revision.

Thus from a moral point of view the general strike had not been useless, but so far as immediate results go, it did not prevent the rejection of constitutional revision, which took place on April 18, the eighth anniversary of the establishment of plural voting, by a strict party vote of 84 to 64.

We were thus beaten—until next time.

Order reigned in the streets, thanks to sixty thousand bayonets, and the same evening, at Louvain, the only demonstration attempted was drowned in blood: eight workingmen were killed, without preliminary summons, by the civic guards.

On the other hand, the strike, which still increased, was thenceforth fruitless.

The king alone might still have interfered and re-established his popularity by announcing the dissolution of the Chambers; he preferred to act with his ministers, and when all the opposition parties called on him to speak, he remained silent.

It was under these conditions that on the following Sunday, the general council of the Parti Ouvrier, called in special session, had to pronounce for or against the continuance of the struggle.

To prolong the strike after the negative vote of the Chambers would have been to impose upon the proletariat the hardest of sacrifices, to exhaust the reserves of the unions and the cooperatives, to condemn thousands of families to misery, with the certainty of having to return to work in a week or two without having obtained the least result.

To resume work, on the other hand, with as much unanimity as in leaving it, was to give a new proof of the discipline and unity of the workers, and at the same time to preserve intact the resources and the energy needed for new combats.

One after another the delegates of all the district federations expressed their opinions in this regard; it was unanimously, except for one single vote, that the council declared for the resumption of work.

So the strike is ended, but the struggle continues, and only those very ill acquainted with the steadfastness of the Parti Ouvrier could rest under the illusion of supposing the cause of universal suffrage to be compromised in the least by the parliamentary check it has just received.

Our adversaries themselves know well that it is not so, and the Honorable M. Woeste, for example, is too far seeing a politician to feel otherwise than King Pyrrhus, who, when congratulated on his victory over the Romans, replied, "Another such victory and we are undone."

Emile Vandervelde.

(Translated by Charles H. Kerr.)

Thus Spake "Marxist."

THE dilemma of "free will" or "fatal necessity" is one of those grinning monsters of the infinite, that lend to human existence the appearance of a phantasmagoria. It is probably as ancient as human consciousness and has ever agitated the mind of man. Are his acts the expression of his free volition or are they even to the faintest shade of his fleeting thought, the effect of causes absolutely beyond man's control? This problem is classed by philosophers and theologians among the unknowable problems which cannot be fathomed by the finite mind of man. Every philosophy and science has its outlet into the unknowable, merging there its identity, as the waters of a stream are lost in the vast ocean. But science is science for all of that. In the science of Socialism, which embraces mainly the motives and objects of human, mental, and physical activity, the dilemma of "free will" or "fatal necessity" crops up with more persistence than in other sciences. And though the apparent dilemma was never solved by the Socialists, they have reason to claim to have overcome its difficulties. The Socialists contend that "free will" as well as "fatal necessity" are pure figments of the mind and that these expressions connote no corresponding phenomena existing in nature. It may be said that this contention leads also to the inconceivable, but why taunt Socialism for its attribute of finiteness when we know finiteness to be a state of the human mind and characteristic of all other sciences?

It is said that Lassalle chose to unravel the transcendental obscurities of Heraclites the Dark because of the intellectual difficulty of the task. Similar motives must have inspired "Marxist." In his article, "Sociological Laws and Historical Fatalism," published in the April number of the International Socialist Review, "Marxist" attempts to review the "premises of Socialism," to move the corner-stone of Socialism to a new foundation. A noble ambition. We regret only that "Marxist" will have to join not the few immortals who gathered laurels in the task, but the many who reaped thistles.

If the unsparing use of the rod is evidence of affection then great must be the love of "Marxist" for the poor, common Socialist. For with the Socialist "Marxist" never argues—he admonishes. True; he uses terms which may be found to be uniformly hostile and sarcastic, but, no doubt, "Marxist" deems them affectionate. His favorite theme is to expatiate on the dogmatism, fanaticism and intolerant bigotry of the ordinary Socialist. True, the ordinary Socialist is not habitually addicted to anything of the sort, but "Marxist" has decided not to spare severity that the Socialist may be kept in the true path. For he knows

that the ordinary Socialist is potentially capable of being wrong, which is the same as being wrong. And "Marxist" castigates him unmercifully. "Marxist" is at his best when, while soaring in the empyrean regions of his transcendental speculations that know not the limits within which the operations of an ordinary mind are confined, he looks down with pity on the Socialist who still welters in the slough of reason and logic. His style is such that the ignorant say to one another: "He speaks like one having authority." The Socialists have shown faith in the truth of Socialist philosophy. "Marxist" must needs show them the vanity of their hope and fancied security. This "Marxist" did with authority.

Thus spake "Marxist":

1. That the ordinary Socialist is "an orthodox commentator, the rightful successor of the theologian." This by way of introduction, so that the fellow may know his place. For by maintaining——

2. ——that "'history is not made automatically; it is made by men,' he lets in idealism by the backdoor," and "substitutes the reciprocal action of material and ideal factors for the monistic view upheld by uncompromising historical materialism."

3. That "unless the effort of the individual can add something which may effect, be it to an infinitesimal degree, the movement of society, acquiescence in things as they are is the only 'scientific' course of conduct." And further: "A critical mind to be active, must believe that his personal acts are productive of effects, which must fail to materialize if he abstains from acting."

Had "Marxist" stopped right here, it would have been given to an ordinary mortal to understand the purport of his argument. But he goes on to probe the mysteries of the "premises" until he writes himself into the proposition——

4. ——that "we cannot make or unmake sociological laws, but as each 'individual is shaping himself, the actual events of his own biography, so do we all collectively make history,' the composite biography of mankind."

To recapitulate:

The proposition that "history is not made automatically; it is made by men," lets in Idealism and is in conflict with the monistic view upheld by uncompromising historical materialism. Therefore, the monistic view excludes the proposition that history is made by men. Therefore it is a self-evident "monistic view, upheld by uncompromising historical materialism" that "we all collectively 'make history' the composite biography of mankind."

This is certainly transcendental, for it transcends reason and

logic. But "Marxist" does not criticise or prove by reason or logic, but by strength of assertion.

And now that our theory is thus smitten to pieces and the debris brushed aside, another theory is to be created to fill its place. "Marxist" does it offhand, with an ease peculiar to himself.

Here you have it:

"We do not live in abstractions; the laws of social development can unfold themselves to us in no other way than through the accidents of our individual or collective careers. * * * The 'laws of history' are silent on the question whether the main branches of industry will come under public control within twenty-five, fifty or a hundred years; a difference of twenty-five or fifty years is a mere accident, and still the life of the present generation is bound up within that accident. By a conscious application of the ascertained 'laws of history' we may smooth and shorten that accident."

Let us have it clear. The laws of social development do not unfold themselves to us through all the events of our individual and collective careers, but only through the accidents of our individual and collective careers. On the other hand, the 'laws of history' are silent on the question whether the main branches of industry will come under public control within twenty-five, fifty or a hundred years, which "is a mere accident." In other words, the laws of social development unfold themselves only through accidents, while the 'laws of history' are silent on the question of accidents.

An ordinary mortal would have been expected to make it clear what distinction hé draws between the "laws of social development" and "laws of history," and also what is meant by "accident," but "Marxist" is not expected to bother with the limitations of our finite understandings. He asserts and goes on, leaving us the vulgar task of detecting distinctions between and defining the meaning of terms.

We must try to make the best of it.

The events which constitute the accident are either determined by the 'laws of history' and then they are not different from other events, and the accident is not an accident at all, or they are exempt from the operation of the 'laws of history.' But then they must not be events of our individual or composite biography. To what category of phenomena do the events constituting an accident belong? What is an accident? Or, rather, what is an accident not?

It is something not included within the all-inclusive purport and intent of the "monistic view upheld by uncompromising historical materialism." This view holds that economic conditions

are the determining cause and factor of all events of individual or composite biography, and excludes the proposition that any event, economic or psychological, is not a logical sequence of antecedent economic conditions. An accident cannot be due to ideal factors. For any event that may be caused or materialized by and through the will and mind of man comes far less within the definition of an accident than even an event that is determined by material factors.

I think I know where "Marxist" got his theory of accidents. "Marxist" will pardon me for guessing his secret and for giving him away. "Marxist" has evidently lately been doing some archeological researches, and he happened to excavate a happy method of reasoning once used by the geologists that preceded Lyell. It was called the "catastrophe hypothesis," and its easy-go-lucky features must have commended themselves to "Marxist." Everything in the geologic formation or history of the earth which the geologists could not account for they declared to be due to a catastrophe, and herewith dismissed it from further consideration. Anything in history you do not understand? Say it was due to an accident and you are done with it. Why did Christopher Columbus discover America in 1492 and not John Doe in 1902? Accident. Why did the Filipinos rebel during the Spanish-American war and the Porto Ricans did not? Accident.

"No one," says "Marxist," "who is not a believer in the supernatural determination will maintain that it was 'historically necessary' for the Filipinos to have broken out about the time of the Spanish-American war or that 'historic necessity' saved Columbus from shipwreck on his way to America."

There is no "historic necessity" for "Marxist" to be writing articles on transcendental philosophy when hens are laying eggs, but the coincidence is not due to an accident, as the hens lay eggs all the time, regardless of the mental cogitation of "Marxist." The Filipinos were in a state of rebellion most of the time, and it was a "historic necessity" at least to anticipate their uprising during the Spanish-American war. True, "historic necessity" has not saved Columbus from shipwreck. In fact, nothing saved poor Columbus from shipwreck, for the reason that he suffered no shipwreck. Favorable weather and skill in navigation might have helped Columbus to this result.

You can never rely on "historic necessity" to keep things afloat, and I would warn "Marxist" against attempting deep water relying on "historic necessity" to keep him afloat. It is safer to learn swimming. Evidently "Marxist" attempted to account by the theory of "historic necessity" not only for events that happened, but also for events that never occurred.

"The development of the mode of production shapes the minds of men, and the minds of men then reshape economic conditions." This is the theory of the "orthodox commentator," says "Marxist," and it lets in Idealism, which it substitutes for the monistic view.

I think it does nothing of the kind. In fact, man has nothing to boast of in this power of "reshaping conditions" to suit himself, except his consciousness thereof, since he shares this power with all other animal and even vegetable species. "Marxist" was confused by the "Hegelian phrase" involved in the proposition, and failed to recognize the principle of struggle for existence which underlies it. Thick vegetation close to the trunk of a tree is not favorable to its growth. The foliage of the tree excludes the rays of the sun from the area of its shadow and "shapes conditions" unfavorable to the growth of the vegetation beneath. The thicker the vegetation beneath, the sparser the foliage above; the denser the foliage above the thinner the vegetation beneath. The struggle goes on and trees with denser foliage survive. Finally the trees succeed in having the ground beneath the shadow of their dense foliage entirely barren of all vegetation, except the parasitic species. The foliage of the tree "reshaped conditions" so as to make them more favorable to its own growth and density.

I will now introduce a sentient being, a chick. We find it in a state of rebellion against existing conditions. It is in the process of breaking its eggshell. Is not this a complete surrender to Idealism? For the chick, by a sentient, if not conscious, act, destroys the necessary, material conditions of its previous existence, and instead of being confined to the conditions of the interior of an eggshell, it steps out into the conditions of the outside world. (By the way, is not this step of the chick an "accident?" For where is the "historic necessity" for the chick to come out of its egg?) Man in "reshaping conditions" of his existence merely follows in the footsteps of lower forms of life, adding only the factor of consciousness. Does not the "Hegelian phrase" look much more familiar when its dialectics are expressed in terms of natural philosophy? "Marxist's" declaration that he will not join in the procession unless he be shown the reason why is vain. He is in the procession and he cannot get out of it. If he could, he could also upset the world without the fulcrum of Archimedes. Besides, it is inconsistent. For does not "Marxist" always reproach the revolutionary Socialists for not "doing in Rome as the Romans do?" And now he taunts them for unthinkingly "joining in the procession."

"Julian."

New York, May 20, 1902.

The Pastor's "Office."

MY old college chum, Ernst, came to my den last evening to tell me of his call that afternoon on the pastor of his boyhood's church. I had been expecting his coming, for this long-deliberated call was to be for the serious purpose of asking his name to be stricken off from the church roll of membership. We had both, as boys of 14, joined this Church of the Pilgrims 25 years ago, had for a dozen years vented a large and healthy amount of our youthful hustling energy in church and mission activities, had thus won religious honors in college by being elected class deacons, and at graduation we both expected to study for the Christian ministry. But I must let Ernst tell his own story.

"Having telephoned down to the church and found the pastor's office hours to be from 2 to 3 p. m., I appeared promptly, but found several people ahead of me, as always at our doctor's office. Similarly, too, the physician of souls did not appear for some time past his advertised hour, and offered as an apology the impossibility of tearing away from the elaborate lunches at his Imperial Hotel. While thus waiting on the office sofa I recalled distinctly how, during our period of activity in this church, we used to hold our missionary and young people's prayer meetings in this very room. Over on that side, where I always sat, and where I communed silently with my inner heart, or openly in speaking or prayer with other hearts, there now stood a gigantic office safe. Over by the blue and yellow stained glass window, where I never can forget the flood of new emotions as I there led my first prayer meeting and many subsequent ones—there was now domiciled the pastor's large Cutler office desk. Before the green and red rays of the corner window, which used to throw an added religious halo through the romantic atmosphere of our high school sweethearts, appeared now at his desk the cherubic Y. M. C. A. face and fashionable rimless eyeglasses of the assistant pastor. As he passed by our waiting line towards the safe to exchange one large ledger for another he gave us each a business smile of welcome and a vigorous gymnasium-trained grasp of the hand. Adjoining the pastor's desk was the telephone and typewriter with its business-college-trained stenographer. On the book shelves, where our missionary reports and papers used to be, were now long rows of large filing cases indorsed "Choir Expenses," "Treasurer's Receipts," "Delinquents," etc., and one small one entitled "Benevolences." Upon the wall, where used to hang the inspiring pictures of our former pastors, was now a large plan

of the church sittings, with the prices and names of the lessees attached. And to crown all these changes our former motto, "The Lord is in His Holy Temple," was now supplanted by the modern one, "Church life for every one; on safe business principles."

"But, my dear fellow," I interposed, with some of my legal temper for fairness, "don't you know we've provided new and finer rooms for these meetings in the labyrinth of parlors, kitchens and various society headquarters making up the additional wing built onto the church since your day of activity. And then, too, you must remember that you've not kept up with the expansive and progressive spirit of our strenuous life in politics, business and even religion. Your sort of modern Diogenes reclusion as a student of human nature doesn't really keep you 'up to date' now, does it?"

"To that I confess 'peccavi,'(1)" he answered, "but in no contrition, as you well know; rather as a Pharisee, as many better business men would say, or as I hope may be more charitable, in a stoical indifference or even strength in not being strenuously 'up to date.' But don't you, my dear Charles, really think it is a pity that the growing business character of our modern churches has had to demand rooms for such offices, and has thus broken the devotional associations with these prayer meeting rooms and forced them to more luxurious quarters? For it is not larger quarters they needed, in fact I am told these meetings are not as large now as in our youth here, having been largely supplanted by the Boys' Military Brigade. Thus when I watch these ordinary house movings from all necessary comforts of high thinking and feeling to more and more enervating luxury as they are applied to churches also, I deplore this nearly as deeply as when I pass the old gray-stone Methodist church which is now occupied within by the caravan of delivery wagons of the North American Green Grocery Trust and replastered without by the world-conquering nuisance of advertising bulletin boards. I can't understand how people with any serious heart attachments can so lightly dissolve the many associations with such a substantial, venerable and quite comfortable religious edifice while hardly out of range of the now reeking smell of their former Lord's house they build a conglomerate of luxurious brown stone, giddy colored glass, and vulgarly loud frescoes, all of which seem to me more inducive of oriental lassitude than of continuance of the rugged primitive Wesleyan mortification of the world, the flesh and the devil."

"But there, again, my heathen Diogenes, you show your

*(1) "I have sinned."—[Ed.]

ignorance of business principles," I again checked him. "For, as with many other down-town churches, by selling the unearned increment of their church site, they could throw into the trade their old church for almost nothing, and thus buy their new uptown site and build their magnificent building without the members having to contribute a cent. Yet I even must confess that ever since our graduate study in Economics it seems to me unjust that the extra value of luxurious churches above a maximum standard of old-fashioned comfort should not be taxed by the State, which has thus lost this unearned increment of the land."

"But also for the distinct purpose of taxing luxuries for those who want to indulge in religious as well as domestic ones," added Ernst, "while for those who don't begin to have such gay homes there is no such excuse for the civilizing influence of the modern church monstrosities, as I used to feel most seriously for the centuries of edification exerted upon the surrounding hut-dwellers by the grand old cathedrals on the hills of England such as, e. g., Ely, Lincoln and Durham."

"But we've gotten off from your visit at the pastor's office, so tell me more of that."

"Well, while I thus mused on the office surroundings," Ernst continued, "I also heard the interviews of the callers ahead of me. One explained in a Scandinavian accent that he wished to arrange a lecture in this church with his stereoscopic colored reproductions of Masterpieces of Christ in Song and Art. But he was kindly but firmly cut short with, 'Our people don't take to that sort of thing, though I've no doubt you can do well out among the smaller and country churches. If, however, you only had up-to-date pictures of the rebellious little Filipinos, upon whom we've reversed our invocations as our allies to anathemas at their visionary rebellion, you could draw a full house.' As the lecturer withdrew to the small and unbusinesslike churches he ventured to apologize that even if he had a new-fashioned picture outfit of the 'fleeing niggers' he still had an old-fashioned conscience which blinded him to the difference between fighting for the same principles against one sovereign or another sovereign."

"Tut, tut, now," I had to interpose, "don't get off into one of your sentimental 'Anti' invectives; you know as well as all of us in the large churches that the political New Testament of 1776 has had to be revised just like our ethical New Testament."

"But as a critic," Ernst objected, "I acknowledge a progressive refinement of both Testaments on higher ethical grounds, but protest vigorously against their revision by these modern omnipotent 'business principles.' However, not to get sidetracked again I'll not detail the interviews of my other 'preventers'—in the scriptural sense,—only assuring you that they all had

business errands, and come to my own interview. After introducing myself and exchanging our mutual regrets that we had not met before, I went on to tell him that my call was a little out of the ordinary run, that I didn't have any business scheme, but desired to talk over frankly my relationships, which had for some years been in abeyance, to his church. He smiled and in a cheery rising inflection he hoped the relationships were such that we should have the mutual pleasure of their being revived and renewed. 'No,' I had to surprise him, 'I am quite sure they cannot be renewed, and if I am not taking too much of your valuable time I should be very glad to explain the case in order that you and especially some of my old-time friends in the church may not attribute my past or future otherwise riddlesome conduct to any more unworthy motives than the facts warrant.' He seemed uneasy at this prospect of a longer interview, glanced around at a couple of other callers who had come in, answered a call at the telephone and, having dispatched the business of the other visitors at my request and dictated to his stenographer a short pressing note, he returned to my case. So I condensed as much as possible an account of our joining by imitation the church in which we'd grown up, of our Christian activity in meetings, missions and Sunday Schools, and even to pumping the organ (in which post besides the boy-proportionate salary there was added much of religious devotion) until the five or six regular services on Sunday quite dissipated our energies and often our disposition for the real world of Monday morning; how we remained faithful to this high pressure through college and resumed it even amid the usual let-down of loneliness and unpreparedness for any real life on coming home from college. 'Yes,' the pastor interrupted generously, 'I have frequently heard of your and your college chum's wholesome influence as fresh college graduates upon the would-be freshmen of our church in those days, and I've been much concerned at your old chum's cessation of all that Christian activity, although he has staid within the church.' "

"So you got me mixed up in the case," I protested, "for you know I have to keep at peace with all men and can't afford in my profession to be a rebel like you. You didn't tell him of my religious apostacy along with yours, did you?"

"Oh, no, my dear old trimmer," Ernst assured me, "don't worry for your soul's or world's salvation. I only went on telling him how, during those couple of years at home again and when I had the first opportunity of studying what I really wanted to, I somehow got hold of Spencer's Sociology, gradually went through all of this great teacher's works, was led to Fiske and to Darwin himself, and thus into considerable Anthropology; how in this saturation of evolution I fed my heart and poetic ideals on

Emerson, Plato, Wordsworth and Beethoven. Under such influences I found that my theological ideas had gradually and painlessly changed, so that God, Christ and Immortality had been dissolved from the world of evidential knowledge and remained in imagination only as poetical ideals.

"Here the pastor was again called to the telephone and on returning explained,—'Funeral of nice old clergyman, over 80, tomorrow morning, biographical notes for my service to be sent here to the office,—now let's see, where had we got to?' Thus I resumed my having finally conscientious scruples at continuing my Sunday School teaching to University Freshmen when I had to avoid all the theological side of the lessons or make them so symbolical that but few in the church could have recognized their vague similarity to our church creed and covenant, about my consequent call on our then pastor and of his liberal and sympathetic encouragement for me to continue this teaching. But, as against this—I hurried on—my going back to our conservative college for a couple of years to test my metamorphosed theological ideas (instead of our expected studying for the ministry), and of the confirmation I got in spite of my being almost alone in my position there in the Theological School's courses on the Philosophy of Religion, in our Academic graduate study in Anthropology, and of Kant, Schopenhauer, Lotze, Hegel, Fichte, Locke, and Hume. The mention of these names seemed to be concentrating the pastor's attention when, unfortunately for our progress, Mrs. Jellyby then rushed upon the scene with an armful of the most vital correspondence in re her Mission in Borrioboola Gha. But every one had learned that the only way to handle this now fifty-year famous Mission work was to immediately turn it over with plenipotentiary power to an executive business ability which was so focused upon this one object of life as to be quite oblivious of the existence of Mr. Jellyby, the seven small Jellybys, and of all the cooking, clothes, cleanliness and warmth necessary for even their physical domestic existence. Thus Mrs. Jellyby strode away in new strength and devotion to the cause, but also to stumble over her coughing children on the frosty stairs, to bump out an apologetic ejaculation from the disconsolate Mr. J. with his tired bank-clerk head in its accustomed leaning against the wall, and to dictate to her secretly-Turveydrop, Jr.-yearning daughter Caddie some more interminable Borrioboola Gha business."

On my objecting that such classic caricatures had no place today, I must confess I was startled when he went on to instance many cases where modern mothers had plenty of time for the supposititious heathen and yet had not time to read, play, and in general live with their own children in the best of all kindergartens,

the home, instead of sending them off for relief to this too often business American form of "Kinderbewahranstalt."

But we got back to the "office" by my asking:—"You didn't have time to tell the pastor much in detail of those two years of intellectual testing, for I can never forget the terrible earnestness and the pecuniary struggle with which you went through that refining fire? And, as I had also abandoned our graduate purpose of studying for the ministry and had gone into the less secure business profession of the law, I knew how to admire your independent and self-denying pursuit of truth in contrast with the placid, obedient, and scholarship-pampered theologue and the typical graduate student who is merely getting an extra dose of conventional knowledge to pass on to the next generation as a teaching business."

"Oh no," Ernst resumed, "of course even if we'd had time, I couldn't get into such foreign things, amid those surroundings, as emotions of conscientious truthfulness. So I continued to lay merely business facts before him, continuing with my going to the late saintly Professor Sidgwick of Cambridge to study how much ground for Ethics there could be apart from all religion, then for four years in Germany to try to get down to the bottom facts in the scientific basis of right and wrong in pleasure and pain, of true and false reasoning as simplified into the mental laws of association, and in the dependence of our mind upon our body.

"The result of these seven years' test of my changed religious views was to confirm me more and more in the conviction that the various ideas of God were certainly not proved and probably not provable, that they could all be explained scientifically by the personifying and other natural tendencies of our mental life, that evolution and modern criticism had reduced the Bible to the category of a valuable contribution to ethnological and ethical literature, and that the vast array of modern psychological knowledge was on the whole decidedly against the freedom of the will and immortality. Here the old spark of Calvanistic combativeness was momentarily aroused in the usually courteous and kindly pastor, for he asked—'Are you really so dead sure of those things?' By no means, I hastened to encourage this responsive attention, and one wholesome modern result of the study of reasoning is to make one dead sure of nothing and suspicious of those who are dead sure of everything. But I believe the great preponderance of probability is on my side, and now, from 10 years' added experience in teaching and studying, this reasonable confidence is continually increasing. Our late reading at home of such diverse lives as those of Darwin, Dickens, Kant, Tennyson, Robert and Elizabeth Browning, Mill, George Eliot, Bacon, Goethe, John Todd and Huxley has added increased strength and gladness from being on the winning side.

"Then I only suggested how these theological ideas had lost for me all their necessity for conduct, and were now only interesting scientific questions with some added poetic attraction. For I'd also during these years found an ethical companionship and stimulus in music and literature, as well as in some scientific ambition in life, which incomparably surpassed anything I had gotten or could get from the narrow bounds of the ethical part of religion. So I described a bit how we spend our Sundays at home with our children, their 'blessed Sonntag,' reading or building houses or coasting with them, or, while they play about and absorb some music half consciously, the mamma and I sing at the Heine-Schumann Dichterliebe cycle or play at the Beeethoven or Brahms sonatas, and thus, as we thoroughly believe, gain a higher and more lasting heart-filling than any church could give us. And, as a sample of our daily evening reading with our five and seven-year-olds, I couldn't but picture the contrast of our finishing last Sunday evening with overflowing hearts that beautiful sermon of Silas Marner with my still vivid recollection of reading it as a Freshman in college by stealth on a Saturday afternoon, with a painfully guilty conscience at reading a novel anyway and at the risk of sinning by having to study my Monday morning Livy on Sunday night.

"By this time the pastor had been called some dozen times to the telephone until he acceded to my request to remain seated before the instrument while we continued our conversation."

"That must have made an interesting picture," I could not but interrupt, "you, as a conscientious agnostic, unbaring the innermost workings of your heart and mind to the distracted ears of a modern pastor thus enslaved amid his office furniture, bookkeepers, and callers to the business-expediting telephone. Certainly even I had never realized what a contrast the rapid development of the last 25 years had made from the old-fashioned pastor's study. Perhaps you don't know though, Ernst, that our present pastor has the same room up in the gable of the church for a study as our boyhood's pastor used to have. But, owing to all these business duties such as you experienced, he has to use his study now as a strictly private refuge in which to get up his weekly discourses. So I've heard it is now a bare room with a confused heap of papers and magazines strewn all over the floor, chairs and table." "Yes, that's a good adjunct to my picture," Ernst chimed in, "and I venture to prophecy clairvoyantly that one would find the magazines to be of the ephemeral skimmer type like the Outlook or the Literary Digest; for such an harrassed business preacher can't mathematically find the time

necessary for getting at books and knowledge at first hand and digesting it himself. How utterly different is this from that gable study when our adored Mr. S. used to have his personally gathered pictures of St. Mark's Square, of the Sistine Madonna, of Salisbury Cathedral, and the Yosemite Falls around the walls along with the photographs of his own family and of men like Emerson; the long rows of book shelves filled not merely with his theological library but with the finest private collection of solid literature in the city; and a cheerily welcoming fire-place always casting such a homelikeness over all."

"And, my dear Ernst," I couldn't but add, "we never realized till many years later what those books and that manly cheer did for us boys. Think of the education we got there as Mr. S. (we never thought of him as 'Pastor' or 'Dr.') read to a circle of us boys on Friday afternoons for years such a lot of Bryant's Iliad and Odyssey, Shakespeare, Chaucer, Tennyson, Gulliver's Travels, with occasional variations in Sir Samuel Baker in Africa or Jules Vernes!"

"Of course," Ernst leaned forwards, "and yet even then we came there gladly to the friend who skated, fished, swam, and hunted with us as a boy himself, and none of us were ever dragged there by any Mrs. Pardiggle and presented as David, the Lord's anointed, who at the tender age of five years had voluntarily consecrated himself through the Infant Bonds of Joy as a life missionary to the befogged Hottentotten. You may remember that when he first came to us direct from the theories of his Theological Seminary he tried a daylight and weekday prayer meeting for us 14-year-old boys, but his good sense soon saw that we needed his manly human companionship and time-tested books far more than this duty-kneeling discipline in piety. And in such wholesome surroundings the pastor was genuinely 'accessible at all hours' (as you remember our college pastor used to announce every Sunday morning his venerable joke) to all kinds of aches and ills of body and soul. Still, though he thus lived in this homelike study, he also had an ideal home life with his wife and five children in a plain house near by, and had not developed to the modern business pastor who, with his child-free wife or possibly one inadvertant weakling, lives in the artificial glamor of the biggest hotel in town. Think of the effect of such surroundings on the young girls, already light-headed enough, of the Mrs. Pastor's Sunday School class, about a reception for whom the newspapers yesterday gave a half column society write-up!"

"Well, you must remember, Ernst," I again qualified, "that a modern pastor must be enough up-to-date so as to keep in touch with his congregation. But I'm impatient to hear how our

pastor took your confession." After objecting that so much hotel eating and drinking, ultra-Malthusianism, political-banquet-toasting, and dress-suit-receptioning was far too ahead-of-date for edifying spiritual influence, Ernst continued: "After soon dropping his argumentation the pastor then came about and started on the more modern tack of showing that the church was broad enough nowadays to take or keep in any respectable person. He confessed that in his own case he had very greatly enlarged in his religious views; and it was really touching to hear him describe how he, too, as a young Christian would have considered it a grievous sin to read Silas Marner, on Sunday especially, while now he could take that lovely story as a practical text for a Sunday discourse. In theology, too, he didn't lay much stress even on the Trinity; the only real essentials seemed to him to be a conception of an immanent God something like that in John Fiske's popular 'Idea of God' and a recognition of Jesus as a high ideal of divinity in something of an Emersonian sense. He showed me in the Church Manual how even the present Confession of Faith was much more vague and symbolical in its theological affirmations and far more lovable in its intra—and extra—Christian spirit than the original Articles at the foundation of the church 40 years ago and he urged me quite pathetically that they wanted to keep all advancing thought within the church to leaven it from within. But I objected that even these enlarged and softened religious conceptions were unproved intellectually, that I had observed that those who knew much more at first hand than Fiske of Evolution of the Psychology of reasoning were not more sure of any reality corresponding to their idea of God than to their idea of the devil. And if still valuable ethically as imagination conceptions I should more honestly affiliate myself with the little and unbusinesslike Unitarian institution over on the quiet by-street.

"During this part of the interview especially the cherubic assistant pastor occasionally looked up from his ledger at me and even the stenographer girl paused in her many errands in and out of the office and in her sorting over a great pile of addresses,—both showing by their expressions of surprise and impatience that such subjects were strangers and not in good form in that office. But I persisted amid these intimations—though not of immortality,—until the pastor, amid continued distractions of his kindly attention, entered an interesting demur, compounded of some surviving puritanical asceticism and a modern business factor of safety. For he said: 'That's all very well, but I fear, my dear professor, that in all this beautiful reading and absorbing life with your family you are getting too self-centered and even—shall I say it?—selfish. Now it is our distinct grappling with

selfishness which makes the chief differentium between our modern orthodox church and our high-minded but non-disciplined Unitarian friends, whose club life of mere congeniality you have so properly characterized as an Institution. For this great sin, which it must be regretted often synchronizes too strenuously with the magnificent business waves of the last decades,—this selfishness the church proper combats by drawing men and women out of themselves in the shape of money for foreign and home missions, requisition duty on some of our innumerable committees,—not to speak of drawing them in their coupes away from their Sabbath morning homes strewn knee-deep with several great volumes of spicy and gay-colored newspapers. Now, granted that you live in a higher atmosphere, don't you think that you, too, need some drawing-out of self? Then, too, there is always Paul's old sociological rule of meat-eating. Allowed that I can't give you your home standard of Goethe, Huxley, Browning, Dickens, Schubert, etc., don't you really think it would be safer for your influence on your business neighbors and your raw and impressionable students if you leave your children, books, and music at home Sunday mornings and come to church like other people? Excuse me if I tell you frankly that your bank-cashier neighbor is scandalized at seeing you reading in your shirt sleeves or playing your fiddle as he goes to church or finding you coasting with your children on returning from his requisition duties as superintendent of our Sunday School.' "

"What a huge joke," I laughed, "for now you're in for a social inquisition in addition to properly conducted anathema lightning. What did you do, Ernst, with this rich material of your selfishness as against this tobacco-soaked, automobiled, mentally-stunted, but 'safe' banker?" "Of course," Ernst smiled, "it was a rather delicate matter to prove one's unselfishness, but I told him enough of my years of struggle to help my brothers in their education and of my opportunities to help other and unrelated students to show that I honestly believed that the results of this discipline against selfishness in myself,—not to speak of the positive results in my missionary subjects,—incomparably exceeded my former religious practices of self-denial and even the modern church methods. Then, too, one's own long years of hardships in money, bodily strains, deferred love hopes, misunderstood family accusations and estrangements, all endured in a struggle to realize one's ideal of self-development,—these ought to count for something in forming the temper and value of human hearts.

"Then I so wished I could have emphasized more to the well-meaning pastor the virtue of non-conformity. But I did venture to ask him if he didn't allow a place and even an honorable rank to a few serious experimenters in life who are trying on independent lines to collect and give out the greatest possible amount of true, good, and beautiful things of this life. He allowed that such freaks must exist and that they probably had a function in the general social progress, but woe unto them by whom such things must needs come,—it was too dangerous a role for anyone who had been or could be a safe Christian. When I expressed the conviction that even the broadest spirit of a Christian was a decided limitation to one's contact with many of the highest sources of human happiness he asked if I had tried any of his services since he had officiated at this church. 'No,' I said, 'but I have occasionally read your discourses and, though they must be very helpful to many people who don't have time or opportunity to read much themselves, I've already confessed frankly to you that we all in our home make time every day to live first-hand with the best books. Then one thing I must tell you that we simply could not endure in your services and that is the church music. You should have seen the pastor's astonishment as he exclaimed—'Why, that can't be possible! For we have the highest-priced choir that money can buy in this musical city!' 'The money part may be all very true,' I had to object, 'but, except for an occasional excerpt from the classical composers with a ridiculous adaptation to any kind of biblical words, your choir's music is of the cheapest and most ephemeral sort. And your high-priced choir couldn't give the best or even respectable music even if they wanted to, for they don't know it. I never see them, e. g., at any of the numerous concerts given by our really first-class local musicians and seldom enough at those of the foreign musical artists, where the classic names of Bach, Mozart, Beethoven, Schubert, Schumann, and Brahms are a guaranty of our getting the most of the highest emotions.' On the pastor's questioning whether these were composers of church music I couldn't but be a little rude and say bluntly: 'No, they are too good for churches. The more consistent a Christian one is in spirit and habit the more he is shut out from the wonderful world of these immortal composers.'

"Thus we continued on music a while, he expressing a polite desire to try my kind of music if I would send him notice of the best opportunities, until finally I came to a summary of my reasons for withdrawing formally from the church. These points I made, as follows:

"1. With the pubescent mental additions of the emotions of longing, companionship, secretiveness, and imaginative idealization there is a natural imitative tendency for adolescents in Christian surroundings to find expression for these emotions in religious activities and ideas.

"2. With widening experience and real education the theolog-

ical ideas of God, Christ, prayer, immortality, etc., are more or less consciously found to be wanting in proof and also not really necessary—however widespread and temporally useful—for our conduct.

"3. Therefore one's conduct gets down to its actual heart basis of pleasure and pain in their wide psychological sense, and while the religious ideas remain more or less as poetical imaginations in their comforting and stimulating happiness, yet, by losing their dominating and exclusive literal reality they give a chance for one to get the immense additional or even incomparably greater ethical stimulus and comfort from living with real companionship and children, with all that is highest in thought and feeling in our books, science, music, and art, and with healthy ambitions and activities in all these.

"4. Under such conditions is it not better for some persons to formally withdraw from the church; specially where husband and wife are both of this mind, so that they believe the lives of their children can be increased for happiness and usefulness by not living through the religious period?

"To this summary the pastor was most attentive and evidently much affected. He finally said that, although I was the first person who had ever applied to him for such a release, he could urge no further objection and even thought in all kindness that under all the circumstances my name should be removed—although to his deep regret—from this church which I had joined just 25 years ago.

As I at last withdrew from the pastor's office, so I must leave you, my dear chum. Good-night."

"As Ernst thus turned toward his happy home I returned to my lonely fireplace and sat there an hour more, reviewing alone the whole situation. I must confess it had stirred me most deeply; not merely from my own business compromise with the church, making me at last somewhat ashamed of myself, but also from my admiration of the cautious, considerate, independent, and thorough course of Ernst's development of mind and heart. The church people, who appropriate to themselves the philosophic title of "Idealists," look askance at him as an agnostic and brand him as a materialist; but since his life itself is so immeasureably more ideal I wonder whose theory as well as practice of life is true?

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Not Yet Is Freedom.

NOT yet is freedom: only now a name
In which the traitor-nations hide their shame;
A name black with the cheat of tawdry kings,
And with the praise the brazen statesman brings;
A name polluted by the branded priest,
Who freedom hates the most and trusts the least;
A name to seal the stolen world to wealth—
The wealth that stole the world by blood and stealth;
A name for murder-orgies that but make
Our human life to seem God's dark mistake,
Our earth a blot upon the whole—a scar
And sad derision to each pitying star.

Not yet is freedom: only now a name
In which the red man-hunter hides his shame,
While drinking deep his cup of murder-cheer,
Blessed by the unclean priests of templed fear;
A name to flaunt upon the wondering seas
In vulgar wars and coward victories,
While our assassin-governments betray,
And send the conjured herd to hunt and slay,
The weak and primal peoples of the earth,
Ere freedom in their lands shall come to birth—
Betray and slay to give to wealth the peace
That serves its iron dominion to increase.

Not yet is freedom: only now a name
In which the strong wealth-master hides from shame
The world-mill of his economic might,
Which turns life's every gift and grace to blight—
The might which all obey and none defy,
And by which vassals for him steal and buy
The labor, fruits and laws of every land,
The product of each faith and brain and hand,
The children's hearts devoured by the machine,
The service of the elements unseen,
The temple and the god, the begging school,
These sodden states which leering criminals rule.

Not yet is freedom: only now a name
In which the servile mobs would hide their shame—
The courtier-parasites we call our great,
Their loathsome offices of church and state;

The honors that are lewd, ignoble gains
Of those who gild or rivet labor-chains;
The ignorant and chatteled mobs that scroll
The laws that but debauch the nation's soul;
The mobs that for the strong wealth-master write,
And pulpiteers that call his darkness light;
Historic schools that grovel at his feet,
And fallen arts that for his crumbs compete.

Not yet is freedom: only now a name
In which a wanton age would hide its shame—
An age without a soul, without a faith;
An age that hears but what the liar saith,
That makes a glory of its perfidy
Toward every trust and truth of liberty;
An age abandoned to the ruthless strong,
Who know in creed or practice but one wrong—
Resistance to the hunger of their might,
Or question of its predatory right;
An age whose greatness is the drunk of wine,
And labor is the press and grape and vine.

Not to our age may freedom's order come,
Nor earth to it become a comrade-home.
We may not bear the truth of freedom yet,
Nor our besotted, flunky age forget,
With freedom shouted from each traitor's roof,
Its name a warp for every tyrant's woof.
Our age's freedom is a master's cheat,
To bring the hope of labor to defeat;
These states that boast of freedom little more
Than watchers set to guard the robber's store;
Their patriotism but a bannered crime,
Fit for the murder-glory of our time.

We may not learn the law of freedom yet,
Nor yet our monstrous anarchy forget,
While still these lawless, criminal governments
Stand but to buy and sell the confidence
Of labor-agony that fills the world;
To tear the labor-banners still unfurled,
In factory swamps, or in the high-road heat
Where storms of hate upon the strikers beat.
Yea, we are lower than the lowest slaves,
And high above us are the common knaves,
While still we bind and kill in freedom's name,
And give to freedom's name our murder-shame.

To freedom's soul we are the lost and dead
While still the festival of blood we spread—
The festival in which the world is schooled,
For which the drunken nations all are ruled;
And we but make of freedom's blackened name
Stained coin of barter for our world of shame—
A world that praises reddest crimes of might,
But ne'er forgives who dares the utter right;
A world whose governments by treason live,
That they the earth-toil may to masters give,
And make the roots of labor-slavery sure—
Roots deep and strong, and century-secure.

Till labor and the life of all are free,
To none can come the good of liberty.
Freer than earth's most unprotesting slave
No man nor nation is, or can be—save
As they who love the fellowship may seek
Their freedom in the bonds borne by the meek.
It is the slave who must the master free;
For slavery brings a fearful leprosy
That marks the master ere it marks the man,
And deeper marks the courtier who can,
With cynic comfort, speak the great earth-wrong
That lures to slavery still with freedom's song.

The soul of freedom is pursued and lost,
The name a lie to men by traitors tossed,
Because we seek it in the master's fights,
Or hunt the mystic's solitary heights.
But not in these may freedom's soul be found;
Rather where these are not is freedom's ground.
Freedom is fellowship, and only that,
And this the gate of life the earth knocks at
Within the life which fellowship has willed
Are freedom's pictured promises fulfilled.
There, is the soul of freedom found in truth;
There, aged earth may bloom in freedom's youth.

When all of life shall unto each belong,
And work become life's overflow and song,
Then freedom's joy shall crowd the comrade-years,
And comrade-life forget the ancient fears.
Then shall the earth become man's home at last,
Red torments of the wilderness full past;
Each free to choose his work amidst the whole,

According to the pattern in his soul;
Each loosed and free to find and love his own,
Love loosed from tragedy or doubt or moan;
Each life original and masterful;
Each man a god, arrayed and beautiful.

Geo. D. Herron.

Pegli, Italy, May 7, 1902.

Some Lessons of the Belgian Movement.

SO far as I have been able to see, the American press has taken considerable notice of the recent events in Belgium. I must say that, apart from a few minor errors, the general impression conveyed by the press reports was quite in keeping with the actual facts. The movement was rather violent at a certain moment, but this violence did not proceed from those who were denounced as rioters. On the contrary, it was started by those who carried out the orders of the government.

I have indicated in former communications what the aim of the movement was: universal suffrage pure and simple. With universal suffrage, the clerical government would be overthrown and the Liberal-Socialist element would be in control, with the Socialists in the majority. What an immense change this would be for the political situation in our country, is apparent, and this explains the stubborn resistance of the Catholics. Never before has any public movement met such a resistance in Belgium. We were surprised by it ourselves.

I do not wish to describe the events, but I rather propose to draw some practical conclusions. However, in order to explain our attitude, I must say that the repressive measures of the government were outrageous from the first moment when the demonstrations began. We knew, then, that the reaction wanted violence in spite of the calmness of our men, that they promoted violence and would have been glad to butcher and imprison our militant comrades in order to destroy the work of the Parti Ouvrier.

The question confronting us was then: Shall we commence a civil war, an actual violent revolution? This we did not want, for good reasons: First, a badly armed crowd can no longer cope with regular troops, as they did in 1848, now that the regulars are armed with Albini and Mauser rifles. We should have to count on the insubordination of the troops, and although there are many Socialists in the army, thanks to our propaganda, still the discipline is as yet too rigid to permit our counting without fail on any subordination. Could we really afford, under these conditions, to risk the lives of our bravest men and to sacrifice the future of all our institutions for the purpose of bringing the victory of universal suffrage a few years nearer? Besides, violent revolutions are not only impossible to-day, they are also no longer the strongest weapons of the proletariat. The methods are no longer the same. Our present method, the organization of the workers into a class party consisting of various groups, is far

more sure, serious and effective. We could, therefore, only recommend calmness, and this advice was well heeded. But just at this moment, the trade unions began everywhere to discuss the question of the general strike, although no general decision to this effect had been made. Resolutions in favor of this measure were passed unanimously. The general committee then thought that it might be a last resort to obtain some concessions from the government. It was therefore decided to support the movement for a general strike. But our feeble hope was of short duration, and the general committee declared the strike off after a few days.

The general strike had no prospect of success for several reasons. It came too late to be of any help to a violent uprising. If it had begun a little earlier, the great number of strikers would have considerably increased the crowds of demonstrators. The result would have been, furthermore, that the soldiers would have been recalled into their quarters while the strike was already on, and this would have created quite a different sentiment among them. But as the strike was declared after the soldiers had been called in, and we were continually advising calmness, the strike could only have an economic aim, viz., the cessation of the production of wealth. In order to be felt in this respect, it would have to last sufficiently long. But we were not prepared to take care of 350,000 strikers. Therefore it was better to stop at once than to exhaust all our resources and to incur the discouragement that would follow inevitably.

At any rate, these events have given us the comforting assurance that the Belgian proletariat will follow us in a general strike, and that success in this line is only a matter of resources. The spontaneousness of the strike, the admirable discipline maintained by 350,000 men, the wisdom and composure manifested by the party under the most trying circumstances, all these are elements of a certain and near victory.

True, the decision to call off the general strike has caused discontent among some comrades. It would be strange, if this were not the case, and simply proves the pugnacious spirit of our friends. But there is no discouragement of any kind. We don't acknowledge any defeat, we have not lost anything. A special convention called immediately after the events in Brussels sanctioned the order calling off the strike by a great majority. In the future we shall probably count less on violence and more on organization, and this will be an advantage.

Emile Vinck.

(Translated by E. Untermann.)

HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES.

III. American Capitalism in Flower.

OUR investigation of the economic history of this country now reaches a stage which is the last but one in our division of the subject. It covers approximately the time from the end of the Civil War to the beginning of the nineties of the past century.

The industrial capitalism of the North had vanquished the agricultural feudalism of the South, was now galloping along as the ruler of the country, and rushing through the course of its development with hurricane speed. Turning to the great and actually dominating facts of economic history, we mark the following which we discuss in succession as briefly as possible.

As one of the most essential factors which produced this development we first name

The Accumulation of Capital.

It is one of the peculiarities of capitalist development in America that the great part of capital accumulates in the form of money. This form is most easily exchangeable, and also demands more urgently than any other the immediate investment for the production of surplus value. Primitive accumulation goes hand in hand with modern modes of accumulation which are considered legal as long as they do not formally and openly violate the laws of capitalist society. The main sources of primitive accumulation are the same here as they were in the older European countries, viz., fraud, theft, robbery, and murder. One of these sources now began to flow in the shape of spoils to army contractors. By far the greater part of the new capital appearing after the war came from the enormous profits of these contractors, and it is well known, and in many cases officially acknowledged, that these profits were made by more or less crooked and well nigh undisguised "deals." "Embalmed beef" was even at that time a popular article, at least among army contractors, if not among soldiers.

A few years later, speculation in railroads and land became a still greater source of new capital. Under the pretense of assisting the building of the railroad to the Pacific, Congress granted whole kingdoms to the railroad companies—a strip of land ten miles wide on each side of the completed tracks, amounting to a grant of twenty miles for the whole length of the railroad. In this way the Pacific railroad alone received not less than 250,000,000 acres of that land which was most desirable, because it was in the immediate vicinity of the road and would naturally gain

most by the rise in land values caused by the building of the road. Being barred from free settlement, this land could later on only be bought at outrageous prices from the railroads. As to the national wealth in free land obtainable during this stage, there seemed to be still an inexhaustible supply of it toward the end of the eighties. We emphasize that the supply of government land which could be obtained by settlers practically for nothing, viz., on payment of the registering fee, SEEMED inexhaustible to the popular mind.

The specifically American style of "baiting the rurals," a high-handed method of expropriating the small farmers by robbery, more accurately described in Marx's "Capital," and criminal even according to capitalist law, was practiced in all its brutality until quite recently. Only the place of the farmer was here taken by the redskin. True, whenever it was decided to cheat the aborigines out of the land, which had been guaranteed to them by solemn treaties, in order to give it away to railroad companies or other landsharks, the actors on the public stage in Washington always observed the strictest legal proceedings, at the same time holding their open hand behind their backs toward the lobby. But behind the scenes, away back in the woods of the far West, the law-abiding pale faces acted according to the eminently Christian maxim: "The only good Indian is a dead Indian." The agents who were employed by the government to serve out the stipulated rations to the redskins added the useful to the pleasant by keeping the money in their own pockets or dividing it with the contractors and thus making their charges, the "wards of the Nation," desperate: for when the Indians, lashed into desperation by hunger, revolted, they were cut down in scores by the federal troops, and their land, so valuable for capitalist exploitation, fell into the hands of the representatives of American civilization almost free of charge—an excellent transaction for such good Christians and honest patriots.

Railroads, telegraphs, mining, manufacturing and industrial establishments of every description were springing up like hothouse plants. American bourgeois had no need of Guizot's advice: "Enrich yourselves!"

Class Antagonisms

are now beginning to manifest themselves distinctly and conspicuously. A well-known Christian Socialist writer, speaking of conditions immediately after the Civil War, says that they are characterized by a sudden and wonderful accumulation of wealth in the hands of successful adventurers. Never had the contrast between rich and poor been so pronounced. Translated from the Christian Socialist into the Socialist language, this means that the Class antagonism between the bourgeois and the

proletarian, between the capitalist and the laborer, now made itself felt with full force.

The Development of the Forces of Production.

It would require whole volumes to fully appreciate this factor which now develops its power. Not alone the increase of motive power, its multiplication in the steam engines, and its intensification by electricity would have to be considered, but still more the field of labor saving machines and implements, in which America excels all other countries. The improvements made in this line are so numerous, and many of them are so nearly of equal merit, that it does not seem feasible to quote any single example. Most wonderful and far-reaching in their effects are the improvements in that department of production which is distinguished in all other countries by its stubborn adherence to traditional methods—agriculture. At least, this is true of the northwestern and pacific states, where the extensive plains make the use of agricultural machinery possible. This naturally led to an unprecedented elevation of the standard in such machinery. The superiority of America was most surprisingly manifested in the steel and iron business, but it was little inferior in other industrial branches. The employment of the best and latest machinery was also accompanied by the most improved organization of the process of production, the most advanced division of labor, and last not least—the most excessive and, from the capitalist standpoint, most rational exploitation and driving of the laboring man. All this gave rise to a new quality of American capitalism, which is commonly expressed in these words: "American labor is cheapest, although it is the most expensive." The germ of truth and sense contained in this sentence is transformed into the opposite by the wrong and misleading wording, so that it appears as an indissoluble contradiction. The same word is here used in two different senses.

The capitalist buys the labor power of the workingman at its full exchange value and pays its price in money, called "wages." The workingman has to deliver his sold labor power by producing a commodity. The capitalist, having bought labor power at its exchange value, exploits it by taking its full use value, and the workingman produces an article which not only covers his wages, but also furnishes to the capitalist an amount above these wages—surplus value.

We need not dwell any further on this well-known Marxian theory of surplus value. It is sufficient to remember that what we call "labor product" is often called simply labor and must always and everywhere have a greater value than that which modern economists term "labor power," while vulgar bourgeois

economy jumbles together indiscriminately productive activity, labor power and labor product, labelling them all labor without distinction. It is this haziness of conception which we must clear up in order to arrive at the solution of the problem before us.

If we say that American labor is cheapest, although it is the most expensive, we are referring to labor in the first half of the sentence as the product of labor, in the second half as labor power. This can be easily demonstrated.

Take it, e. g., that wages in our iron and steel industry are double what they are in England; but thanks to our more highly developed technique and the more intensive exploitation of the laborer, 1,000 men in America produce 4,000 tons of steel in the same time in which 1,000 men in England produce 1,000 tons. The relative wage, or the quota of labor cost per ton, is then only half as high here as it is over there, in spite of the doubled scale of wage. Now this is actually the general condition. We see, then, that the American product is cheaper, because the labor cost is lower, or, in other words, because the labor power of the American laborer, measured by the value of his product, is cheaper than that of the laborers in other countries. The social effect of the technical and exploiting superiority of America has still two other sides: For society as a whole, the more rapid development of the material conditions of a higher social order, of socialism, and for the working class an intensification of the capitalist tendency toward progressive deterioration of the conditions of life. This is shown in the lowering of the average yearly wage, to be felt equally by the receiver of increased, stationary or reduced wages. This tendency is only feebly checked by the opposition of the working class, especially the trade unions.

The most characteristic mark of this tendency is the final exhaustion of the free land which can be cultivated without the help of gigantic arrangements for artificial irrigation. A report of the Department of the Interior to Congress plainly reveals that the supply of such land had almost, if not entirely, disappeared in 1893 or 1894. Nothing remained for new colonists but the back country, removed from the lines of transportation and water courses. A great part of this country is occupied by the so-called "North American Desert," the arid lands between the hundredth degree of longitude and the Rocky Mountains.

The general settlement of the West and the corresponding multiplication of agricultural concerns naturally resulted in an equally large increase of the output of agricultural products. The United States thus became the main exporter of breadstuffs and cannned meat during this epoch, and overproduction in agriculture became a chronic evil for the farming population.

We must here stop in our attempt to give a clear summary of the economic history of the third epoch and be satisfied to have sketched at least the most important factors.

The Political History of the Third Period—A Three-Cornered Fight

The political struggles and endeavors of the thirty years from the end of the Civil War to the beginning of the nineties have the general character of a three-cornered fight.

In one corner we see the Republican party, the victorious champion of the great industrials and protectionists, the capitalist party "par excellence." In another the Democratic party, which also represents some great capitalists, even at this stage, but only those whose interests as financiers and importers are not identical with those of the manufacturers. Apart from these great capitalist elements, this party is the party of the small bourgeoisie and of those little business men who expect to derive certain advantages from the abolition of certain duties. It is on the whole the party of the small people.

In the third corner we find the wage workers. Up to about the end of this period, the American working class has no significant political organization whatever. All the more is it organized for the economic fight which is to be carried on by the trade unions. Numbering about 600,000 members in 1886, the membership of the trade unions has continually increased since then. It even increased during the crisis of 1893-95, the popular prejudice of certain socialists to the contrary notwithstanding, and to-day it comprises about one and a half millions of men and women. A temporary, but insignificant, setback was given to the trade unions by the crisis of 1873-77. After that their stability and general expansion could not be prevented. The end of each industrial depression saw the trade unions in a stronger and more ablebodied condition than the beginning. The gradually weakening echoes of the old feud about the question of state rights and the authority of the national government still float back and forth for a while between the two capitalist parties. At bottom this is only an expression of the economic antagonism, which has lately found vent in the demand for a protective tariff on one side and free trade on the other.

Another conflict of economic interests produces a different effect. The great industrials, represented by the Republican party, have felt the thorn of the labor organizations in their side. The national convention of the Republicans, therefore, raises a cry for a "strong administration" in 1880. A government is wanted that will interfere with rifle and sword, if the wage slaves should dare to rebel against the liberty of skinning them. The first instance of this case on a large scale is the railroad strike in

1877, which led to furious street fights between the laborers and soldiers. This radical tendency of the Republican party had its hero in General Grant, the famous "man on horseback," who did not, however, receive the coveted third term, but had to give way to the more moderate and comparatively decent General Garfield. The Grant boom was a little too premature.

The most pronounced influence of this period was for the time being exerted by a fourth economic factor, viz., the agrarian question in its specifically American form. It began by producing a rearrangement of the political constellation. Our farmers see in the watering of the currency, or let us say in the reduction of the purchasing power of the dollar, the means for accomplishing their one life purpose; the most complete relief from their mortgage debts. If they can only obtain a greater number of dollars for their produce, it is of little moment to them that the dollar will buy only half as much as formerly, for they produce nearly all their own necessities. The reduction of the value of the dollar by half is precisely the welcome means by which they may give half the equivalent for a mortgage or a rent that was contracted on the basis of the full value of the dollar. As for the American wage worker, the greater part of them are not yet class-conscious and always inclined to be dragged along in the political wake of the agricultural and metropolitan bourgeoisie, and to take part in a political mistake of the little exploiters. This intellectual shortcoming is partly accompanied by the idea of a "universal brotherhood," and makes very strange political bedfellows of farmers and wage-workers, especially in the West. Out of these economic conditions and the lack of intellectual maturity arose first the Greenback Labor party, a reform party made up largely of wage-workers, dreaming of an issue of government notes as the solution of the social question. They received about 82,000 votes for this political folly of a paper standard and assignment currency. But later on, when the overproduction in the silver mines had brought about an unprecedented fall in the price of silver, and when the agricultural overproduction had at the same time depressed the price of grain to a ruinously low level, the little bourgeois longing for depreciated money assumed the disguise of the free silver movement. A third now joined the company of the farmer and wage-worker—the silver king, who had a big finger in the pie during this transformation of the greenback agitation into a free silver movement. Free silver on the irretrievably lost basis of sixteen to one is now demanded. They speak of a double standard, but they mean the silver standard.

The Democratic party, predestined by its little bourgeois nature to become the champion of this and similar quack notions,

at first resisted the temptations of the silver-tongued agitators. In 1884 and 1892 it still stood on a sound money platform and captured the presidency in both campaigns with Grover Cleveland as a candidate. But then the end has come. The silver craze mounts to its brains and begins to break its neck.

During this time the revolutionary thought has certainly grown in intensity and volume among the American workingmen, though it is still somewhat affected by utopian ideas. The organization and votes of the Socialist party are not yet felt at this period.

J. L. Franz.

(Concluded in next issue.)

EDITORIAL

The Coal Strike.

The coal miners of America are just entering upon what promises to be one of the most memorable struggles between exploiter and exploited that have taken place in many years. About 160,000 miners have lain down their tools and are demanding better conditions of life and work as a condition of once more selling themselves into wage-slavery.

As to the merits of the question, even the mouth-pieces of capitalism can find little to say in favor of the mine-owners. Judged even by the ethics of exploitation, the misery and degradation of the anthracite miner has been condemned over and over again. Congressional committees, newspaper reporters, sensational novelists and sober historians have vied with each other in the effort to discover words and phrases strong enough to condemn adequately the conditions under which these workers in the blackened midnight of the mines must live and labor.

The story of the grinding, hopeless toil, petty cheating, false weighing and insolent tyranny endured by the dwellers in the "company" owned, ruled and cursed mining towns of the anthracite coal region, has been told so many times that there is no need of further repetition.

Neither need the specific nature of the present demands concern us. When men are asking for additional crumbs from a loaf, all of which they created and are entitled to receive, it is not for outsiders to question whether the particular portions demanded are most needed. The miners have not asked for too much; of that we may be assured. Whatever they have asked for every laborer or friend of labor's cause will rejoice to see them obtain.

The strike has so far shown few startling or novel features. The National Civic Federation, that clever combination of dupes and duped, succeeded once more in proving its value to the masters by interfering at the beginning and securing just the delay that the mine-owners needed to prepare for the fight. Just at present it seems to have stepped one side to await another opportunity to display its treacherous sympathy for labor. We hope the officials of the United Mine Workers have learned their lesson sufficiently well not to give the Hanna arbitrators another opportunity to get in their dirty work. If the officials do permit further meddling from this source it cannot but give rise to suspicions of the honesty of those officials. Ignorance can no longer be pleaded as an excuse.

There is strong probability of the calling of a national convention to

decide upon the question of the bituminous miners also going out. If they should conclude to join their anthracite brethren the struggle would at once reach a scale attained by but few of the great industrial battles of the last century.

Whatever may be done, the miners may be sure of the sympathy and support of every member of the Socialist party. In its organized form the party has been quick to express this sympathy, and if an appeal for financial assistance is made, as there soon must be if the strike is not terminated, the party will be quick to give substantial form to its sympathy.

The Socialist party is the only political party that will do this. It is the only political organization that dares to express its sympathy for the miners at the only time when they are in need of sympathy and support. Next fall, when no battle is being fought, and when no assistance is needed, the old party politicians will be full of sympathy. Just now, when help is so terribly needed, when every trifle of outside assistance counts so heavily, there comes no sound from Democratic nor Republican headquarters.

Let the miners and other workmen as well bear this fact in mind. The miners are not socialists. Most of them will probably vote against socialism at the next election, as they have at previous ones. But they are laborers, who just at this time are engaged in a portion of the great class struggle against capitalism, and the Socialist party is the political expression of the laboring class and the political representative of labor in that struggle, whether the laborers themselves have sense enough to know it or not, and therefore it is on the side of the laboring class wherever and whenever it is battling for better conditions.

Some day the miners will grow intelligent enough to ask for the mines and all their toil produces. When they do this they will find that it is much easier to get this greater thing than the trifling favors for which they are now so desperately struggling. Just drop the request, in the form of a socialist ticket, in the ballot box and the victory is won.

We are glad to be able to give the welcome news to our readers that in response to frequent urgings from us, Comrade Emile Vandervelde and wife have at last consented to come to this country for a lecture tour during the coming campaign. They will arrive in New York the last of August, and will probably make a trip through New England and Canada, then to Chicago via Detroit, visiting a few cities further west and returning by way of Cincinnati, Pittsburg, Philadelphia, etc., to New York again. Nothing definite has been arranged, however, as the news of their coming has only just been received. Feeling that the direction of any such lecture trip is properly the work of the National Executive Committee, the whole matter has been turned over to them, and all communications on the subject should be addressed to Comrade Leon Greenbaum, Emilie Building, St. Louis. Comrade Vandervelde is one of the most prominent figures in the socialist movement at the present time. He does not feel that his command of English is sufficient for him to make speeches in that language, but Madam Lalla Vandervelde, his wife, is an English woman, and a

talented writer and worker for socialism and will deliver the lectures in English. They will also bring stereopticon views of the Belgian co-operatives, which will be equally intelligible in all languages.

The article on "The Pastor's Office" in this number is sure to attract much attention and to arouse many critics. To these last we would first call attention to the statement carried on our inside cover page. that the publication of any article without comment is in no way to be construed as an editorial indorsement of any position in the article. In the second place, we believe that this particular article contains some of the keenest analysis ever published of the way in which capitalism is making its influence felt upon some of the greatest forces of the age, and also of the way in which the dawning spirit of rebellion against that capitalism is battling for the mastery. With the theological and metaphysical conclusions, in so far as any are drawn, we are not concerned. Still less do such conclusions form any part of socialism. But socialists are interested in the effect of economic environment upon every field of human activity, and such effects are a part of socialism. As to whether Professor Gale is correct as to those effects and whether the picture he has drawn is a photograph, a forecast or a caricature, is for our readers to determine. Whatever these conclusions, we believe they will find his discussion one of the most suggestive that has appeared in these columns for some time.

The present number completes the second year and volume of the International Socialist Review. Of the achievements of those two years, or their struggles and disappointments, we do not care to speak. Suffice it to say that the Review has now come to be recognized throughout the socialist world as the American organ for the discussion and scientific exposition of Socialism.

Its future success and growth depends upon the support which we receive from American socialists. We are giving as good, indeed a much better publication, than the present support justifies. Articles now on hand and promised for the near future enable us to assure our readers of continuous improvement if they but do their share. If those who really feel the need of such a publication in this country would but give a little of their time for the next few weeks in getting those who are really willing to assist, but too careless or uninterested to take the initiative, to enroll themselves as subscribers, the Review would be at once relieved from all financial concern.

SOCIALISM ABROAD

E. Untermann.

France.

The recent general elections in France found five distinct socialist tickets in the field, besides numerous shades of indistinct and doubtful candidates who were fishing in turbid waters by labeling themselves socialist. There were the Guesdists, the Blanquists, the Jauresists (Millerandists), Allemanists, and the autonomous federations of every color. A heterogeneous mass of genuine, adulterated and bogus socialist manifestos flooded the political market. How many well-meaning seekers for the "real thing" were bewildered and lost in this garden of mazes will never be known. That 860,722 straight socialist votes were cast under these circumstances speaks well for the political maturity of the French workingmen.

The "Union Socialiste Revolutionnaire" (the Guesdists and Blanquists) issued a manifesto fully in keeping with the declarations of international socialism. This joint document was further supplemented by separate campaign manifestos of each of the two parties. Their candidates worked in accord with the principles of their respective conventions, and their work was distinguished by a uniformity and discipline that formed a marked contrast with the planless attitude of the other parties.

There was furthermore the manifesto of the "Interfederal Committee" (the former General Committee), which was distributed in 40,000 copies. The other parties each had manifestos of their own, many of which were fearfully and wonderfully made. And some of the ministerialist candidates, not content with the liberal supply of manifestos, manufactured one of their own, sparkling in all the hues of the multicolored political palette.

As the manifestos, so the tactics. The Millerandists made no pretense to fight the battle along proletarian lines. Their candidates continued the policy of being a mere caudal appendix to the bourgeois democracy and any means promising to catch votes were welcomed. In Jaures' department the party entered into a compromise with the radicals, according to which the socialists placed only another candidate into the field beside Jaures and left their other four election districts, in which thousands of socialist votes had been cast on previous occasions, to the radicals. In other districts the same dickering was resorted to. Some of the ministerialist socialists opened their meetings under the chairmanship of a capitalist deputy and accepted the indorsement of capitalist politicians.

The "Union Socialiste Revolutionnaire" had candidates in 570 election districts (Corsica excepted); 508 candidates belonged to the Guesdists, 47 to the Blanquists, 15 to other affiliated socialist bodies. The other parties made no attempt to push their propaganda into all election districts. The general result of the first ballot in the provinces was as follows: Ministerialist socialists, 416,755 votes; anti-ministerialists, 223,750 (Guesdists, 169,716; Blanquists, 34,527; others, 19,507); unclassified socialists, 24,147. To these figures must be added those of the Seine department: Ministerialists, 99,625; anti-ministerialists, 96,446 (Guesdists and Blanquists, 76,103; Allemanists, 13,443; unclassified, 6,900). Paris cast 139,044 votes out of a total of 498,461.

As a result of the first ballot, the election returned 81 ministerialist republicans, 88 radicals, 49 socialist radicals, 22 socialists, 42 nationalists, 81 ministerialist republicans, 47 conservatives, 2 independent anti-ministerialist socialists. The second ballot in 171 districts brought the number of socialist representatives in the Chamber of Deputies up to 47 (formerly 43), in a total of 581, 32 of whom are ministerialists and 15 anti-ministerialists (9 Blanquists, 4 Guesdists, 2 unclassified). The Seine department alone elected 14 socialists.

Jaures and Millerand succeeded in maintaining their positions, the latter by a majority of 250 votes. Guesde was beaten in Lille, although he increased his vote, as were Viviani and Allemane in Paris. Vaillant scored a splendid victory against three capitalist candidates, carrying his district in Paris by a great majority in spite of an increase of 2,700 new voters since 1898. The Guesdist mayor Delory was re-elected in Lille. Comrade de Pressense, a well-known socialist writer, won out in Lyons, although it was the first socialist campaign in his district. In the island of Guadeloupe (West Indies), Comrade Gerault-Richard, of Paris, the editor in chief of "La Petite Republique," was elected.

Compared with the results of former elections, the last campaign still shows an increase in spite of the disastrous dissensions in the ranks of our French comrades. In 1893, the first great socialist campaign in France, 440,000 votes were cast for socialism; in 1898, 751,554; in 1902, 860,722. The number of deputies elected in 1893 was 32. In 1898 it rose to 38. It was further increased by two volunteers who joined afterward, and by 3 supplementary victories in the after-elections, making a total of 43. The present gain of 4 new seats shows how well established the socialist movement is in France. Given a united front, and the French comrades would be the leading factor in the politics of their country.

Germany.

The communal elections in the suburbs of Berlin increased the number of socialist councillors from 23 in 1900 to 43 in 28 different communities. The number of votes rose from 4,450 in 1900 to 8,199. In 13 of these 28 suburbs there are no socialist representatives yet. Socialist propaganda still finds great difficulties at election times. In many of these suburbs, the socialists cannot obtain any halls to hold their meetings, and as street meetings are not permitted, they have no other means of agitation but the distribution of literature. Very often

the hours of voting are so chosen that a workingman cannot vote without losing money. In other places the socialists cannot put up any candidates who are property owners. These difficulties, together with the plural system of voting, make socialist progress almost impossible. The aim of the socialists is to capture the third class of voters for socialism. The reason is plain; when we see that in these communal elections 1,075 voters of the first class and 4,763 of the second class could outvote 45,512 voters of the third class. In view of such figures, we can understand what a socialist majority in such places as Breslau, Luebeck, and similar industrial centers, means. In Luebeck, the liberals intend to run Prince Henry as a candidate for the Reichstag in the hope that the presence of the Prince will prove an effective charm against the socialist specter.

The Christmas edition of the "Vorwaerts" has been released at last and Comrade Glocke, the responsible publisher, acquitted of the charge of inciting to riot. The number was to have been released on May 1. But when Comrade Glocke appeared in the afternoon at police headquarters to inquire why it had not yet been delivered, he could only find one solitary sergeant, who professed to know nothing about the matter. "Just think of it," says "Vorwaerts," with dry humor. "Only one policeman at headquarters at 5 o'clock in the afternoon. Suppose the revolution had broken out, what terrible consequences might have followed! And on the first of May, too." But that was just the reason why the Christmas number was not delivered. Besides, the emperor was holding a parade on the Tempelhofer field and needed all the policemen on foot and horseback to keep the "mob" back. And the blamed socialists were holding May day parades and picnics at all the thirty-two points of the compass. How could the police department be expected to attend to its office business? May day was celebrated wherever the authorities permitted it, and according to the reports from all the parts of the empire, the participation was very numerous.

Switzerland.

Active volcanoes are not very pleasant company. Nevertheless, bourgeois society would rather put up with them than with the socialist movement. The exploiters console themselves with the reflection that volcanoes are natural forces, while the socialists are the unnatural product of a deviation from the "natural and harmonious beauty" of the competitive system. However, that does not make the presence of the socialists any less natural, as the Swiss capitalists lately found out to their great sorrow.

Volcanoes are at least considerate enough to give fair warning of their evil intentions. But the Swiss socialists, without the least notice, swept their capitalist opponents off the field in the recent elections. Of course, there were many straws that predicted the coming change. But the capitalists are wont to interpret these signs according to principles that are as much in keeping with the times as the science of the Roman augurs. Therefore they were not particularly alarmed when the Cantonal federation of the Zurich Gruetli and Labor Unions, comprising 44 sections with 2,700 members, joined the socialists and

adopted the name "Social Democratic Party of the Canton of Zurich." And they paid little attention to the news that the German, Austrian and Hungarian socialists in Switzerland were getting together in planning an international convention.

The bourgeoisie was therefore dumbfounded when the general elections in Zurich resulted in the return of 41 socialists, viz., 30 in the city and 11 in the country districts. Comrade Ernst was re-elected president of the cantonal council with 48,379 votes. In the Canton of St. Gallen, Comrade Scherer was elected with 29,098 votes, against 20,520 of his opponent. In the Canton of Bern, 7 socialists were elected in the city, 5 in Biel, and three in the districts of Nidau, Bollingen, and Pruntrut, making the number of socialist representatives in the Cantonal council 15 as against 10 previously returned. The canton of Basle sent 16 new socialist members into the great council, bringing the total number of socialists in that body from 12 to 22, and carrying off a cabinet seat for Comrade Wollenschlaeger. This is the fourth socialist minister in Switzerland.

Sweden.

General strikes don't fail everywhere. The events in Belgium induced the comrades in Sweden to go and do likewise, and as they had no clerical party to contend with, and also happen to be ruled by one of the most enlightened and progressive monarchs in the world, the outcome was more gratifying than in Belgium. Not that the police and soldiers did not kill and wound as freely as their Belgian colleagues in arms, as soon as they were let loose on the peaceful parades demonstrating in favor of more equitable election laws. Their training had not been in vain, and the Swedish capitalists are quite as ready to impress the proletarian with their superiority as all other exploiters. But there being no followers of the only licensed church in control of the parliament, the interpellations of the radical representatives were sufficient to bring the chief of police to his senses and permit a peaceful solution of the question.

The socialist deputy Branting demanded universal suffrage without any restrictions. Whether this will be granted or only the amended bill passed, which gives the right to vote to all men 25 years of age, who either own property in land worth 300 kroner, or other fixed property worth 600 kroner, or a yearly income of at least 500 kroner, and who have paid their taxes for the last two years and served their time in the army or navy, could not be learned at the date of this writing. The capitalist press reports stating that the bill granting universal suffrage was passed by the House do not give any information on this point. They admit, however, that the success of the socialists was due mainly to the declaration of the general strike and the determination of the leaders to keep it up until the discussion in parliament should have taken a favorable turn for the working class.

THE WORLD OF LABOR

By Max S. Hayes.

Secretary Greenbaum, of the Socialist party, announces that a number of new locals as well as several states have been chartered. John C. Chase has been doing very effective work among the unions of Illinois and Missouri; Stitt Wilson in Oregon, Bigelow and Vail in Pennsylvania and other Eastern states; Debs in Colorado and the West, and a dozen or more speakers in various localities have also been kept busy spreading the doctrine among the political heathen. The spring municipal elections, which have shown marked gains, with few exceptions here and there, served to inspire the progressive workers with enthusiasm and confidence, and demands for speakers and literature are on the increase, according to national and the various state headquarters. The outlook for a strong increase in the Socialist party vote again this fall is very bright, especially since the De Leon party has practically disappeared and the so-called "Allied party" seems to have "died a-bornin'."

During the past couple of months the "Big 4" meat combine has come in for the fiercest kind of denunciations because prices were advanced all along the line, and the wildest kinds of schemes have also been suggested to defeat the magnates at their own game. In the sensational press co-operative packing houses were brought into being over night here and there, but up to date none of them have turned out any meats. In different parts of the country labor organizations have also adopted long strings of whereases and resolves that the members would bust the trust by refusing to feed flesh into their stomachs. The reply of the hog combine has been to purchase millions of dozens of eggs, tons of poultry, mountains of potatoes and apples and place them in storage houses. And now 'tis reported that additional storage houses are to be built and utilized for all kinds of vegetables and produce, also that prices of hides are to be advanced to leather dealers, and that the fish trust is to be brought into the new "community of interests." The barons have discovered that the people must and will eat, and that there is big money in raising prices and insuring prosperity and full dinner pails.

The Atlantic steamship trust is now a reality, seven lines having been formed into a "community of interests" by Organizer Morgan, with something like $800,000,000 capital to start with. Close alliances will be maintained with the railway combines, and it is expected that with the economies that can be introduced, competitors will be forced to stand and deliver in a short time. At least some of the European governments look at it in that way, and there is great sorrow among

the small fry, one New York shipper making the statement that there are 800 boats in and about that port that are unable to secure cargoes. Brother Morgan received $12,000,000 for organizing this new union of capital—a little more than the average labor organizer receives.

Mine workers charge that their mail is being stolen by operators or their lackeys in small mining centers. A United States inspector recently caught a boss red-handed in Kentucky, but it is questionable whether he will be convicted, as he will come up for a hearing before Judge Evans, at Louisville, who is notorious as an injunction-thrower.

The brewery workers' strike in Cincinnati has settled down to a test of endurance. With the exception of the Herancourt product, all Cincinnati beer is now being boycotted. The struggle has brought the "autonomy" question to the front as nothing ever did before. The brewery workers claim jurisdiction over all employes in breweries. The engineers and firemen objected and were supported by the employers. The A. F. of L. executive council decided that the engineers and firemen have jurisdiction, but they must support the brewery workers by withdrawing their men from the boycotted concerns. Then the courts stepped in and issued an injunction to prevent such a move, probably to the great relief of the engineers and firemen, who are attempting to neutralize the effects of the boycott. The matter will be dragged into the next A. F. of L. convention, and the war will be fiercely waged.

In Battle Creek, Mich., the socialists are conducting a novel contest. They offer five prizes of $5 to the scholars in as many grades of schools and business colleges who write the best essays on socialism. The prizes are distributed at a mass meeting.

Union labor tickets in quite a number of places were successful in the spring elections, and sentiment in favor of independent political action is rapidly on the increase. The "labor mayor" business is being widely discussed in trade union circles.

A Philadelphia daily paper charges that three hundred iron and steel workers at McKeesport, Pa., have been blacklisted by the billion-dollar octopus. In other places scores of workers have also been placed on the blacklist.

Striking textile workers of Olneyville, R. I., twice rejected offers of Hanna's Civic Federation to arbitrate. They claim they would be sold out, as the Boston and San Francisco strikers were.

Mine-owners in the Cripple Creek, Colo., district formed a $5,000,000 combine, and some of the workers think it means fight.

At least half a dozen new glass-blowing machines are announced. According to their inventors, the saving will be enormous, and in some instances workers are almost wholly displaced, the devices operating automatically.

"Paddy on the railway at a dollar a day" is a song that has seen its best days. Down at Greenville, Pa., a track-laying machine, invented by a Scranton man, is being given a practical demonstration. The outfit consists of a machine car bearing a steel crane that extends sixty feet

over the road-bed, and a train of sixteen cars of ties, rails, etc., which are fed into the machine car and out on the crane and laid rapidly and accurately. According to the Engineering News, about two miles of track are laid per day on the Bessemer & Lake Erie Railroad, and only forty men are needed to do the work.

Superior Court at Seattle, Wash., decided that the law to limit the labor of women in shops and factories to ten hours daily was unconstitutional, as it was "class legislation."

The Union Picket is the name of a neat new trade-union paper at Dayton, Ohio, that has strong leanings toward socialism.

Some of the small bituminous coal companies are squealing lustily because there is a "scarcity" of cars, and they can't get their product to market. The charge is also made that the railway monopolies are in a conspiracy with the large coal companies (often themselves) to freeze out the little concerns. The whales of industry continue to swallow the minnows, just as in the briny deep.

About one hundred unions of Cleveland have combined in a new central body, which is known as the United Trades and Labor Council. A socialist preamble and platform was adopted, but will probably be forgotten by many of the members on election day.

Central Trades Council of St. Louis, as well as many local unions, combined with the socialist party in holding a big convention and nominating a full city ticket.

Lobbyists at Washington have been hammering against the eight-hour bill in Congress because it has "socialistic tendencies." The seamen's bills have been defeated in committee and the prison labor bill will also be smothered. The Geary Chinese exclusion law has been reenacted, but Western labor people declare that it is a farcical measure. One paper says it is about as effective as a linen suit of clothes in a blizzard.

The "labor bills" in Congress are still having rough sledding. Correspondents in Washington nearly all agree that they will die in committee.

Supreme Court of Missouri has declared the anti-trust law of that state "unreasonable, oppressive, unconstitutional and void." The same court in Georgia also intimates that the anti-trust law of that state is n. g. And the trust-busters are sadly looking on.

Organizer Hamilon, of the paper-makers, was jailed in Eau Claire, Wis., for attempting to force the bosses to grant the employes a shorter workday.

Miners in Virginia and Northport, Wash., have been injunctioned.

Senator Proctor attempted to reduce the wages of his marble workers in Rutland, Vt., and now there is music in the air.

President Caldwell, of the New Zealand Board of Trade, who has been making an extensive American tour, predicted in an interview in Washington that "this country will soon pass into the control of a workingman's party." He declared that the trusts are becoming so

powerful that there will be a reaction, and that the laboring people are perfecting their organizations with a view to gaining political control.

Some of the leading New York daily papers have started to throw cold water on Hanna's Civic Federation. They assert that the very existence of that body, and in the hope that concessions can be gained, tends to encourage the workers to make demands—sometimes very unreasonable ones, don't you know. This view is partly borne out by a statement credited to Secretary "Sissy" Easley, to the effect that local branches of the Civic Federation are to be established in the large industrial centers to adjudicate local troubles. On the other hand, the radical press is clamorously accusing Hanna of attempting to attach the labor organizations as a tail to his political kite. Whether or not this suspicion is well founded, the big boss does admit that one of the principal objects of the Civic Federation is to counteract "the evils of socialism."

Chicago Federation of Labor is once more defying the A. F. of L. Refuse to unseat the seceding teamsters. The latter quit the national union because bosses were admitted, it is claimed, and are gaining strength all over the country.

Erie socialists are going to start a daily paper. The movement to establish a daily in New York is making good headway.

The Employers' Association of Illinois is accused of having adopted a plan to "loan" their more subservient workingmen to members of the association who may be harassed by strikes. Those workers who refuse to be "loaned" when trouble is on will be placed on a blacklist and forever debarred from the shops of the bosses. This is bringing things down to a science.

Chicago capitalists are engineering a scheme to combine sixty-six Western banks. The promoters claim that, besides the immense power they would gain, there would be an annual saving of many millions in operation and at least $37,000,000 more could be loaned than at present.

Our Canadian brethren are spreading the gospel of socialism quite enthusiastically. In Ontario, for example, nineteen leagues have been formed, and there are sixteen others that are unattached to the Provincial League. Six candidates, among them H. Gaylord Wilshire and Margaret Haile, were nominated for the Legislature of Ontario. Secretary Wrigley reports that there is a growing demand for speakers and literature.

The "labor mayors" of Connecticut are said to be engineering a scheme to form a new political party and enter the state campaign next fall to capture the governorship, the legislature and everything else in sight.

Miners and other unionists of the anthracite region are raising funds to erect a monument to the men who were shot in the back by deputies at Lattimer several years ago. The dedication will take place on Sept. 20, and a great demonstration will be held.

BOOK REVIEWS

Democracy and Social Ethics. Jane Addams. The Macmillan Company. Half morocco. Citizen's Library. 177 pp. $1.25.

This work consists of seven chapters and an introduction, each of which are largely separate essays, united by a common point of view. The first chapter on "Charitable Effort" is largely a psychological study of a "charitable visitor" who had caught some glimpse of democracy and was trying to reconcile this knowledge with her charity. "Formerly, when it was believed that poverty was synonymous with vice and laziness, and that the prosperous man was the righteous man, charity was administered harshly with a good conscience; for the charitable agent really blamed the individual for his poverty, and the very fact of his own superior prosperity gave him a certain consciousness of moral superiority." But since we have learned that there may be other standards of excellence than financial success the charitable agent does not feel quite so sure of his ground. The same conflict arises at a dozen points of view, which are carefully brought out. The second chapter on "Filial Relations" describes another series of similar conflicts which arise between a daughter who wishes to give her life to social work and her parents who still cling to the old individualistic position. It is the old tragedy of "Fathers and Sons" over again in a new form. Perhaps the best chapter in the whole book is the one on "Household Adjustment." This is really but a study of the servant girl problem, and while the point of view here, as throughout the book, is bounded by the narrow limits of capitalism (the shortest social stage the world has ever known), nevertheless it is a valuable social analysis. "As industrial conditions have changed, the household has simplified, from the medieval affair of journeymen, apprentices and maidens who spun and brewed to the family proper; to those who love each other and live together in ties of affection and consanguinity. Were this process complete we should have no problem of household employment. But, even in households comparatively humble, there is still one alien, who is neither loved nor loving. The modern family has dropped the man who made its shoes, the woman who spun its clothes, and, to a large extent, the woman who washes them, but it stoutly refuses to drop the woman who cooks its food and ministers directly to its individual comfort; it strangely insists that to do that would be to destroy the family life itself. . . . A listener, attentive to a conversation between two employers of household labor—and we certainly all have opportunity to hear such conversations—would often discover a tone implying that the employer was abused and put upon; that she was struggling with the

problem solely because she was thus serving her family and performing her social duties; that otherwise it would be a great relief to her to abandon the whole situation, and "never have a servant in her house again." Did she follow this impulse, she would simply yield to the trend of her times and accept the present system of production. She would be in line with the industrial organization of her age." A very full and excellent statement of the disadvantages under which the servant girls labor is given, including the fact that "certain hospitals in London have contributed statistics showing that 78 per cent of illegitimate children born are the children of girls working in households." Perhaps these facts may explain why all working girls do not become servants. The discussion of "Industrial Amelioration" shows much keen insight. Here is the only place where the author seems to realize that the laboring class is to have any part in social evolution. Speaking of the laborers who have rebelled against so-called "philanthropic" employers, she says, "Outside the ken of philanthropists the proletariat had learned to say in many languages that 'the injury of one is the concern of all.' Their watchwords were brotherhood, sacrifice, the subordination of individual and trade interests, to the good of the working classes, and they were moved by a determination to free that class from the untoward conditions under which they were suffering." The chapter on "Educational Methods" is also one of great value. Here the amalgamating influence of the public school system and its dominance by commercialism is shown in a most vivid manner. The discussion of "Political Reform," while it contains much clever analysis of the manner in which the "corrupt" politician holds sway, is really much more superficial than the others. In all the intricate relations of the "boodle alderman" to his constituents she sees only personal forces, and as a means of breaking his power sees nothing save the coming of some "reformer who really knew the people," and who should find out "what needs which the alderman supplies are legitimate ones which the city itself should undertake." She sees nothing of the great class forces which are not at all waiting for the coming of some benevolent reformer, but which will move of their own initiative, to the discomfiture of reformers and boodlers alike. Indeed, the weak point of the whole book is that it is addressed to an already outgrown social class. From cover to cover there is not a word addressed to the laborer. It is mainly addressed to an idealized "social worker," for although the writer of this has had much experience with "charitable agents," he never met one with the peculiar conscientious scruples of those described by Miss Addams. In so far as an attempt is made to discuss ethical problems the book lacks precision as to terms and ideas. It is impossible to decide what is accepted as the "ethical norm" or the "ultimate good." Indeed, it would seem that the intuitive method had been adopted with the individual standard, and that after all Miss Addams had fallen into the error which she ascribes to a "philanthropic employer" who was "so confident of the righteousness of his aim that he had come to test the righteousness of the process by his own feelings and not those of his men." In other words, it would seem that in the last analysis she had fallen back upon her own intuitive judgment as the only test of right and wrong. Summing up, it is doubtful if any one writing from

the point of view of the ruling class (for this is what the author has really done) has ever seen as much. But to the reader who has learned to consider the laboring class as the only class with a social future it is a continual puzzle how one who saw so far should have stopped short on the verge of seeing so much more. She sees the existence of class divergencies in ethical standards, but has nothing to say as to which is really right or is destined to dominate, and is silent concerning the underlying causes which give rise to those divergencies.

The Social Evil. By the Committee of Fifteen. Cloth, 187 pp. G. P. Putnam's Sons.

This book is the result of the work of a committee of fifteen, appointed at a mass meeting of the citizens of New York in November, 1900. The opening paragraph reads as follows: "Prostitution is a phenomena co-extensive with civilized society. Barbarous and semi-barbarous peoples have at times been free from it. . . . But no sooner has a people attained a moderate degree of civilization than this social curse has fallen upon it; nor has any race reached a point of moral elevation where this form of vice has disappeared." The sources of prostitution are divided into three classes. "In the first place, there is a large class of women who may be said to have been trained for prostitution from earliest childhood. Foundlings and orphans and the offspring of the miserably poor, they grow up in wretched tenements, contaminated by constant familiarity with vice in its lowest forms. Without training, mental or moral, they remain ignorant and disagreeable, slovenly and uncouth, good for nothing in the social and economic organism. When half-matured they fall the willing victims of their male associates and inevitably drift into prostitution. . . . Another form is closely connected with the appearance of women in industry. In many cities there are great classes of women without any resources except their earnings as needle-women, day-workers, domestics or factory hands. These earnings are often so small as barely to suffice for the urgent needs of the day. A season of non-employment presents them with the alternative of starvation or prostitution. . . . A third class . . . may be employed at living wages, but the prospect of continuing from year to year with no change from tedious and irksome labor creates discontent and eventually rebellion. . . . Their lives bring them no happiness and promise them none." Yet in spite of the facts thus brought out, which show beyond a possibility of a doubt that prostitution is an inseparable part of the present social organization—of capitalism, there is no suggestion in the whole investigation that a different social organization is possible or desirable. The committee seems to recognize that it is from no personal preference that the career of a prostitute is chosen. "With the majority of prostitutes the life of shame is only a temporary state. In a time of distress they resort to it as their readiest means of support . . . they conceal their life from their friends, they account in some fictitious way for their earnings. It may be that they do not have the strength to abandon the life after once becoming accustomed to it. But the majority, in all probability, do abandon it." They are even able to generalize cor-

rectly as to the causes driving women into prostitution and to see in a general way the only possible solution. "It is undoubtedly true that a chronic state of poverty has a powerful influence in impelling women to accept a vicious life. Society has up to the present time proven unable to solve the problem of poverty; and until that problem is solved, there is little reason to believe that there will cease to be a class of women, not necessarily congenitally defective, who will choose a life of vice. But there are in every city classes of working women whose normal income is sufficient to permit them to live honorable lives, but who are left in times of temporary depression, with no means of escaping from starvation except prostitution." Having declared that, in spite of the fact that the great commercial problem of to-day is how to dispose of the surplus of our productive power, the problem of poverty is still impossible of solution, the committee feels that nevertheless it must do something to account for its existence. So it submits three very silly recommendations. "First, strenuous efforts to prevent in the tenement houses the overcrowding which is a very prolific source of sexual immorality. . . . Secondly, the furnishing . . . of purer and more elevating forms of amusement. . . . Thirdly, whatever can be done to improve the material conditions of the wage-earning class." In other words, abolish all the results of poverty while leaving poverty and you will abolish prostitution. In spite of this silly conclusion, the book is by far the most valuable thing yet printed in America on the subject with which it deals, and is a work which must be consulted by all who wish to secure anything approaching reliable information on the subject.

The History and Literature of the German Social Democracy. By Paul Kampffmeyer. Fraenkische Verlagsanstalt und Buchdruckerei, Herm. Sydow & Co., Nuernberg, Germany. Price 40 Pfennige.

This little work sums up in precise and graphic language the valuable testimony for the elevating and educating influence of socialism, contained in the history and literature of the Socialist party in Germany. It offers at the same time practical hints for the student, the lecturer and the librarian.

Love's Coming of Age. By Edward Carpenter. Charles H. Kerr & Company. Cloth, 162 pp. $1.00.

There are three distinct points of excellence about this book which make it especially praiseworthy. The first is the value of the contained matter. Seldom has there been a keener analysis of the sex question. The economic conditions that have given rise to all the ridiculous and horrible conditions surroundings the relations of the sexes in modern society are pointed out. The degraded position of woman, the destruction of the home and the silly prudery of modern society are all set forth in vivid form. For woman the society of to-day offers but three choices. She may become a useless plaything, a painted clotheshorse "lady" as the wife of some bourgeois "gentleman," or she may become the helpless drudge and slave of a wage slave. Finally, there is the prostitute. Even concerning these three spheres it is hardly fair to speak of a choice, as most women are born into one or the other of these states of life with little idea of either of the other spheres. All of these subjects

are treated with a delicacy of language that leaves nothing concealed, but can give no offense save to those whose prudishness needs offending. Finally, the whole is told in a beautiful, clear English, that it is a pleasure to read. "Love's Coming of Age" is essential to a good socialist library.

Books Received.

Tales from Gorky. Funk and Wagnalls. Cloth, 285 pp. $1.20.

The Americanization of the World. W. T. Stead. Horace Markley. Cloth, 460 pp. $1.50.

Among the Periodicals.

The Independent for May 1 is a special number devoted almost entirely to a symposium on "The Concentration of Wealth." Among those contributing are Carroll D. Wright, Russell Sage, J. J. Hill, John R. Commons, Ernest H. Crosby, W. J. Bryan, Henry D. Lloyd, W. G. Sumner and Charles R. Flint. Many of those who write as capitalists and organizers of trusts are brutally frank and the whole series is most highly suggestive to social students. It is unfortunate that the Independent, which has always shown itself fair to the Socialist movement, did not see fit to admit to this discussion at least some one who had something of a comprehension of the Socialist movement, and would have written from that point of view. At least it should no' have labeled as "socialistic" what is wholly out of touch with the gr international Socialist position.

PUBLISHERS' DEPARTMENT

Karl Marx's "Capital."

This great work must always remain the principal classic of Socialism. There have been repeated attempts to condense, explain and simplify the book. None of these have been in any sense satisfactory. None of them have really been as easy to understand as the original, while all attempts at condensing a work as solid as "Capital" result only in the omission of important portions.

Every socialist student recognizes these facts and would be glad to have a copy of Marx's Capital, but has hitherto been handicapped by the high price. We have recently secured a special bargain on 250 copies, the standard English edition of this work, which enables us to offer them to our stockholders at $1 each; postage 30 cents if mailed; to other buyers the price is $2 postpaid, which is 50 cents less than the book can be bought for anywhere else.

The first importation is going fast. If you wish to secure a copy you must order at once.

Britain for the British.

You will want to read it. Everybody will be talking about it by this time next month. Then you will be sorry because some one else was ahead of you in introducing it into your neighborhood. It will be a big seller wherever socialists gather together. See that your local has a good supply. Traveling organizers and speakers, who are the first to introduce it into any locality, will reap a rich harvest. Over three million "Merrie Englands" have been sold. It was written by the same author and is not as good a book as "Britain for the British."

Everybody knows the plain, simple style in which Robert Blatchford writes. It is just the sort of style that you wish all writers of propaganda works would learn to write. The laborer who left school at ten to enter the shop can understand it. The college graduate can find plenty of things in it to think about. Here are the titles of some of the chapters: "The Unequal Division of Wealth," "What Is Wealth? Where Does It Come from? Who Creates It?" "How the Few Get Rich and Keep the Many Poor," "What Socialism Is Not," "What Socialism Is," "Competition vs. Co-operation," "Temperance and Thrift," "Is Socialism Possible, and Will It Pay?" "The Need for a Labor Party," "Why the Old Parties Will Not Do," "To-day's Work."

The author declares that "the purpose of this book is to convert the reader to Socialism; to convince him that the present system—political, industrial and social—is bad; to explain to him why it is bad, and to prove to him that socialism is the only true remedy." Now that is exactly the kind of a book that every socialist wishes to find. Here you have it. Send in your money for it at once if you wish to get a copy from the first edition. Cloth, 50 cents, $4 a dozen; paper, 25 cents, $2 a dozen. We pay expressage at these prices.

The Last Days of the Ruskin Co-operative Association.

This book, by Professor Isaac Broome, is the latest publication in the Standard Socialist Series. The Ruskin colony, founded by J. A. Wayland, but with which he was connected only a short time, was the most conspicuous and ambitious attempt in this country to establish a community under the socialist name. The Socialist party has always discouraged attempts of this kind, believing them to be an unscientific waste of energy that might be used to much better advantage. The present work, the author of which is not a member of the Socialist party, is a most striking and impressive argument for the soundness of the socialist position. It is full of graphic pen-pictures of the miserable conditions developed by colony life. It is copiously illustrated wth engravings from photographs taken on the spot. Handsomely bound in extra red silk cloth, price 50 cents; to stockholders, 30 cents, postpaid.

OUR CO-OPERATIVE PUBLISHING COMPANY.

The co-operative publishing house of Charles H. Kerr & Company has now 361 stockholders, located at over 300 different cities and towns. Their distribution by states is shown in the following table:

Alabama	2	New Hampshire	3
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Arkansas	2	New York	23
California	26	North Dakota	3
Colorado	12	Ohio	16
Cononecticut	6	Oklahoma	6
District of Columbia	5	Oregon	11
Florida	6	Pennsylvania	22
Georgia	3	Rhode Island	2
Idaho	3	Tennessee	2
Illinois	43	Texas	4
Indiana	9	Utah	6
Indian Territory	1	Virginia	1
Iowa	12	Washington	12
Kansas	12	West Virginia	2
Kentucky	9	Wisconsin	5
Maine	1	British Columbia, Canada	4
Massachusetts	13	Manitoba, Canada	1
Michigan	19	New Brunswick, Canada	1
Minnesota	13	Ontario, Canada	4
Missouri	11	Scotland	1
Montana	7	Philippine Islands	1
Nebraska	6		
		Total	360

No dividends have ever been distributed and none are likely to be declared, for the reason that the object of the company is not to make profits, but to print and circulate such literature as will hasten the success of the Socialist movement. The direct personal advantage to a stockholder lies in the privilege of buying at cost the books published by the company. Every new stock subscription helps increase the number of the best socialist books which we are enabled to offer at prices far below what would otherwise be obtainable. We have lately added a line of campaign leaflets at prices so low that they can be given away freely. Every socialist local in the United States should be a stockholder, and thus get the largest amount of campaign literature for the least expenditure.

There is no personal advantage to be gained by subscribing for more than one share of stock; the owner of a single share has the same privileges as the owner of a hundred. If, however, any one has a hundred or a thousand dollars to be used for the advancement of socialism there is no way in which it can be used so effectively as by putting it into this company. To carry on the work of publishing the socialist literature required by the movement, with our present inadequate capital, is a severe tax on the strength of those in charge. Four hundred shares are still open to subscription, and the $4,000 which would be realized from their sale would put our work on a solid foundation that the approaching financial panic would not disturb.

There is one urgent need for capital at the earliest possible moment. Ernest Untermann, the associate editor of the International Socialist Review, has completed an excellent translation, the first ever made into English, of the "Origin of the Family, the State and Private Property," by Frederick Engels. The type of this book is already set, but we must delay publication until $200 in stock is subscribed to pay the first cost. The price upon publication will be 50 cents; to stockholders, 30 cents, postpaid, and the book will be of the utmost value to the socialist movement.

A booklet explaining our co-operative plan will be mailed to any address upon request, and questions will be answered promptly. Address,

CHARLES H. KERR & COMPANY,
56 Fifth avenue, Chicago.